GUIDE TO THE OJ13 KWOMA FILE

[The Kwoma are a mountain dwelling people living on the Peilungua Mountains in New Guinea, north of the Sepik River, and some 265 miles from its delta. The Peilungua Mountain system encompasses not more than twenty square miles in area and is bounded on the south and west by the Sepik River in conjunction with a lake created by a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast Sepik watershed area which stretches to the foothills of the coastal range. The Kwoma are surrounded by swamp and river tribes, such as the Amiki, Sowal, Yelagu, Malu, Yambon, and Yessan.

The Kwoma were divided into four sub-groups, the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi and the Hongwam. The Hongwam were the focus of Whiting's study which makes up the bulk of this file. Each of the sub-groups occupied contiguous territories, spoke the same language and were generally bound together by ties of trade and intermarriage, and yet each maintained a certain distinct social identity which allowed one sub-group to carry on head-hunting raids against another. On occasion these sub-groups would band together for raids against other non-Kwoma people. Each sub-group was divided into several hamlets, most of which were clustered around a men's ceremonial lodge or "house tamberan." The hamlet frequently took its name from its "house tamberan." Within each hamlet dwellings were arranged according to the hereditary arrangement of land and the scarcity of level sites because of the precipitous nature of the slopes on which the village was built.

The primary descent group among the Kwoma was the patrilineal sib to which all male members of a hamlet belonged.

It should be noted, however, that the hamlets belonging to a specific sib did not necessarily occupy contiguous territory. Each sib was further divided into lineages composed of several family lines who traced descent from a common grandfather. The male members of the lineage build their dwellings in a cluster within the hamlet. The achievement of status and prestige in the society was a dominant cultural goal among the Kwoma. The attainment of status and prestige was accomplished primarily through individual means such as skill in dancing, singing, playing the gongs, sexual exploits, and warfare. In the Kwoma Yam Cult, which was divided into three sections, the Yenama, Minjama, and Nokwi, every adolescent boy was elected to either the Yenama or Minjama division, while young men of special promise were often elected to both. These two sections closely approximated a moiety-type organization and were referred to as such in 2: Whiting, p. 225. The Nokwi section was the highest stage of the cult to which only men of the greatest prestige who had taken a head in a raid were elected.

The Kwoma language was, according to Voegelin, of an unclassified linguistic stock. It was, however, spoken by some 2,231 speakers north of the Middle Sepik River.

Information on Kwoma population is rather scanty; however, Whiting does give a figure of approximately 898 individuals for the entire group broken down as follows: Hongwam, 374; Koriasi, 116; Urumbanj, 108; and Tangwishamp, circa 300 (1: Whiting, p. 5).

Kwoma religious beliefs centered around the marsalai -- huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which

caused rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. Supposedly they were present at ceremonies of the Yam Cult and were responsible for a plentiful supply of that crop. In addition to the marsalai the Kwoma believed in ghosts which were conceived of as spirits of the dead living on the outskirts of the tribal territory. They appeared as invisible shadows or as birds or other animals and sometimes visited the hamlets of the living, particularly at night or when a death had occurred. The Kwoma were in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery and conceived of it as the primary cause of all serious illness, as well as certain minor ills such as ulcers, headaches, or upset stomachs. Sorcerers were sought out and killed or ostracized from the community. Religious ceremonials were centered in the rituals of the Yam Cult, previously mentioned, which functioned not only in the agricultural cycle but also as a means of ranking men in accordance with their attainments, as a way of gaining the support of the marsalai and as a primary institution for artistic expression (young men were taught to play the gongs, sing, dance, etc.).

The primary subsistence pattern was based on agriculture and hunting and supplemented somewhat by the gathering of certain leaves used as greens, grubs and wild fruits, and by fish which were obtained primarily in trade with the river tribes. Fishing itself was of little importance to the Kwoma who generally considered it as a sport. Agriculture was based chiefly on the growing of yams and supplemented by taro, spinach, bananas, and plantains. Some tobacco was also grown. The agricultural work was performed by a cooperative work group composed of the man who needed the help and those of his relatives who were willing to help him in return for the feast that he and his wife had to provide for them. Dogs were kept by almost all Kwoma families and used in hunting, and sometimes as food. When a sow was killed during the hunt, her suckling pigs were carried back to the village and raised as future source of food.

Marriages were arranged by a boy's parents after a discussion with the parents of the girl. However as a prerequisite a boy must first have had to undergo the ceremony which, from the standpoint of Kwoma society, marked him as an adult, while the girl who was generally slightly younger than the boy, must be pubescent. She must also have been of a sib different than that of the boy and not closely related to his mother's brother's, mother's sister, father's sister, siter's husband, wife, friend, or ceremonial father (1: Whiting, p. 81). Adolescent courtship generally culminated in a trial marriage wherein the girl went to live with the boy's parents. During the period of betrothal a mutal exchange of gifts took place so that if the engagement should be broken, neither family was the loser. If the relationship was found to be agreeable, a special ceremony took place in which the couple become united as man and wife. The man then built his own home on a plot of land near his father's house.

Head hunting raids were often carried out against neighboring groups, although open warfare was infrequent. These raids provided the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner as well as serving as a means of obtaining prestige in the society. It will be remembered, for example, that no man was eligible to join the Nokwi, the highest grade of the Yam Cult, until he had taken a head in warfare.

The Kwoma kinship system was of the Omaha type. Parallel cousins were all classed as siblings while cross-cousins were called "mother" or "maternal uncle" if they were related through the mother (mother's brother's children) and "nephew" if they were related through the father (father's sister's children). Age distinctions were made between siblings of the same sex but not between siblings of the opposite sex. Similar distinctions were made between parallel

cousins. In the parental generation father and his brothers were called "father", "younger uncle", and "elder uncle", while father's sisters were called by a single term "paternal aunt." In the same manner mother's sisters were classed as "younger aunt" and "elder aunt", while her brothers were termed "maternal uncle". Grandparents were simply designated as "paternal grandparent" or "maternal grandparent". Relations above the grandparent level were referred to as merely "ancestors". For further details of Kwoma kinship terminology see 1: Whiting, pp. 7-8.

The Kwoma file consists of two sources, both in English and both written by a well-known professional anthropologist who spent nine months in the field among these people from September 1936 to May 1937. 1: Whiting is the major source for this file and concentrates primarily on the socialization processes of the Kwoma. Concurrent with his main theme, the author also presents an abundance of additional data pertinent to other aspects of the culture (e.g., agriculture, age grade ceremonies, raiding activities, kinship, marriage, etc.). Certain limitations were placed on the gathering of the field data by the sex of the author (he was allowed only superficial contact with Kwoma females) and his overall position as a "foreigner" to the group which affected his ability to gather data on the first three months of infancy because of the Kwoma's fear of sorcery. Source 2: Whiting, which should be read as a supplement to 1: Whiting, gives insights into various kinds of field situations encountered and elucidates the character of certain informants. It is, however, too disorganized to present a full ethnographic picture of Kwoma culture.

This file should be used with caution by the researcher not only for the reasons given above in regard to the author's

relationship to the people, but also because of the relatively short term in the field of the investigatior (Sept. 1936-May 1937), and the fact that at the present time there is no confirmatory data by other ethnologists on the cultural information gathered by Whiting. In general the file covers socialization processes, material culture, religion, and kinship quite well, but provides no information on political organization or culture history. The file was processed between 1971 and 1974.]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[13] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
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foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Tambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
[191] of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

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against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

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paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 . 1.

Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk* with a finish/ as their spokesman, declared timer
that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably testing us out to see whether we were "missin" or not, for yesterday construction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed an outhouse for us.

342 Bamb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours with frame and maretta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of stripe bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each shed. Bamb is now making a bed. The uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles to the slats. Bamb is very proud of his house and considers it quite superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisop's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[483] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

October 25, 1936.

101 619 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [27] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [264] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberams and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

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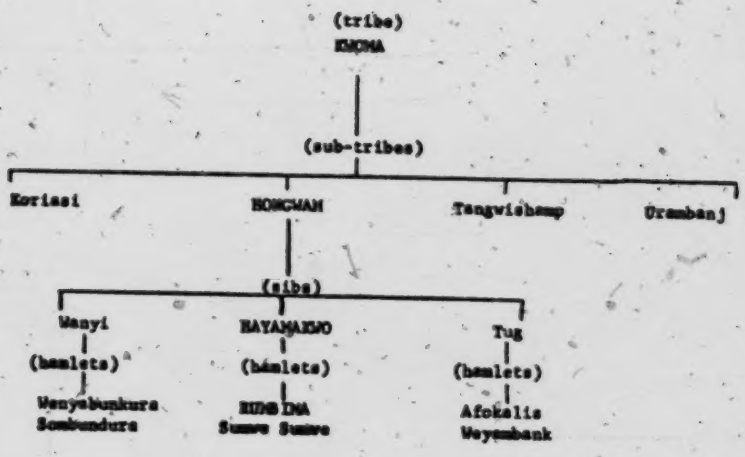

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

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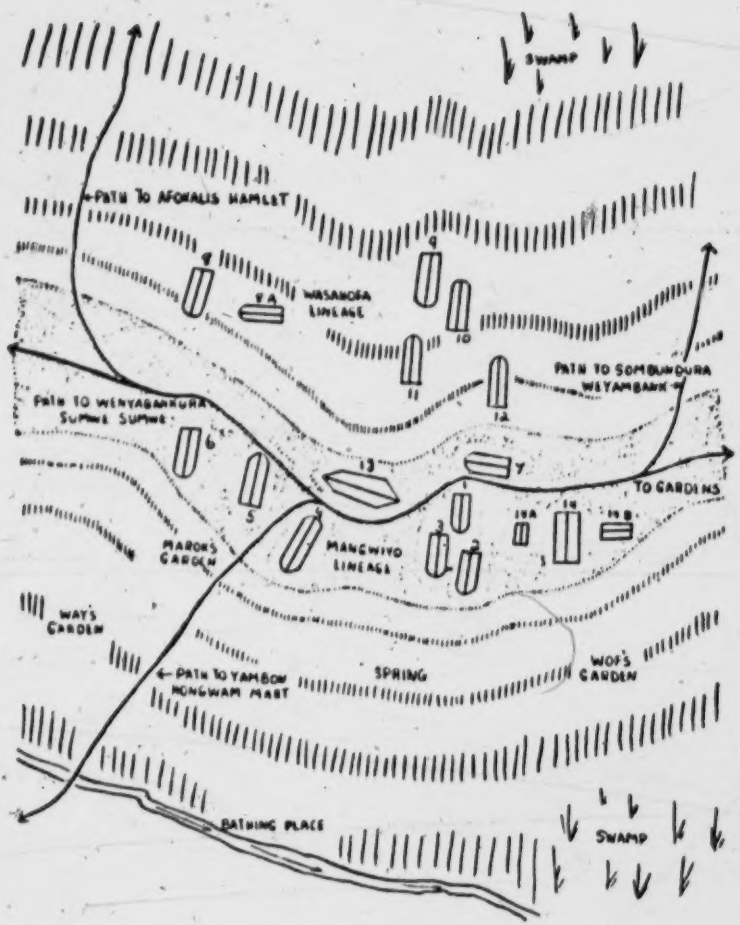

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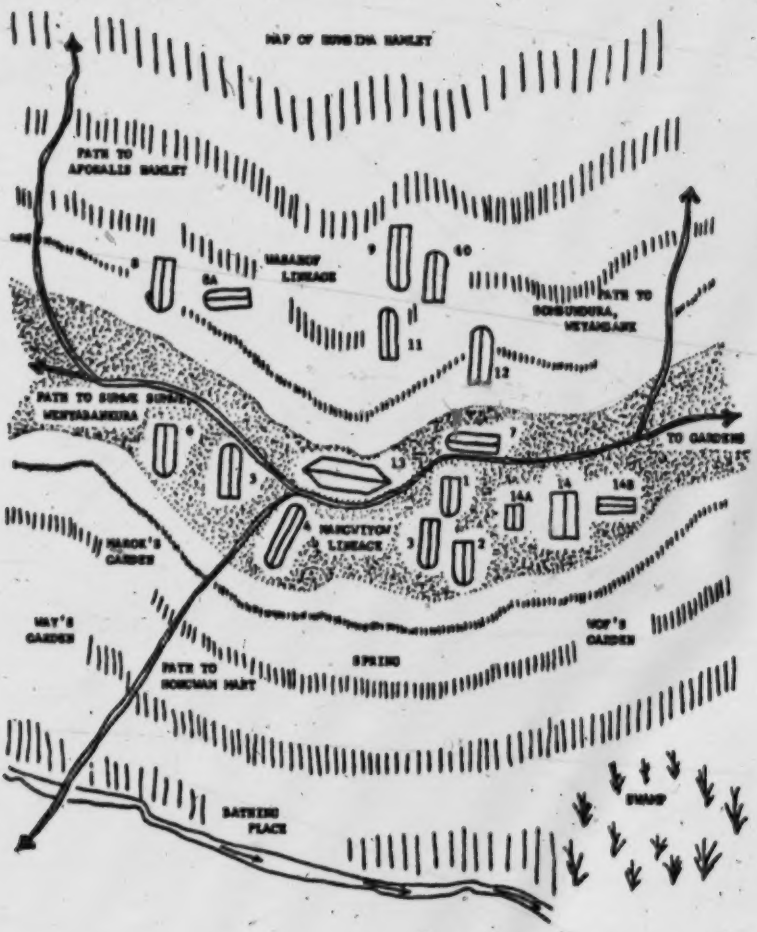
PATH TO
APOSALIS HAMLET
WASAKW
LINEAGE
PATH TO
SUNDUNDURA,
WEYAMBANE
PATH TO SUNDUNDURA,
WEYAMBANE
TO GARDENS
MARCK'S
GARDEN
MARCVITOW
LINEAGE
MAT'S
GARDEN
WOF'S
GARDEN
PATH TO
SUNDUNDURA HAMLET
SPRING
BATHING
PLACE
SWAMP

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [141] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus luluai (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tengwishamp, Urambanj and Korissi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nembu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

Appendix 1 GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

Key to vocabulary

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192

Vowels

ɨ = u in but (ɨ =ʌ)

@ = a in bat (@ =æ)

a = a in father

o = o in rote

e = a in mate

u = u in rule

i = ee in meet

Consonants

f and b are bilabial

mb and nd are nasalised consonants

192

Section II
VOCABULARY

afakɨ	now, today	afo kwaɨ mɨmbɨ	hair on the arms
afɨ kafɨ	soon, presently		
afɨ yakɨ	father's older brother	afokwɨ	father or paternal uncle. The term refers to afi, amra, and afo yakɨ If one is asked who his afokwɨ is, he will answer with the name of his afi. It is also used as andɨ afokw, meaning "I am of the older generation".
afiyangwat	variety of taro		
afo	a generic term for birds, butterflies, and bats		
afo fɨpyɨ	small bat		
afojokwo	variety of bananas	afokwɨ	old man
afo jokwɨ	fowl	afo ma	cockatoo
afo kimbi	large bat, "flying fox"	afoma	white
afo kiyɨ	cicada	afo mbeyɨ	birds' eggs
afo kwaɨ	large fruit bat	afo ndowaɨ	gouria pigeon

[601]

198 "banis"	roof
104 "cuscus"	opossum
"drink house"	tavern
"fashion belong me all the same you"	my customs are the same as yours
"fashion of monkis"	a childish custom
"fight the garemut"	beat the slit gongs
"finish timer"	one who has completed a years work on a plantation at the coast
"finished timers"	former plantation workers
"food belong kanaka"	native food
"goyaman along mi ol saim"	lied to me
"gouris"	pigeon
"hard work too much"	very hard work
"he no got cross now"	he is not angry now
"house sick"	hospital
"I think"	I think so
"kai kai"	dining
"kiap"	Australian patrol officer
"klambu"	mosquito net
"lap lap"	wrap around shirt
"lapun"	old man
"lapun meri"	old woman
"lik lik in broke im"	she only breaks little twigs
"like bilong meri"	it was the girls' idea
"limbou"	sago bark
"lulual"	chief appointed by the Australians
"maretta"	thatching
"marked"	noticed
"missis"	missionaries
"monki"	child
"monki nutin"	child with no status
"nats nats"	mosquitoes
"no got"	it is not true
"papa true bilong them"	their real father
"pushed"	had sexual intercourse with
"roused"	driven out
"sac sac"	gruel made from sago palm flour
"savvy talks"	one who understands pidgin English
"singsing"	ceremony
"something nothing"	inconsequential
"talk place"	speak Kwoma
"talk straight"	coherently
"tambu"	shell money
"tunkat"	gong
"yes, broke in nose"	break his nose

1: Whiting, John W. M. Becoming a Kwoma; teaching and learning in a New Guinea tribe. New Haven, Published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, 1941.

19, 226 p.; 8 plates; 2 charts; map; index.

Yale: Nkd99 N4 941w.

[This study describes in detail the socialization process of the Kwoma individual. Young children are treated with very great indulgence, and scolding and beating are practiced in moderation in disciplining older children. The males have to undergo several age grade ceremonies in which certain religious secrets are revealed to them and scarification is practiced. Only after he has been initiated into the highest grade is a man permitted to plant yams. Headhunting, traditionally a source for personal merit, seems to have almost vanished under the pressure of the colonial administration. The author presents data which are primarily on males, since his sex did not permit more than superficial contact with Kwoma females. Also, data on the earliest phases of infancy are limited, since during the first three months of life, a baby is not allowed to be observed by anybody else than the closest family members; this, to prevent it from being harmed by sorcery.]

Field date: 1936-1937
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Helen Bornstein, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1971-1974

2: Whiting, John Wesley Mayhew. Kwoma journal. HRAFLEX Book OJ13-001. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1970.

4, 247 p.; map; 20 text figures; vocabulary.

HRAF copy.

[As a field journal, this book gives insight into various kinds of situations in the field, and elucidates the character of certain informants. It is, however, too disorganized to present a full ethnographic picture of Kwoma culture. Interpersonal relations among the Kwoma people seem to be characterized by a strong individualism in respect to property. This volume should be read as a supplement to 1: Whiting, this file.]

Field date: Sept. 1936-May 1937
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Helen Bornstein, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1971-1974

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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121 of this process. Furthermore, a survey of the anthropological literature indicated that with a few notable exceptions there were very few empirical data on primitive child training, although since this project was instituted considerable additional material has appeared.

The interest in child training and in pre-adult culture is relatively new in anthropology. Until the last fifteen years there were only scattered and casual references to primitive childhood in the ethnographic literature. Most of these reports merely gave a description of ceremonies at birth and naming and of initiation rites. Sometimes a description of the play group, or of children's games, and vague comments on how parents treated their children were also included. Infrequently fieldworkers like Kidd, Junod, and Milne[2] presented more detailed observations of the behavior of children in their monographs. Miller and Hambly[3] assembled the available data in comparative works on primitive education, which suffered from the paucity of good material.

The influence of Freud was responsible for awakening the interest of a number of anthropologists in the problem of child training. Malinowski[4] and later Richards[5] used data on primitive childhood to criticize certain aspects of Freud's theory and to verify others. Recently Kardiner[6] has used primitive data gathered by Linton to revise the implicit instinctivism of Freud and to verify his general theory of personality development. The pioneer in the gathering of data on primitive childhood, and one who has probably had the greatest influence on the later fieldworkers who have become interested in this problem, is Margaret Mead.[7] Her work was

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[2] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood* (London, 1906); H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (Neuchatel, 1912); Mrs. L. Milne, *The Home of an Eastern Clan* (Oxford, 1924).

[3] N. Miller, *The Child in Primitive Society* (New York, 1928); W. D. Hambly, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples* (London, 1926).

[4] B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Primitive Society* (London, 1927).

[5] Audrey Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe* (London, 1932).

[6] Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939).

[7] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928); *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930); *Sex and Temperament in Three Savage Societies* (New York, 1935).

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

also in part instigated by Freud's theories, and in part by the cultural relativism of Boas. She demonstrated unequivocally that personality and temperament are determined by child rearing, and vary from society to society. Other fieldworkers, notably Kluckhohn,[8] Du Bois,[9] and Gorer[10] have given further documentation to this point of view and in addition have made contributions of their own to the theory of the relationship between child training and personality development in primitive societies. Finally Erikson,[11] a practicing psychoanalyst, has turned his attention to this problem and has reported on fieldwork which he did among the Sioux.

Following Malinowski's functional approach to primitive education[12] a number of his students have given excellent descriptive accounts of primitive education. Outstanding among these have been Firth[13] and Evans-Pritchard.[14] In addition Fortes,[15] Hogbin,[16] Wedgewood,[17] and Raum[18] have written special accounts of primitive education from a functional point of view.[19]

Since but few of these fieldworkers had concerned them-

[8] C. Kluckhohn, "Theoretical Bases for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals," *Man*, 89, 1939; Paper read before Monday Night Group, New Haven, 1940.

[9] C. Du Bois, Papers read at Eastern Sociological meetings, 1940, and Yale Anthropology Club, 1940.

[10] G. Gorer, *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938).

[11] E. H. Erikson, "Observations on Sioux Education," *The Journal of Psychology*, VII (1937), 101–156.

[12] B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages* (New York, 1929).

[13] R. Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (New York, 1936).

[14] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (London, 1937).

[15] M. Fortes, "Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland," *International Institute of African Languages and Cultures*, Memorandum XVII, 1938.

[16] I. Hogbin, "Education at Ontong Java, Solomon Islands," *American Anthropologist*, XXXIII (1931), no. 4, pp. 601–615.

[17] C. H. Wedgewood, "The Life of Children in Manam," *Oceania*, IX (September, 1938), no. 1.

[18] O. F. Raum, *Chaga Childhood* (London, 1940).

[19] This brief survey of the main trends of fieldwork on primitive childhood makes no pretense of completeness. For the most complete bibliography on the subject see J. Gillin, "Personality in Preliterate Societies," *American Sociological Review*, IV (1939), 681–702.

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[1] they control the entire segment of the Peilungwa Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[2] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[3] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[1] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[2] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[3]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaramian (Shasberman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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beginning of the world. Each of these ancestors is shared by a descent group ranging in size from the children of a father to the descendants of a totem. 611

The Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type.[6] Parallel cousins are all classed as siblings while cross cousins are called *mother*[7] or *maternal uncle* if they are related through the mother (i.e., mother's brother's children), and *nephew* if they are related through the father (i.e., father's sister's children). Age distinctions are made between siblings of the same sex but not between siblings of the opposite sex. Thus a boy has two terms, *elder sibling* and *younger sibling*, to refer to his brothers but classes all his sisters as *sister*. A girl uses *elder sibling* and *younger sibling* for her sisters but uses *brother* to refer to her brothers. The same terms are used and similar distinctions are made between parallel cousins. In the parental generation the father and his brothers are divided into three categories: *father*, *younger uncle*, and *elder uncle*, while father's sisters are called by a single term, *paternal aunt*. Similarly a mother's sisters are classed as *younger aunt* and *elder aunt*, while her brothers are all termed *maternal uncle*. There are two terms for grandparents, *paternal grandparent* and *maternal grandparent*. All ancestors above this are called by a single term, *ancestor*. Own children and the children of *elder siblings* and *younger siblings* are called *son* or *daughter*. A man calls his sisters' children "*nephew*," and a woman calls her brothers' children "*niece*." Grandchildren and grandchildren of siblings are called *grandchild*. 601

The sons and sons' sons of the mother's brother are also called *maternal uncle*, and his daughters and sons' daughters are called *mother*. The children of a mother's brother's daughter or of a mother's brother's son's daughter (i.e., of a *mother*) are classed as siblings. The descendants of one's

[6] Described by L. Spier in "The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America," *University of Washington Publication in Anthropology*, I, 69–88; and by G. P. Murdock (in MS.). [113]

[7] Italicized terms are the nearest English equivalent to the native term and refer to Kwoma kinship categories. Terms not italicized are used in their English sense.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was [595] named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [597] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [754] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell- 592

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[805] [19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [807] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [113] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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statement of the essential conditions for habit formation has been adapted from the theories of Pavlov, Thorndike, and Hull by Miller and Dollard.[1] Since this adaptation has been developed for use in the field of social learning, it precisely fulfills the requirements of this chapter. In order to learn, an animal must be motivated, he must act, he must perceive the cues that are present during his action, and he must gain satisfaction. In outline form the Miller-Dollard paradigm may be presented thus: There must be a

A. *Drive* or drives of sufficient intensity to produce a
B. *Response* or series of responses made in the presence of
C. *Cues* which stimulate the animal's receptors until a[2]
D. *Reward* reduces the intensity of the drive.

Whenever the above conditions occur, the bond which connects the drives and cues to the response is strengthened. That is, when the organism again experiences the same drive and the same cues, it will have a greater tendency to make the same response. In the early stages of learning the increment in the strength of the habit is large, but after the conditions represented in the paradigm have been frequently repeated, and the habit well established, the increments become progressively smaller. Each time the conditions expressed in the paradigm are repeated and the habit thereby strengthened, reinforcement may be said to have occurred.[3]

The drives which are of greatest importance in the process of socialization are: hunger, thirst, sex, colon distention, bladder distention, heat, cold, fatigue, and pain.[4] Each of these drives may vary in intensity, and this variation is a function of the interaction between the organism and the environment.

[1] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. ii.

[2] Cues are also present during and after the reward, but these are not relevant to the formation of the habit in question.

[3] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. ii; E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. 4; C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

[4] For a recent statement of socially relevant drives see H. A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (New York, 1938), pp. 67–89.

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121 The intensity of the hunger drive depends both upon metabolic processes within the organism and upon the amount and kind of food provided by the environment. The hunger becomes more intense as the number of hours of food deprivation increases. It becomes strong more quickly when the expenditure of energy increases the rate of metabolism. Its intensity is an inverse function of the amount of food previously ingested and depends in a complex manner upon the physiological needs of the organism and how adequately they have been satisfied by the types of food available. In a similar way the other drives vary in intensity according to processes which take place within the organism and according to factors in the external environment which need not be detailed here.[6]

Acquired drives, as well as the above-listed basic ones, motivate behavior and belong in category A of the Miller-Dollard paradigm. Although these acquired drives are most frequently found to be the immediate impelling force for social habits, their intensity and even their very existence depend upon a continued relationship with basic drives.[6] It is not necessary here to describe the manner in which acquired drives come into being, but simply to state that whereas basic drives depend upon the relationship between the organism and the environment, acquired drives depend, in addition, upon the past experience of the organism. In other words, acquired drives must themselves be learned. Fear,[7] anger,[8] the wish for prestige, the desire for money, the

[113] [6] The best evidence for the factors which govern the intensity of drives has been adduced by the physiologists; for hunger see W. B. Cannon, *The Wisdom of the Body* (New York, 1932); for a general statement see C. P. Richter, "Animal Behavior and Internal Drives," *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, II (1927), no. 3, pp. 307–343; for experimental evidence on drives see P. T. Young, *Motivation in Behavior* (New York, 1936).

[113] [6] For a detailed account of acquired drives see N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

[113] [7] See S. Freud, *The Problem of Anxiety* (New York, 1936); E. Zinn, "Anxiety, Clinically Viewed," and O. H. Mowrer, "Anxiety, Some Social and Psychological Implications," *Papers Presented before the Monday Night Group* (1939–40), pp. 116–144, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.

[115] [8] See John Dollard, *et al.*, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven,

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wish for words of praise, the craving for affection, and the various conditioned disgusts and appetites are examples of acquired drives. 121

The second essential of learning is that a response shall be made. Responses may be gross muscular, such as walking, running, throwing a spear; glandular, such as the secretion of gastric juices; verbal, such as issuing a command; or ideational, such as thinking, fantasying, or planning. In fact, any activity of the organism falls in the category of a response.

Cues, the third essential for learning, are those stimuli which act as guides in the performance of any response. They tell the organism when, where, and how to act. They may originate from objects outside the organism, such as patterns of light, sound, smell, taste, and touch, or they may arise within the organism, as in the case of feelings of hunger, thirst, bladder and colon distentions, stomach cramps, and stimuli arising from the movement of muscles.[9] A cue is thus any stimulus which is appreciated by an organism and which acts as a guide in the learning or performance of a habit.

Reward, the final essential condition for the formation of a habit, may be defined as an event which reduces the intensity of a drive. The ingestion of food reduces the hunger drive; drinking reduces thirst; sexual orgasm reduces the sex drive; defecation and urination reduce colon and bladder distentions; escape from heat, cold, fatigue, and pain effect the reduction of the heat, cold, fatigue, and pain drives.[10]

Since there are acquired drives, there are also corresponding acquired rewards. In so far as one is motivated to strive for social goals, he gains satisfaction from achieving them. Safety, high status, the destruction of enemies, the gaining

1939); N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv. [113]

[9] Both drives and cues are stimuli. When the intensity of a stimulus is its most important function, it may be spoken of as a drive, when it functions primarily as a guide, it may be referred to as a cue.

[10] The response which is most closely correlated in time with a reward is called a goal response.

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219–245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept of free trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33–54, 134–152.

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121 tried them.[18] For various reasons this accumulation of adap-
861 tive habits is passed on to the child. He does not simply learn to get along in the world; he is socialized. Thus an essential set of conditions for social learning is the behavior of the socializing agents. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of these conditions and their relation to social learning.

Before the analysis of teaching techniques is undertaken, several terms which are to be used should be defined. The terms "teacher" and "pupil" will be employed in a special sense, the former to mean anyone who attempts to change the habit structure of another person, the latter, any person whose habit structure is being so changed. Although Kwoma parents most frequently play the rôle of teacher, with their children as pupils, the teacher-pupil relation is not by any means restricted to them. Co-mothers, siblings, *paternal uncles* and *aunts*, and other relatives frequently play the rôle of teacher as well. The concept of teacher will also be extended in this context even to an adult who tries to influence the behavior of another adult. Although such behavior may be considered an act of aggression or coöperation, as the case may be, it is also a teacher-pupil relationship if a habit of the pupil is thereby strengthened or weakened.

A second set of terms will be used for responses, which will be characterized as "right," "not right," "wrong," and "not wrong." A right response is a specific act which the teacher wishes the pupil to make, whereas not right responses are all those acts which are incompatible with the right response under the given conditions. Similarly, a wrong response is a specific act which the teacher wishes the pupil not to make, and not wrong responses are all those acts which are incompatible with the wrong response under the given circumstances. These concepts may be illustrated from the cases which will be reported in detail below. When Wof punished Buka for failing to gather firewood, "getting firewood" was the right response, while playing, sleeping, eating, gossiping,

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[18] See A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution* (New York, 1929); W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), chap. v.

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ously sprained her ankle and was incapacitated, he told his adopted daughter, Buka, to replenish the supply of firewood, which was very low. When he returned late that afternoon, he discovered that Buka had not obeyed his command and that there was not even enough wood to cook the afternoon meal. He, therefore, called to Buka and, telling her that she was lazy and disobedient for not getting the wood, struck her several times on the back. Buka cowered and ran away crying. Wof continued for some time to scold her in a loud and angry voice. Since I observed her a few days thereafter going by my house with her net bag filled with firewood, the punishment was presumably effective.

In order not to make the error of taking the effect of punishment on the habit structure of a pupil for granted, it is expedient to analyze the above case in detail in accordance with the paradigm of learning. It can be seen from such an analysis that the drive was that of pain from a blow on the back; the responses were running away, and crying; the cues were the sight of Wof, his words of criticism for not having obeyed his command to get firewood, and the memory of his command; the reward was escape from the pain of the blow. From this analysis it is evident that the habit which was reinforced was that of running away and crying when the cues described above were present. Wof, presumably, did not wish to teach her this habit but rather that of getting the firewood when he told her to. Although the punishment evidently did have this effect, it has not yet been shown how this came about. It is necessary to introduce the principle of anticipation to explain it.

By the principle of anticipation[18] any response which is attached by reward to the last of a temporal series of cues tends to occur earlier in the series. Thus when Wof again commands Buka to get fire wood she will have a tendency to run away, to cry, and to make various visceral responses induced by pain. In other words she will have anxiety.[19] If she

[18] C. L. Hull, "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena," *Psychol. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1931), 487–506.

[19] Freud defines anxiety as the anticipation of pain. See S. Freud, *The*

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were to run away or cry under these circumstances, she would be doing something other than getting firewood. In other words she would be making not right responses as implied by Wof's statement of the reason for the punishment at the time of its occurrence. To run away and cry would therefore tend to raise her anxiety rather than to reduce it. Similarly, if she played, went to sleep, ate, or made any response other than getting firewood, her anxiety would not be reduced, for all such acts have been implicitly defined by her father as "not getting firewood responses." The only way in which she can reduce her anxiety is to get the firewood. When she does this and only when she does this, the real effect of punishment as a teaching technique becomes clear. The drive is anxiety; the response is getting firewood; the cue is her father's command; and the reward is the reduction of anxiety. It is thus that Wof's punishment was not in vain and did accomplish the effect that he desired.

The following case also illustrates the use of punishment by a Kwoma teacher. One afternoon, when several Rumbima children and adolescents were playing in front of my house, the ball which they were kicking bounded into the bushes. Gwiyap, an adolescent, commanded Ham, a child, to fetch it, and when he refused kicked him in the buttocks. Ham ran away crying. Several days later the situation was repeated, and this time Ham ran away as soon as Gwiyap issued the command. Weeks later I observed Ham obediently fetch the ball, at first only after he was ordered to and later on his own initiative.

In the above case the drive was the pain from Gwiyap's kick; the response was running away and crying; the cues were the ball in the bushes, the sight of Gwiyap, and the sound of his commands; the reward was escape from the pain

[113] *Problem of Anxiety* (New York, 1936). O. H. Mowrer has developed this thesis and urged that anxiety is a learned response based upon an anticipatory response to pain. See O. H. Mowrer, "A Stimulus Response Analysis of Anxiety," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 553–565. Miller has shown that the acquired drive value of anxiety is based upon the response-produced stimuli of an antedating pain reaction. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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of being kicked. From the principle of reinforcement it could 121
be predicted that Ham would learn to run away when these 861
cues were again present. Observation bore this out. It could further be predicted that he was also reinforced on this occasion, the reward being escape from anxiety. However, just as Wof presumably did not wish to teach Buka to run away, so Gwiyap wanted to teach Ham to fetch the ball for him rather than to escape. That he was successful in doing so remains to be explained. It has been shown in a previous chapter that Kwoma children spend most of their time playing with other children, an activity which is apparently rewarding to them and hence one which comes to have the value of an acquired reward. Exclusion from playing with one's fellows should thus have an acquired drive value. There is no evidence that Ham was exceptional in these respects. Therefore each time that he ran away, although by so doing he achieved the reward of the reduction of pain or anxiety, he was thrown into another situation of discomfort. The acquired drive to play with his fellows was aroused. This placed him in a conflict situation:[20] to play aroused the fear of being kicked; not to play aroused the discomfort arising from being excluded from the game. Ham finally solved this dilemma by obeying Gwiyap's command. On this occasion, if the above analysis is correct, the drives were the fear of being kicked and the wish to play with his fellows; the response was fetching the ball; the cues were the ball in the bushes and Gwiyap's command; and the rewards were escape from being kicked and joining in the ball game. Thus Gwiyap's kick finally did have the desired effect, but only after time had elapsed and after a rather complicated series of psychological events had occurred to Ham.

This analysis suggests that another factor may have been operating in the case of Wof and Buka. She might have learned not only to run away from Wof, but to stay away from him. Unless some relative were willing to care for her,

[20] For a discussion of the factors governing conflict see N. E. Miller and J. S. Brown, "Conflict, an Analysis of Approach and Avoidance" (in preparation). [113]

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121 861 [192] [196] the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[25]

121 626 602 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] [25] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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121 86 teachers which does not depend upon pain or fear is that of inciting. This consists of presenting to the pupil the verbal symbols which have been associated with reward along with instructions as to how to achieve such reward. The following [262 177] case will serve as an illustration. At a coöperative work feast given by Nambomai, my Yambon houseboy, one of the foods prepared was stewed apricots. Gwiyap took it upon himself to teach some of the adults present to eat this food, which was hitherto unknown to them. To do this he said: "It is good. It tastes like ripe bananas." Afolawanj, an old man who was somewhat of a clown, was thus tempted to try some, but he had no sooner taken a mouthful than he spit it out, and refused to eat any more.

In the above case the drive was the appetite evoked by Gwiyap's statement that the stewed fruit tasted like ripe bananas; the response was eating; the cues were Gwiyap's instructions to eat and the sight, smell, and taste of the fruit; the reward was absent. Since there was no reward in this sequence it could be predicted that learning would not take place. The fact that Afolawanj did not again try the fruit is evidence that this was indeed the case. It could also be predicted that Afolawanj would have a decreased tendency to follow Gwiyap's instructions,[30] but I do not know whether or not this was true.

War's attempt to incite Mes and Mar provides a more dramatic instance of the use of this technique. When the Hongwam were planning a head-hunting raid on the Sowal, War, who was the prime mover in the affair, spent a whole evening at the house tamberan inciting Mar and Mes to go on the raid. He described to them all the advantages that they would gain from taking a head—that all the girls would want to marry them, that they could become members of *Nokwi*, that they would gain high prestige so that their words would be listened to at the court meetings, that their

[30] This follows from the principle of extinction. When a response is not [113] followed by a reward, the connection between this response and the preceding cues is reduced in strength. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. v; N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iii.

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tions. Since both threats and instructions have been analyzed, it is not necessary to discuss commanding in detail, but it should be stated that it is an extremely important method of teaching.

Providing rewards, the third general category of teaching techniques, is also employed by the Kwoma. It consists of providing a reward after a pupil has made a right response. A teacher may use this technique after he has motivated and guided the pupil, or he may use it when either the motivation or the guidance or both have been supplied by some other agency. The general category of rewarding may be subdivided into helping, giving, and praising.

Kwoma teachers take advantage of the fact that a pupil can satisfy but few of his drives, either basic or acquired, without the aid of another person or persons.[35] Being helped is thus in many cases the *sine qua non* for achieving a reward. Teachers may, therefore, employ helping as a means of rewarding the right response of a pupil. They use this technique primarily to teach the pupil coöperative habits. In other words, teachers most frequently help a pupil after the pupil has helped them. The technique of helping is thus one of the important methods of transmitting that part of the culture which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity.[36]

Giving is closely allied to helping as a technique of reward, being used in the same coöperative context. If a teacher gives a pupil something, it is significant as a reward because the teacher has done the work of producing or otherwise obtaining the gift, and thus relieves the pupil of the necessity of doing the same himself. Gifts in Kwoma are of food, tools, or shell money. Barter and exchange are a form of reciprocal

[35] Malinowski has shown that all cultural habits are an integral part of institutions which imply the cooperative efforts of an organized group of persons for the satisfaction of a need. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), no. 6, pp. 952-54.

[36] Hull has suggested a psychological basis for this in the principle of reciprocal reinforcement. C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. ix, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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had previously experienced for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9–30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

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lowed him. Mey's behavior can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear caused both by my whistling and by the sight of Mar starting to run while he remained; the response was running after Mar; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Had not Mar run away first, Mey might have discovered some other means of reducing his fear, but by imitating Mar he learned to avoid ghosts in the same manner as his older *brother*. Kwoma pupils in a similar manner learn to avoid *marsalai*, to protect themselves from the dangers of sorcery, and to escape the dangers associated with blood. Thus imitation is an important mechanism for the transmission of supernatural beliefs and practices.

Chance as a factor in maintaining supernatural beliefs has long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists.* The data from Kwoma tend to support this theory. Storms occur so frequently that it would be extraordinary if one did not occasionally occur after a person has disturbed the dwelling place of a *marsalai*, and this would help to prevent the extinction of the habit of heeding. The following case illustrates this point. Yat had cleared a garden site near a large rock thought to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. When the time came to burn the dried brush and branches, a necessary step in the process of gardening, he expressed some anxiety lest this might anger the *marsalai* which lived in the rock, but nevertheless went ahead with his burning. That night there was a bad storm with a high wind, and Yat took this as proof of his belief that he had indeed angered the supernatural being. Wof, Gwiyap, and Mar all explained the storm in the same way. The next time that there was a bad storm, I said to Gwiyap: "Yat didn't disturb a *marsalai* today. How do you account for the storm?" Gwiyap replied: "Maybe Yat didn't, but someone else did. Probably it was one of those stupid people from Wanyi."

Chance also operates to support warnings about ghosts. Marok and Kar stayed visiting in a part of the tribe some distance from their home until after dark, thus not heeding

* See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1928), vol. II, chap. xxi.

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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Thus, not only can the supernatural fears of pupils extinguish, but so also can the fears of the teachers become reduced in the same way, so that they no longer maintain these beliefs by sanctioning them.

The fact that Kwoma children can learn not to heed, and Kwoma parents to stop issuing and sanctioning unrealistic warnings, raises a serious question. Why does this not occur more frequently? Why, in the course of time, have not all these supernatural beliefs disappeared as a result of this process? The answer to this is suggested by one of the basic postulates of the functional theory of anthropology. Parents continue to issue unrealistic warnings and to sanction them because they form an integral part of one or more systems of beliefs, customs, and organized activities which, as a whole, satisfy a social need.[14]

The belief in *marsalai* forms a large part of the charter[15] of the yam cult.[16] *Marsalai* are believed to be present whenever this cult holds a ceremonial meeting and to bless those who participate. In playing the instruments of the cult, the members are producing a representation of the voices of these beings. After a ceremony, no man who has attended may have intercourse with his wife, because the powerful and dangerous influence of the cult *marsalai* still clings to him, and might injure her. Thus, were the belief in these monsters to disappear, the Kwoma would be forced either to provide a new *raison d'être* for their cult ceremonies or to give them up altogether. It is not necessary here to present a detailed account of the functions of the cult, but a few of them may be mentioned to show how important this institution is in Kwoma society. The most direct function of the cult seems

[14] See B. Malinowski, "The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology," *Reale Academia D'Italia*, XVIII (1940), 22.

[15] Every institution consists in part of the traditional purposes and reasons for its existence which are believed by the members of the personnel. Malinowski has called this the charter. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 952–954.

[16] The personnel, norms, and material apparatus of this institution can be gathered from the descriptive chapters. The charter and functions are stressed here because of their importance in this context.

Chapter I Orientation[1]

131 The Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Prince Alexander Mountains, just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta. 131 This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is 133 bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed by a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast rolling watershed 133 of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter s, plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitious; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

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[113] 1 For the following orientation, certain materials are quoted from the published reports on the Kwoma listed below:

"Kwoma Culture," John W.M. Whiting and Stephen W. Reed, Oceania, Vol. IX, No. 2, December 1938, pp. 170-216.
Becoming a Kwoma, John W.M. Whiting, Yale University Press, 1941.

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selves with the problem of the transmission of culture as a process, or had published their reports when this study was projected, it was determined to make a field study of the problem rather than a cross-cultural inquiry based upon the literature.

A preliminary field trip with Professor George P. Murdock to the Tenino Indians of Oregon demonstrated the feasibility of the project and provided valuable ethnographic experience. This work, however, indicated the desirability of choosing a tribe which was not "broken down" by contact with the whites. It proved difficult to study how Indians brought up their children when most of them were away at the government school learning the three R's.

On my return from this field trip, I found that Mr. Stephen W. Reed was also anxious to make a study of a primitive society. Together we picked New Guinea as an area which would best suit our requirements. The ethnographic literature concerning the island showed that the tribes were small and homogenous, government weakly developed, castes and classes lacking, and economic specialization slight. It seemed, therefore, that the criterion of simplicity would here be fulfilled. There was also a strange series of rites of passage, which, it appeared, would provide a contrast to our own culture. Finally, since New Guinea is one of the world's last frontiers—much of it, indeed, is still unexplored—we hoped to find a tribe which was little affected by contact with Europeans. Fortunately for us, Professor Richard Thurnwald was in New Haven at the time, and with his advice we were able to narrow our field to the Sepik River district of the Mandated Territory.

Since work with Professor Dollard indicated that the hypotheses developed by Freud were outstanding among the theories of socialization and since it seemed probable that the psychoanalytic method of interviewing might be useful in the field, I began a training analysis during the following winter. I worked under Mr. Earl Zinn for five months before leaving for the field.

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Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in.

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information.

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance.

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This

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114 made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet
[133] to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was
[124] for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

122 The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty.
124 Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

128 On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

[5] Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

765 [534] [535]

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hagamakzeo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [597] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

[754]

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

[805] [807] [813]

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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829 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
• 114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[23] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried
[721] out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[23] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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About a dozen of the Hongwam obeyed this command but said that it was impossible to take the luggage by land. The patrol officer scolded them because more had not come and told them that they lied about the road being impassable. He explained that two white men were coming to stay with them for a long time to learn their language and customs. He then ordered them to return home and gather as many men as possible the next afternoon at the foot of the mountain, where we would land after taking the river route by canoe, to carry our baggage. The patrol officer decided to go to Kwoma with us because it was an appropriate time to make his yearly visit to the tribe and because there was also a special matter to attend to. Several Hongwam natives had signed a contract to work on a plantation but had bolted back home before their time was completed. It was the patrol officer's job to make them fulfill their contracts. We were accompanied into Kwoma territory, therefore, by the patrol officer and a company of police boys. On the day after our arrival he commanded all the natives to assemble at Rumbima house tamberan near which we had camped. When they arrived he took the annual roll call and recorded births and deaths. He scolded the natives because many of them had not responded to the assembly summons. He said that the excuse of being away in their gardens was not sufficient and unless they all came on his next visit there would be trouble. Then he asked where the four runaways were. No one knew. He said that if they came with him to fulfill their contract all would be well, but that if they did not they would be hunted out and put in jail. In response to this threat one gave himself up, but the other three remained hidden. The patrol officer then announced to the assembled tribe that we had come to study their language and customs and were going to stay a long time. He ordered them to build a house for us and warned them that if anyone harmed us he would be severely punished by the government.

In order to complete the description of the status of a white man in Kwoma culture, it should be noted that white recruiters had on several occasions visited the tribe in person,

2: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1970 OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Preface

128 This manuscript consists of the journal I kept while doing field work
114 on a tribe which eventually came to be known as the Kwoma. It covers the
121 period between September 1936 - May 1937. The late Professor Stephen Reed, then a fellow graduate student, accompanied me up the Sepik River to Kwoma territory where we worked together for 4½ months. At this time he left because his thesis problem required a comparison of the Kwoma with a more acculturated New Guinea peoples, whereas I was interested in an intensive
128 study of socialization among the Kwoma. Most of the diary is my journal with only slight editing to clarify shorthand and some of the pidgin English expressions. Some of these, however, have been left in, and a glossary provided as a key to understanding them. Some of the native terms are also left in the text. They are, however, usually defined in context, but if not, they should appear in the glossary of native terms. (Refer to pages 228-244.)

Although most of the journal is mine, in several instances Mr. Reed, or Tip, as he is referred to in the journal, took a turn. It will be noticed that their understanding of the social culture of the Kwoma is quite confused. At the beginning of the journal, we are at first under the impression that "Waskuk and Bangus" are either moieties of some tribe or neighboring tribes. It eventually dawned on us that they are divisions imposed upon the Kwoma by the British patrol officers. (Where they got the terms I was never able to find out, but they in fact had no reference to any structural reality of the Kwoma culture, except perhaps that Waskuk was translated with Bangus; and Waskuk, by the way, is the name which appears on Australian maps, and is also the name used by Margaret Mead who had previously visited the Kwoma). In addition to the journal, the case histories of two of my close friends and assistants have been appended.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwem subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayemakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbima hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayemakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line.
592 Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five
361 brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us
[613] was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our
[114] hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Hay (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Yowaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

1 [i.e. Hard-Analyst]

Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk* with a finish/timer as their spokesman, declared that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably testing us out to see whether we were "missin" or not, for yesterday construction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed an outhouse for us.

342 Numb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of strips bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Numb is now making a bed. The uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles to the slats. Numb is very proud of his house and considers it quite superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wiaep's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[483] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

123 There was an interesting occurrence when we were giving out the laplaps. We had just cut the last one that was wanted when up stepped Hamb, a youth of about seven who always went around naked as the others of his age. I couldn't help laughing at this and said, "Oh, come now Hamb, you don't want a laplap". The Washuk joined in the kidding and laughter, and as a result the poor boy was quite put out and began to look very hurt and tears came to his eyes. Whether or not the others would have kidded him without my starting it or not, I don't know. Anyhow, I felt sorry for him and gave him a small piece of cloth.

After the payment was all settled and everyone seemed to be satisfied; I walked down the hill to the stream to bathe. On the way, several of the Washuk "finished timers" spoke to me in a hushed voice as if they were telling me a secret of great importance. They said there was to be a "singsing" the day after tomorrow at Bongus and that we could watch it. I thanked them and am looking forward to the event.

October 13, 1936.

• 114 Yesterday passed rather uneventfully except that I tried to make a deck chair with a piece of canvas and some saplings bound together. I didn't have enough canvas to finish it, and the part that I did finish was rather rickety. Hamb said it was no good and to throw it away, and I guess he was right. At lunch, I was determined to try the gypsy stove which we had brought with us. Hamb had refused to use it, considering his open fire much better. I transferred some embers from the fire to the stove and tried to kindle them in the stove. Some of the Washuks were 372 watching and took over after my unsuccessful attempts. To make a fire they put a live ember under a little pile of dry chips, and after blowing on it, very shortly have a flame going. For firewood they use a very dry

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

• 114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Kumb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Kumb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Kar and Kumb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost 346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

[123]

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Purari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an altar formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has [797] [91] [291] [177] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, é, o, u and ŭ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ar. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvCV.
126 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. He is the imperative particle, sage expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, particularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
[123] the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[177] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
858 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done [439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organ-
615 ization. Both Bangus and Waskuk have three phratries each with a name and a
582 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratry of his father and cannot marry a woman of this phratry. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratry with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [141] [614] In the afternoon, Sovinambi, the Bangus lulusi (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his genealogy were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Nasb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 [415] Next a bamboo filled with water (the usual method of carrying water) was carried up the ladder by Afalowanj, an old man; he was assisted by two other men in washing the body. Meanwhile the "savvy talks" broke the points of two spears formerly belonging to the deceased. These were passed up the ladder to the cubicle and lashed crossways over the body. The arms and legs of the body were lashed to the floor, and the burial was complete. The undertakers climbed down the ladder and went off to wash, saying that they would meet me at the house tamberan, where sortly[1] thereafter the gong tolled. As I was leaving, I heard one of the women inside of the house sobbing instead of wailing in the patterned manner.

754 Wof and some others were already at the house tamberan when I arrived. Later some of those who had officiated at the funeral came. The conversation once again turned to poison. Kwonai described the process by which he considered the men to have been killed. The group had calmed down considerably and now discussed the affair much more matter-of-factly than they had previously. They were still bitter toward the perpetrator of the deed and seemed to be afraid for their own safety. Kwonai told me someone had stolen a bit of food which the deceased had carelessly thrown away; the evil doer had then carried it to Koriyasi, who had performed a magical rite on it. They had put the leavings in a tall narrow pot, filled it half full of water, and let it boil away until only the sediment of the food remains were left. A bamboo of cold water was then poured into the pot and on the fire. That is followed by an explosion of steam. The food disappears, and soon afterward the man died.

114 October 28-Nov. 9, 1936. A week ago Friday, October 30, Tip and I went in to Ambunti to spend the weekend for the sake of a holiday. Bob Overall had brought the mail up the river that morning, so we were greeted with a very welcome packet of letters. George and Max (a medical assistant

[1] [i.e., shortly - analyst]

114 stationed at Ambunti) were very gracious to us. We relaxed, talked, played cards, and read. Tip went back Monday, but Max persuaded me to stay at the station until the sores on my legs were cleared up. I had gathered quite a number of these by scratching mosquito bites until they became infected. The sores were not bad, but Max was afraid that they might turn into tropical ulcers if they were not attended to. By Thursday I was completely cured and already had my luggage packed in the canoe when the gongs began beating at Malu, a couple of miles down the river, announcing a pinnace. I decided to wait in case there might be more mail. It was Townsend, the District Officer in charge of the whole Sepik area making a patrol of the sub-stations. Soon after he arrived another pinnace arrived. It was bringing Purshouse, a cadet who was to accompany Townsend up the river to the Yellow River station. Counting McKechney, the engineer of Townsend's pinnace, that made six Europeans at the station--quite a remarkable occurrence. Max and George had to combine resources to seat us all that night for dinner. The mail situation was disappointing--only three Sydney papers and the September issue of the Pacific Island Monthly. I got a ride on the pinnace up to the lake below Waskuk. They towed my canoe; it was a much more comfortable mode of travel. Once, however, the pinnace turned suddenly to avoid a log, and the canoe filled with water and almost swamped. I held it up by the tow rope while the natives bailed it out. My luggage, however was soaked, but there was no serious damage.

796 November 9, 1936. Tip was in good health when I returned. There had been a
346 singsing while I was gone to celebrate the building of a new house tamberan.
346 (I will copy his notes) " The new house tamberan belongs to Soniyambi of the wayambanri sib at Bangus. It may be said to start when the 1'x1½' center posts (kwati) and beams and rafters are cut and stripped of their

796 346 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing will go on to its conclusion."

755 754 [796] The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of the Bangus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within [123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The [753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we [123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wie not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our [372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

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482 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders. We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering. Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves, but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi, and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

126 which seems to mean 'sacred' is the term for the ghosts of powerful men,
196 for the big masks on the alter at the "singsing", and is a special term of greeting meaning something like 'hail, powerful man' or perhaps more accurately it is a sort of cult shibboleth. Then there is sukwiyawf which is 'to dream' and sukwif which is the term for "singsing" and another term for the sacred masks. Since they translate dreaming into pidgin as "look in tamberunk(ghosts)," there are seems to be some connection which may throw some interesting light on their theory of dreams. We have already noted that the subject of their dreams is almost universally dead people. Such a bias would have to be allowed for if any Freudian interpretation was attempted....Then there is the term wofu which means 'mother's brother's wife' and 'lungs'. This we can make no sense of except that the lungs are thought to be non-functional appurtenances.

124 This reminds me that a week or so ago, Kar, one of the most intelligent of the "savvy talks", came in and we got from him their knowledge of anatomy. (See Part III, Ethnophysiology)

● 114 To get back to the present, after we had finished the dictionary, there was a rainy spell. No informants came around, and we did not feel like sloshing around to look them up. Both of us were pretty low. We figured that we hadn't gotten anything worth while, and the chances of our doing so were pretty slim. We felt that the people were so scattered about that it was very difficult to observe anything like village life, let alone anything on our special projects. We even thought of moving to some other place - Yambon, for instance. We were not very serious about this, however, because it would not be worth while to lose what little we already had.

124 The only thing to break the monotony of the rainy days was a great deal of talk one evening down below at Wof's house. He is our nearest neighbor and his house is about forty or fifty yards down the hill. This talk kept
000 up long after they were settled for the night. It turned out the next

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Mamok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125 here in a few days on his patrol.
657]

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get geneologies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term naremboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[264] yet know. Later on when one's naremboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwan. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiop". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwum "navi-talk" . He came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabenkurs women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to
[648] protect themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm
[123] sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called samba and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwum. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's samba. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwum sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwum in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

745 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a maze of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to board them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukau. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My monki, Gwiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raised' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

648 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy
657 place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Max left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days
648 tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with
[439] them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from
[198] them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come
[193] up one time with some of our Hongwem; and the Kwoma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Varey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

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Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Mamb thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "ume go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dozen times since buying it from Max Mann when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached Sombundure, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that the pig had come for its morning meal. [439] They showed us what they were paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dozen two foot ropes of ½ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks. In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Mamb and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the woman still stood close by and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

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broadside shot at not more than thirty feet. I drew a quick aim and fired - the pig, just ahead of Hamb, instead of dropping in its tracks, went bounding off into the bush. This was very bad, for not only would the sale fall through but the pig might go off and die in the bush. So a chase started then that was to last until after noon. John had come up with his .22 with a crowd of men as soon as they had heard us fire. We all began to scour the bush nearby and to get scoured ourselves by creepers, branches and nettles. The men and boys suddenly all had spears and the hunt was on. We who had guns were called all over the district by people who had just seen the pig. John saw it once and had two shots at it, but the .22 didn't kill it.

When we gathered together again at Marok's house, speculation was rife as to what had happened. Hamb swore that we both had hit it and that he had seen the holes the bullets had made. Inasmuch as I found the one bullet I was able to fire in the ground under the spot where the pig had stood, I am almost sure that I didn't hit it. Hamb's story was believed by [778] most everyone. Then it appeared that the pig was sugiliwas, and some supernatural agency had come down into it and given it power to run away. Marok seemed very proud of what the pig had done and told us that the pig was his people's (Wanyi) totem. Some said that it was naara, his sugiliwas, that was in the beast and wouldn't let it go until night because it didn't want Marok to sell his pig. We were quite willing to accept any such explanation for the sake of our reputations as marksmen.

The wear and tear on our clothes and bodies during the morning was terrific. John turned his nose into a yam stick in a headlong fall down a muddy slope, and I got a stitch in my side which made my eyes pop from answering false alarms at the house on top of the mountain. A hairless goat might feel at home in these surroundings, but as yet we can't even bleat.

114 February 11, 1936. Since the last installment, there had been a trip to Yambon where the mosquitoes were plentiful and the heat intense: a long forlorn wait at Ambunti for a pinnace to take us down the river for Christmas, but none came; a trip to Tangwishamp where they told me that the next village had murdered Mr. Eve and all his party, which got me pretty scared; a visit from Bob Overall, a recruiter, who bought five boys here and entertained us for three days with tales of his experiences on the river and elsewhere; and a trip to the Yellow river station by Tip, who will write about it later in this document.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarise the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik river runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a s, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwam would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, May, Fit, Mar, Kam, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's nareuboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

114 [123] down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Mow came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Varey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to baths, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomarrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver, .44, a shot gun and the .22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

231 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite
123 a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the
114 pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>augiliwas</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Memb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

254 Later Yat came up and said that Suw was all right. Someone had
648 admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat
464 and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a 'singsing' rhythm from Wenyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
504 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told
[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

● 114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar, Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
123 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
439 near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbiman" (from Rumbim) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwam were
[124] friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwam always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
[123] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wisepeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned.
521 Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration
648 purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the
[123] house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and
[721] settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwans would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that, looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

114 the boys decided that the best thing to do was to pack up and start home at once. It was moonlight, but I decided that would be very foolish. I also thought that if watch was to be kept the most important time to be on guard was just before dawn because most raids take place then. I also knew that this would be the time that the guards would dose off, so I slept, or rather tried to sleep, the first part of the night. About three I got up and kept a look-out the rest of the night. I had a flashlight which I would focus on the surrounding bush at intervals. Sure enough; the boys began to dose off one by one, and for a couple of hours I was the only one awake, except once in a while one or another of the boys would rouse sleepily to replenish the fire. The moon had been shining brightly, but it went down about four o'clock. With it went most of the mosquitos, which had been terrific before. Dawn came and nothing had happened. I began to feel quite foolish for having been so scared. Kar suggested that we go down and look at my Naramboi's house. I almost did, but the boys were already packed up and anxious to leave, so we decided against it. We called out for the "savvy talk" who lived nearby and told him we were going and would report the Eve business to the police.

When we got to Urambanj, we asked if the story about Eve was straight. Kar looked embarrassed and said he didn't know. Later Kar talked to him and then he said, "Yes, it is true." We got some coconuts and food there and also some pig.

We got to the foot of the mountain below Dumus and washed in a stream there. It was Mundik's turn to carry the heavy box, but when we told him, he did not answer, but picked up the axes, which he had been carrying before, and went off ahead. Everyone yelled at him to stop, but we went on unheeding. For a while he kept just ahead of us, but then he disappeared altogether.

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 464 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tulcul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before [593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 754 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 754 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 464 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Hamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Waynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 114 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 202 [534] January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun marf" was dying and they were calling her relatives

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and Mey this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

439 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunkat" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunkat' for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Mas and Owiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Mdowsy house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439
February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

224 [578] [648] made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungawi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandayn has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Hayamakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 627 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 241 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Kwal was cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, May, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

114 [224] near Wer's. He was building a bannie (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mas cut it up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific. We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which were at Mar's . We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa was teaching Mar and Mas. He was very patient with them. He would sing out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mas slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa on the other. This morning Pokodaya left early. Mar, Mas and I had breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's prop. Then we went back to the house. Mas took a short trip and came back with a bunch of bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mas is his nephew, it is all right. We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to us but asked us to pay Latai. Awambeku and Apinokw came to help carry my bed back, and we returned. Pokotayn and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

[754] Yawangamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to Wisep's house and called out to us that he saw a man running down the road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to the house tamberan to find Wef, Marok et al there. They came out and claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out for poison. (Hamb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night. They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from TS# 755 Wenyabenkure this evening. They were making the rounds of Hongrom, getting

533 Namb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. May and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to May and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wenya similar to the poison beatings. 685 [533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawa, Ambs, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a vatokolei about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

123 685 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then May repeated the evidence against him. He [648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gesha).

May just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, in i no mankt belong yu in i big felo man. in i no bilong mather felo bammis, belong Kambisman dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [377] [136] [578] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chimwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mes is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mes realised that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[838]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Gwiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night.. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely *kwaiio mesi* (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister.
"Big fela more" --they had carried Way's pig and Mauk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup
to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my *loke* (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

114 Watakaup came in the afternoon with an invitation to come to Ambunti. I think I'll go.

April 22, 1937.. It was raining this morning, so I decided not to go to Ambunti but sent Mar and Mas to get kerosene, flour, etc. I went down to [289] War's to look at his house. The whole family was at home. The women were sewing mat bags, as well as War who was sewing a bag. His was working a wafe ngasa from afosamp bone. Kar was lying on a bed sick.

I went up to the house tamberan to get its construction. Way was shaping the outside of a gong, but the mosquitoes drove me home. I sent 836 Owiyap and May to wash clothes. Owiyap came back full of excitement about Gwanta. He had seen her on the way, and she let it be known she wanted to have intercourse with him. He bribed Gwanta with 2 razors, one for him and one for her, to come and tell him when she next went down to get water so he could meet her there. He said he was going to ask her to come and sleep [593] with him at Wisep's house in his "klambu". She had suggested it the other night but her father had forbade her.

This afternoon he put on Mar's singlets and a brand new orange "lap lap" and went down the hill. He stayed all afternoon. Tonight he said he had called at May's house. Gwanta and her mother were there--they sat and talked. She was sitting on the bed, and he asked her if there were plenty of "nats nats." She said yes. Then he told her if they bothered her too much to come up and sleep in his mosquito net. She said she would. Gwamb who was also there, said he would come too, but Gwanta said no--how many people do you think the net will hold. Mar remarked that she did not call him by his name and that she told him not to go with me but to stay.

754 May and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tangwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and sb were suspected.

Hwal and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Hwal and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (sugilewas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwam, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mar and Mas had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Mas' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overall.

123 685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left May in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Owiyap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. May first accused Kis, but War enumerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Soubundura and had come back after I had returned.

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp [583] tongue. With her lives Yawa who is Mar's fiancee. It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yawa gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Gwiyap and May.

He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Minjama yam cult [156] ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yenama and Minjama, while he is only a member of the former.

October 14, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He [114] said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Hamb and Wisap, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap."

October 25, 1936.

115 Mar is becoming tired of our continued questioning lately and will sometimes pretend not to hear us when we call him to verify the pronunciation of some word. He is apt to walk out of the room the minute we pause in our questioning. Yesterday we spent half an hour trying to get the Kwoma word for nose, but could not make him understand what we wanted although we tried innumerable methods of trying to obtain the information.

October 29, 1936.

[584] This afternoon Mar went up the hill for a while. When he returned he was quite excited and said he had been looking at a woman whom he might later have for a wife. He was dancing around with a broad grin on his face.

November 13, 1936.

[123] Lately Mar has taken to calling me papa. This happened after we arranged a kinship relation with Owiyap, May and ourselves, but Mar has done this without suggestion from us.

Yesterday there was talk of a fight with Tangwishamp. Most of the Kwoma men were gathered to talk things over, but Mar did not go. We asked him why not and he was quite positive about not wanting to fight.

[114] The other evening Yat was in, and we talked of going to Yessa, a river tribe above Yambon. Owiyap said he would take us there. We asked Mar if he would like to come, but he said no. When we went to Ambunti, May and Owiyap wanted to go with us, but Mar again said he would stay and take care of our house. Neither did he want to go to Wogu (a tribe across the river we were planning to visit) with us.

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] [464] [583] [476] [614] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.

January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Naub, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] [154] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; War, particularly, always sorcerises people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37-53).

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[15] [23] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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CHAPTER V

ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumblima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

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CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 AKWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbhma hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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• 115

Gwiyap, our best informant, wearing a laplap which he had earned working for us as a house boy. *See Chapter V.*

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115

[For additional information about informants, see category 116, pp. 140-170.]

124 evidence that it formerly existed; marriage--matrilocal, with gift of shells from boy's family to girl's; residence after marriage--patrilocal; and enough on language to enable us to understand vaguely what the old men are saying as they sit around the fire.

115 [648] Yesterday, a Mr. Eve came to Waskuk. He is a surveyor for "Oil Search" Ltd. and has been all through the country between the Sepik and the Dutch border except for one little corner. Most of this country hasn't been traversed by anyone but him, and we spent a most interesting afternoon with him. He has made incidental anthropological notes as he passed through - such as house form, village arrangement and size, clothing, etc. He has all the names of the native villages in this area that he has seen (I guess he had not missed many), and he is going to let us make a rough copy of it this afternoon, and tell us what he knows about the vill gas at the same time. I should say that we were very much in luck to meet such a man. He had a lot to say about Thurnwald and admired his work very much. He said that he didn't get half the credit he deserved for his pioneering work. For instance, Champion and Karius only had to go eight miles (just over the limestone barrier) from the headwaters of the Fly to connect up with Thurnwald's work of years before, but they do not mention this. Another interesting thing that he has run across is a tribe in the interior which has a whistling language. Luckily he has two work boys from this place with him now, and I am going to see if I can get anything from them on their language and their tribe this afternoon while Tip works on the map.

DECEMBER 1. Mr. Eve stayed here three days and lived up to expectation. Tip made a copy of the map and got quite a few notes on the tribes that Eve had visited...enough to give a rough idea of where to go to future field workers. Had we met him before we settled here, I think we could

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred --not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs [124] which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the [123] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to [196] tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilewas

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Har (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sowbundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors. They came up

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 **Menus**

252 **Informant: Gwiyap:**

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup soup (Cuscus fore)

Informant: Gwiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: Mey

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, ghey)

Informant: Awa

nilingi (breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yentiki (lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bongwi (dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 Informant: May
264
115 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago
262 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit
noon-- a little pigeon meat
2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago
1 cup yam soup
5:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago
6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Mar
7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago
2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago
3 cups soup (meat)
night-- 4 boiled sago

Appendix 3

115
621
551
613
162

INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF KUMBIMA HAMLET

Note: The people of Kumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWARU	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Amba	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIN	4	Wasahof
ANGEMAR	1	Wasahof
ASAWAMPA	adult	Other.
Awe	15	Mangwiyow
Aye	16	Wasahof
Bore	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chimawa	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAMANGI	36	Wasahof
Dewi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Famba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKUTAY	35	Wasahof
Gege	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huwena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAR	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAP	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayamaka	7	Wasahof
KEWARI	adult	Other
KIS	25	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALOMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiye	15	Mangwiyow
KWOKAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWOKAYI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

115	Name	Age	Lineage
621	KWOS	8	Wasahof
162	LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
	Mana	12	Mangwiyow
551	MANO	24	Mangwiyow
	MAR	18	Mangwiyow
613	MAROK	25	Mangwiyow
	Mbwimbwi	adult	Mangwiyow
	MERIK	5	Mangwiyow
	MES	18	Wasahof
	MEY	12	Mangwiyow
	MOETSI	Old man of Mongwon - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
	MUNDIK	young adult	Other
	Nanaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nambomai.
	NAMBOMAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
	Nawa	adult	Wasahof
	NAWARANGEN	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
	Ngwiye	adult	Wasahof
	NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
	BOB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
	Panba	17	Mangwiyow
	PWISAMBI	adult	Other
	SOF	adult	Other
	SOWINAMBI	adult	Other. Cicatriser
	SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
	Sunga	adult	Mangwiyow
	SUW	3	Mangwiyow
	TAKAWUR	38	Mangwiyow
	Toka	6	Mangwiyow
	Uka	24	Mangwiyow
	WAR	34	Mangwiyow
	WARAMUS	50	Wasahof
	WAY	46	Mangwiyow
	WENYAMEKJ	old man	Other
	WINGAWI	adult	Other
	WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
	WIYANGAWC	adult	Other. Cicatriser.
	WOF	45	Mangwiyow
	Yana	adult	Mangwiyow
	YAT	32	Mangwiyow
	Yawa	15	Wasahof
	Yawaka	5	Wasahof
	Yimba	18 mos.	Mangwiyow

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BECOMING A KWOMA

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TEACHING AND LEARNING IN A NEW GUINEA TRIBE

BY

JOHN W. M. WHITING

With a Foreword by John Dollard

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FOREWORD

THE problems of diffusion, or the horizontal transmission of culture, are widely known and have been well studied. The problems of socialization, or the transmission of culture from one generation to the next, have scarcely been isolated as legitimate or necessary objects of scientific research. The pioneer work of Sapir, Mead, Radin, Underhill, Hallowell, and Dyk, among many others, has brought the problem of socialization to the fore in the field of anthropology and given it the characteristic label of culture and personality. Some of these workers, especially Sapir, Mead, and Radin, have profited by contact with the Freudian stream of ideas concerning individual development. A knowledge of the relativity of culture has set the framework for problems of culture and personality in the widest sense; Freudian researches in our own society have suggested hypotheses to be tested on the data of primitive people. Mr. Whiting, like his forebears, has been heavily influenced by both of these intellectual movements and has utilized the problem setting which they propose. 121

In seeking aid from Freudian psychology, students of culture and personality have profited greatly. In taking over some of Freud's views and hypotheses, however, they have been exposed to a characteristic defect of the Freudian position. I am not referring to the defects usually attributed to Freud since I do not think he overemphasizes sex, nor yet that the term "unconscious" is meaningless. The defect I refer to is that there is no hypothesis in Freud's theory to explain learning. This limits the usefulness of Freud's work for anthropologists.

If the culture of a group is, from the standpoint of any one generation, an arbitrary set of patterns, and if these patterns are socially transmitted, some principles must be evolved on the basis of which this transmission can take place. The most promising hypothesis seems to be that put forward by modern learning theory. This theory must not be

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confused with the associationistic principles of conditioning which were derived from the Pavlovian experiments or with the earliest attempt to formulate a behavioristic theory by Watson. Pavlov and Watson have both made their essential contributions, but so also have Thorndike, Hull, and many others; the more recent systemization of Hull seems to bring the theory within the range of usefulness by social scientists who are concerned with human learning.

Sumner offered the dictum that the folkways and mores of the group are the habits of the individual. This statement ought to have been more helpful than it has actually proved. The difficulty seems to have been that Sumner had no conception of the laws of habit, and that, therefore, nothing could be predicted from his assertion. Linton has likewise affirmed that a culture is a set of habits, but this assertion merely raises the question, What is a habit? If one asks that, one comes directly to the need for the learning theory—for a systematic statement of how responses are evoked, how they are affixed to stimuli, how habits disappear, and what kinds of rewards are useful in building habits. The dictum that culture is a set of rewarded habits seems more useful. It promises to import into anthropology those principles from learning theory which may be helpful in determining the origins, transmission, survival, and disappearance of group habit.

Mr. Whiting's book is an exploratory research in this field. The first part of the book provides a description of Kwoma culture as it is brought to bear on children during their growth from infancy to adulthood. The data selected make the children seem real and lively. In the second part of the book an analysis of the behavior of the children in terms of learning theory is presented. Mr. Whiting has applied learning principles as they now exist and has made some significant innovations. The best, among the latter, are his discussion of how motivation is provided to get Kwoma children to learn, how the children are guided in what to learn, and how they are rewarded for having learned. Whiting finds that secondary as well as primary rewards and punishments play

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a great rôle in Kwoma teaching. While human learning must occur everywhere according to the same general principles, the details of the process probably differ from society to society. The responses rewarded vary endlessly, the stimuli to which these responses are pinioned are likewise different, and there must be as many systems of secondary reward and punishment as there are cultures. The work of anthropologists in this field will undoubtedly be of value to students of learning and teaching in our own society. [2]

JOHN DOLLARD

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View of lake and Sepik River taken from near Rumbima house tamberan.

Coöperative work group constructing the house of the ethnographers.

Work bee dragging the log for Yat's gong.

Uka holding lumps of sago flour at the market.

Mundik just after he had been beaten and bound for attending a ceremony tabooed to him.

Awa repairing a fish net.

Kum, the chief character in the Weaning Period.

Gwiyap, our best informant.

All illustrations follow page 168

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PREFACE

THIS monograph has two purposes: first, to present the data gathered on Kwoma culture, and, second, to present a theory of the process of socialization. In accordance with this dual purpose, the book has been divided into two parts, the first descriptive, the second theoretical. In the descriptive part, after an introductory chapter in which the setting of the study is presented, an attempt has been made to describe the culture as it unfolds itself to an individual born into Kwoma society. The cultures of infancy, of the period of weaning, of childhood, of adolescence, and finally of adulthood are described. The data in each of these chapters have been organized according to the drives[1] involved. Social habits related to hunger, elimination, sex, and pain have been described in that order. Since many customs are associated with several of these drives, this organization could not be strictly adhered to. Those habits motivated by acquired drives, such as fear, anger, the wish to help, and the desire for prestige, have been described where it seemed most appropriate. The second part opens with a chapter in which the various techniques of teaching observed at Kwoma are elucidated and defined in terms of learning theory. This is followed by a chapter which presents the results of an inquiry into the manner in which Kwoma children are taught supernatural beliefs. This inquiry is made in terms of learning theory, teaching techniques, and the conditions of the culture, the society, and the environment which exist at Kwoma.

The idea for this research was suggested by Professor John Dollard. As a result of attending his seminars, it became clear to me that, although culture was assumed by anthropologists and sociologists to be transmitted by a social rather than a genetic process, there was no adequate theory

[1] For the use of the concepts of *drive* and *acquired drive*, see chap. vii, pp. 173-174.

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121 of this process. Furthermore, a survey of the anthropological literature indicated that with a few notable exceptions there were very few empirical data on primitive child training, although since this project was instituted considerable additional material has appeared.

The interest in child training and in pre-adult culture is relatively new in anthropology. Until the last fifteen years there were only scattered and casual references to primitive childhood in the ethnographic literature. Most of these reports merely gave a description of ceremonies at birth and naming and of initiation rites. Sometimes a description of the play group, or of children's games, and vague comments on how parents treated their children were also included. Infrequently fieldworkers like Kidd, Junod, and Milne[2] presented more detailed observations of the behavior of children in their monographs. Miller and Hambly[3] assembled the available data in comparative works on primitive education, which suffered from the paucity of good material.

The influence of Freud was responsible for awakening the interest of a number of anthropologists in the problem of child training. Malinowski[4] and later Richards[5] used data on primitive childhood to criticize certain aspects of Freud's theory and to verify others. Recently Kardiner[6] has used primitive data gathered by Linton to revise the implicit instinctivism of Freud and to verify his general theory of personality development. The pioneer in the gathering of data on primitive childhood, and one who has probably had the greatest influence on the later fieldworkers who have become interested in this problem, is Margaret Mead.[7] Her work was

113 [2] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood* (London, 1906); H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (Neuchatel, 1912); Mrs. L. Milne, *The Home of an Eastern Clan* (Oxford, 1924).

[3] N. Miller, *The Child in Primitive Society* (New York, 1928); W. D. Hambly, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples* (London, 1926).

[4] B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Primitive Society* (London, 1927).

[5] Audrey Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe* (London, 1932).

[6] Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939).

[7] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928); *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930); *Sex and Temperament in Three Savage Societies* (New York, 1935).

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also in part instigated by Freud's theories, and in part by the cultural relativism of Boas. She demonstrated unequivocally that personality and temperament are determined by child rearing, and vary from society to society. Other fieldworkers, notably Kluckholn,[8] Du Bois,[9] and Gorer[10] have given further documentation to this point of view and in addition have made contributions of their own to the theory of the relationship between child training and personality development in primitive societies. Finally Erikson,[11] a practicing psychoanalyst, has turned his attention to this problem and has reported on fieldwork which he did among the Sioux.

Following Malinowski's functional approach to primitive education[12] a number of his students have given excellent descriptive accounts of primitive education. Outstanding among these have been Firth[13] and Evans-Pritchard.[14] In addition Fortes,[15] Hogbin,[16] Wedgewood,[17] and Raum[18] have written special accounts of primitive education from a functional point of view.[19]

Since but few of these fieldworkers had concerned them-

[8] C. Kluckholn, "Theoretical Bases for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals," *Man*, 89, 1939; Paper read before Monday Night Group, New Haven, 1940.

[9] C. Du Bois. Papers read at Eastern Sociological meetings, 1940, and Yale Anthropology Club, 1940.

[10] G. Gorer, *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938).

[11] E. H. Erikson, "Observations on Sioux Education," *The Journal of Psychology*, VII (1937), 101–156.

[12] B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages* (New York, 1929).

[13] R. Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (New York, 1936).

[14] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (London, 1937).

[15] M. Fortes, "Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland," *International Institute of African Languages and Cultures*, Memorandum XVII, 1938.

[16] I. Hogbin, "Education at Ontong Java, Solomon Islands," *American Anthropologist*, XXXIII (1931), no. 4, pp. 601–615.

[17] C. H. Wedgewood, "The Life of Children in Manam," *Oceania*, IX (September, 1938), no. 1.

[18] O. F. Raum, *Chaga Childhood* (London, 1940).

[19] This brief survey of the main trends of fieldwork on primitive childhood makes no pretense of completeness. For the most complete bibliography on the subject see J. Gillin, "Personality in Preliterate Societies," *American Sociological Review*, IV (1939), 681–702.

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121 selves with the problem of the transmission of culture as a process, or had published their reports when this study was projected, it was determined to make a field study of the problem rather than a cross-cultural inquiry based upon the literature.

A preliminary field trip with Professor George P. Murdock to the Tenino Indians of Oregon demonstrated the feasibility of the project and provided valuable ethnographic experience. This work, however, indicated the desirability of choosing a tribe which was not "broken down" by contact with the whites. It proved difficult to study how Indians brought up their children when most of them were away at the government school learning the three R's.

On my return from this field trip, I found that Mr. Stephen W. Reed was also anxious to make a study of a primitive society. Together we picked New Guinea as an area which would best suit our requirements. The ethnographic literature concerning the island showed that the tribes were small and homogenous, government weakly developed, castes and classes lacking, and economic specialization slight. It seemed, therefore, that the criterion of simplicity would here be fulfilled. There was also a strange series of rites of passage, which, it appeared, would provide a contrast to our own culture. Finally, since New Guinea is one of the world's last frontiers—much of it, indeed, is still unexplored—we hoped to find a tribe which was little affected by contact with Europeans. Fortunately for us, Professor Richard Thurnwald was in New Haven at the time, and with his advice we were able to narrow our field to the Sepik River district of the Mandated Territory.

121 Since work with Professor Dollard indicated that the hy-
122 potheses developed by Freud were outstanding among the
114 theories of socialization and since it seemed probable that the psychoanalytic method of interviewing might be useful in the field, I began a training analysis during the following winter. I worked under Mr. Earl Zinn for five months before leaving for the field.

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Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in. 114

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information. 12

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance. 123 124

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This 114 [361] [133]

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114 made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet
[133] to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was
[124] for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

122 The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty.
124 Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

128 On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The roles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

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ever, that this pioneering attempt to apply learning theory 128
to anthropological data will suggest methods of gaining a
better understanding of the process of socialization.

JOHN W. M. WHITING.

Institute of Human Relations,
New Haven, Connecticut.
June, 1941.

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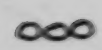
PART ONE



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CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND PERSONNEL

THE Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Peilungua Mountains just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta.[1] This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed from a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast, rolling watershed of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter *S* plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitous; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

The elevation of the Kwoma territory is not sufficient to cause any noticeable variation from the strictly tropical climate of the entire Sepik River Valley. The daily range in temperature, from an average of seventy-one degrees Fahrenheit at dawn to eighty-five in mid-afternoon, closely approximates the norm in the river villages. Humidity is high throughout the year. Some rain falls virtually every day and all-day storms are not uncommon, but the climate and precipitation are so uniform throughout the year that there is no clear-cut division into seasons. Gardens may be planted, cultivated, and harvested at any and all times of the year.

[1] The tribe is situated approximately four degrees and ten minutes south of the equator and one hundred and forty-two degrees and forty minutes east of Greenwich.

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132 Although there is slight variation in the amount of rainfall within the annual cycle, during the months of December, January, and February the Sepik is in flood. This fact is of such importance to the river people that they divide the year into periods of high and low water. This seasonal periodicity is also noted by the Kwoma, but it is significant to them only in so far as it affects their commerce with the river people.

136 Cassowaries, wildfowl, hornbills, cockatoos, pigeons, and a great many unidentified species of smaller birds abound in the region. The only large mammal is the wild pig. The natives report that there were formerly wallabies in the region but that now there are none. There are several varieties of small tree-climbing marsupials. Many species of bats of different size despoil the fruit trees.

137 The flora of the region is tropical. The trunks of giant trees support a mat of foliage fifty to sixty feet in the air, so dense that the sun scarcely filters through it, except where the natives have cleared a garden or house site. The swamp land is full of sago palms whose thorn-studded spathes make passage difficult. Small stands of areca and coconut palms mark the sites of habitations past and present. Betel pepper vines cling to the pawpaw, breadfruit, and paper mulberry
241 trees which the natives plant near each dwelling. Many varieties of yams, taro, and greens are grown as a first crop in Kwoma gardens; these are followed by a second crop of bananas and plantains of numerous varieties.

142 The Kwoma are short, stocky, negroid people with long heads, dark frizzly hair, medium thick lips, and skin color varying from light to dark brown.[2] The homogeneity in physical type is immediately apparent, although there is one family with two generations of strikingly aberrant members, whose skin is so blond that it sunburns. The so-called Papuan, or Semitic, nose-form occurs at random about as often as the dished type. Noses with straight bridges, however, are the most common.

040 [2] Their average height is five feet four inches, and their cephalic index is in the upper range of mesocephaly (71.7 to 83.6, average 77.4). These figures were taken from twenty adult males.

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[1] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[2] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[3] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[1] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[2] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[3]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Washkuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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101 gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments
[126] by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of
[346] which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's cere-
[423] monial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tam-
[35] beran. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is deter-
mined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among
[620] the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

613 Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component
[361] families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near
[594] one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

611 Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[103] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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beginning of the world. Each of these ancestors is shared by 611
a descent group ranging in size from the children of a father to the descendants of a totem.

The Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type.[6] Paral- 601
lel cousins are all classed as siblings while cross cousins are called *mother*[7] or *maternal uncle* if they are related through the mother (i.e., mother's brother's children), and *nephew* if they are related through the father (i.e., father's sister's children). Age distinctions are made between siblings of the same sex but not between siblings of the opposite sex. Thus a boy has two terms, *elder sibling* and *younger sibling*, to refer to his brothers but classes all his sisters as *sister*. A girl uses *elder sibling* and *younger sibling* for her sisters but uses *brother* to refer to her brothers. The same terms are used and similar distinctions are made between parallel cousins. In the parental generation the father and his brothers are divided into three categories: *father*, *younger uncle*, and *elder uncle*, while father's sisters are called by a single term, *paternal aunt*. Similarly a mother's sisters are classed as *younger aunt* and *elder aunt*, while her brothers are all termed *maternal uncle*. There are two terms for grandparents, *paternal grandparent* and *maternal grandparent*. All ancestors above this are called by a single term, *ancestor*. Own children and the children of *elder siblings* and *younger siblings* are called *son* or *daughter*. A man calls his sisters' children "*nephew*," and a woman calls her brothers' children "*niece*." Grandchildren and grandchildren of siblings are called *grandchild*.

The sons and sons' sons of the mother's brother are also called *maternal uncle*, and his daughters and sons' daughters are called *mother*. The children of a mother's brother's daughter or of a mother's brother's son's daughter (i.e., of a *mother*) are classed as siblings. The descendants of one's

[6] Described by L. Spier in "The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America," *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*, I, 69-88; and by G. P. Murdock (in MS.). [113]

[7] Italicized terms are the nearest English equivalent to the native term and refer to Kwoma kinship categories. Terms not italicized are used in their English sense.

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father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's wife*, *son's wife* and *daughter's husband*. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife*, *wife's brother*, and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband*, *husband's brother*, and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law*, for the parents of his or her spouse.

The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two further categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*.[a] The category of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[a] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods, weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[a] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65-68.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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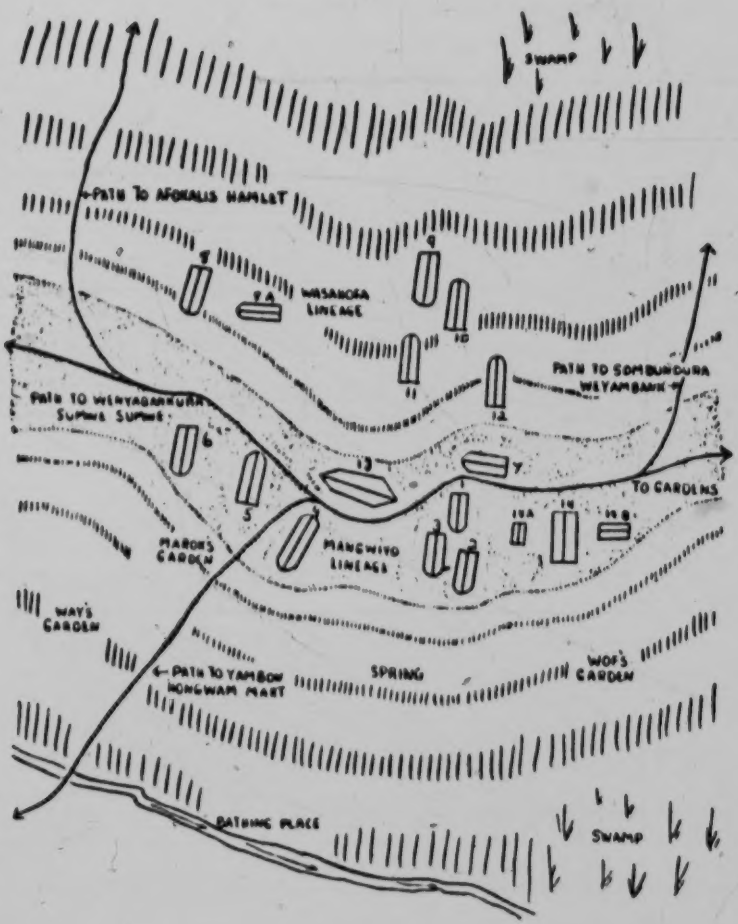

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RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

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Mangweiyow Lineage

1. Wof = Kaya = Chinuwa[11]
   Uka Mey Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Fit
4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Difa = Yame Kis = Amba = Sunga[12]
   Mano Haya Haiñ Suw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gege
   Gwamp Njan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Fauba Gwanta Merik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasahaf Lineage

8. Waramus = Nawa
   (8a) Mes = Yimba Aya Kwos
9. Afok = Kumwe
   Kawaf
10. Fokotay = Ngwiya
    Hambo
11. Daw = Huwena
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwal = Gufo
    Angandim Angeyamar
13. Rumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters

[11] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chinuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Uka, Mey, and Kum are Wof's children.

[12] War, Kar, and Kis are brothers. The children are those of War.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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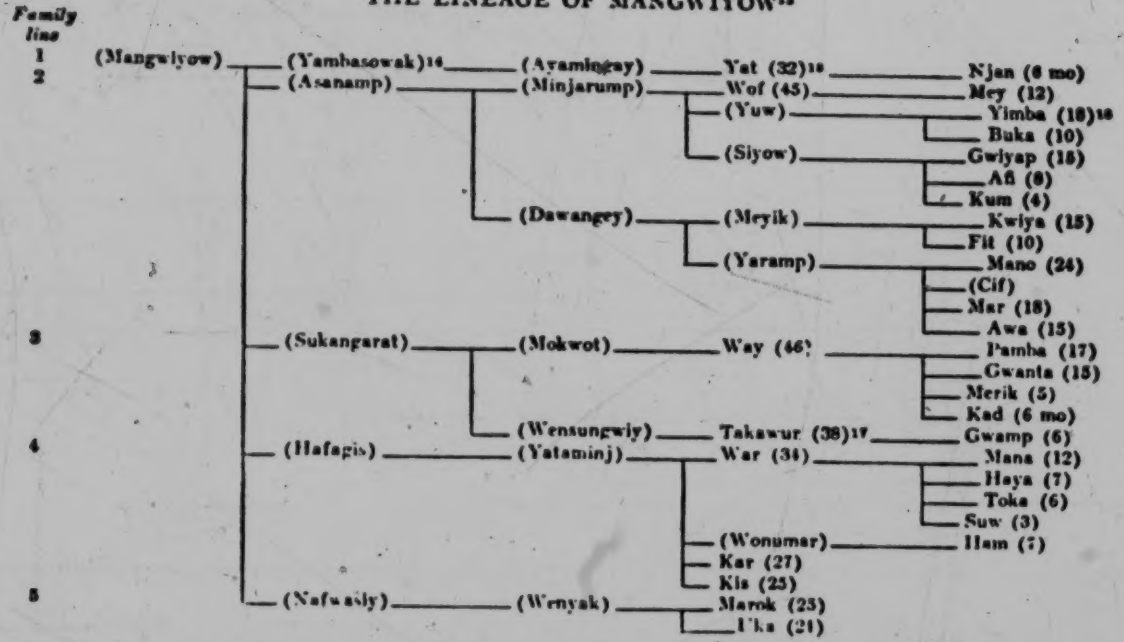
THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[13]



[13] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[14] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling*; he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling*.

[15] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yataminj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[16] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[17] Does not live in the hamlet.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was [595] named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [597] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [954] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell- 592

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[305] [19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [177] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [181] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawn, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 1]

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THE LINEAGE OF WASAHOF

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] [156] A short way down the mountainside from Maruk's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kaz, Kin, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[20] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[20] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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329 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and hor-
ror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[28] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried
[721] out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[28] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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About a dozen of the Hongwam obeyed this command but said that it was impossible to take the luggage by land. The patrol officer scolded them because more had not come and told them that they lied about the road being impassable. He explained that two white men were coming to stay with them for a long time to learn their language and customs. He then ordered them to return home and gather as many men as possible the next afternoon at the foot of the mountain, where we would land after taking the river route by canoe, to carry our baggage. The patrol officer decided to go to Kwoma with us because it was an appropriate time to make his yearly visit to the tribe and because there was also a special matter to attend to. Several Hongwam natives had signed a contract to work on a plantation but had bolted back home before their time was completed. It was the patrol officer's job to make them fulfill their contracts. We were accompanied into Kwoma territory, therefore, by the patrol officer and a company of police boys. On the day after our arrival he commanded all the natives to assemble at Rumbima house tamberan near which we had camped. When they arrived he took the annual roll call and recorded births and deaths. He scolded the natives because many of them had not responded to the assembly summons. He said that the excuse of being away in their gardens was not sufficient and unless they all came on his next visit there would be trouble. Then he asked where the four runaways were. No one knew. He said that if they came with him to fulfill their contract all would be well, but that if they did not they would be hunted out and put in jail. In response to this threat one gave himself up, but the other three remained hidden. The patrol officer then announced to the assembled tribe that we had come to study their language and customs and were going to stay a long time. He ordered them to build a house for us and warned them that if anyone harmed us he would be severely punished by the government.

In order to complete the description of the status of a white man in Kwoma culture, it should be noted that white recruiters had on several occasions visited the tribe in person,

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464 or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade,
648 and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men
[593] leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer
[412] lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of
[439] stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

829 When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two
123 categories: government agents and recruiters.[28] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[28] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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him. As a result, none of my Kwoma friends would speak to me or bid me good-by.

In so far as we were included in the social structure of the Kwoma, we were known as *masta bilong Rumbima*. This meant that we belonged to the Rumbima hamlet of Hongwam subtribe, a natural consequence of the position of our house and the frequency of our contacts with Rumbima people. We were also placed in the kinship structure, being assigned to the Hayamakwo sib, Mangwiyow lineage, and Asanamp family line as younger brothers of Wof. Logically this should have made us *older brothers* to everyone else of the parent generation in the hamlet, but actually we were called *younger brother* by most of them. Those of the first descending generation called us *elder* or *younger uncle*, except Mey, Gwiyap, and Mar who frequently called us *father*. The fact that we were not married, but were apparently older than any unmarried Kwoma should be, made our position in the maturation hierarchy somewhat anomalous. We were sometimes classed as adults and sometimes as adolescents. The latter tendency was accentuated by the fact that we did not know the culture but were learning it.

With this short account of the environment and of the various groups into which the Kwoma divide themselves, with this indication of our chief informants and brief description of our position in Kwoma society, the task of describing the habits which a Kwoma learns as he passes from stage to stage along his life cycle may now be undertaken. The framework presented in this chapter has but limited meaning for the infant, more for the child, and gains full significance only when adulthood is reached. The following chapters are an attempt to present the culture as it unfolds to the maturing individual at Kwoma.

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CHAPTER II

INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [575] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

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recurring discomforts that an infant experiences. The mother 853
keeps her breast constantly available, so that for the most part the infant is able to satisfy this drive by merely exercising the innate sucking reflex. He does learn, however, that certain preliminary behavior is useful in bringing satisfaction more quickly and efficiently. He learns to turn his head to take the nipple in his mouth, to stop sucking from one breast when it becomes dry, and finally even to lift himself from a prone position to a vantage point from which he can suckle. Suw, one of the older infants of the hamlet, had learned to do all these things very adeptly. Kadowan and Njan, whom I first observed when they were three months old, depended almost entirely on the mother to lift them to the proper position, to help them get the nipple into the mouth, and to change the breast for them at the proper time. Nevertheless they already manifested some of these instrumental acts in incipient form.

Suw, who was almost old enough to be weaned, had learned 854
to grasp other objects besides his mother's breast and to put 856
them into his mouth. At times he even crawled about the porch floor in order to examine things which caught his interest. One of his first responses to these objects was to lift them to his mouth. Compared to ourselves, the Kwoma are exceptionally permissive toward this type of behavior. I once saw Suw with the blade of a twelve-inch bush knife in his mouth and the adults present paid no attention to him. As a result of such trial-and-error investigations, the child learns to discriminate between the edible and inedible. Mother's beads, father's adz, or brother's pith ball not only do not satisfy hunger but sometimes even hurt one's mouth.

Toward the end of infancy the Kwoma mother begins to 862
prepare her child for weaning by introducing foods other than milk into the diet. At first she bends over and transfers masticated food from her mouth into that of her child. Later she gives him a spoonful of soup or a bit of gruel. Even infants as young as Kadowan and Njan were given a small piece of pork to chew on; this probably served both as nourishment and as a pacifier.

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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [754] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sok*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sok* may be related to the verb *soka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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the general permissive attitude which a mother exhibits toward her infant suggests that she may also allow it freedom to discover this mode of gratification. On the other hand, the fact that older children are not permitted to masturbate in public might influence the mother to prohibit this type of behavior in her infant as well. The fact that both Kum and Merik, boys who were in the weaning period, fingered their genitals without being punished suggests a permissive attitude toward masturbation as perhaps the more plausible assumption.

Although a mother tries to protect her infant from pain inflicted by the natural environment, frequent experience with suffering is unavoidable. It is practically impossible for her to ward off the clouds of hungry mosquitoes that are continually present. The extreme temperature variations are often unpleasant. In the afternoon, with humidity at a maximum and the temperature around ninety degrees, the heat is stifling. By contrast, a damp foggy morning with the temperature at seventy is uncomfortably cold; I would shiver in a thick sweater while the natives huddled by their fires. Teething is another source of pain which every infant must endure. Yaws and malaria are prevalent diseases at Kwoma. Informants told me that no one ever grows up without contracting the former. Certainly few youths or adults can be seen who do not bear scars of yaws sores. The infant's physiological immaturity makes him for the most part dependent on his mother to help him cope with these natural pains just as he depends on her to feed him.

Crying is selected as the most effective response which a Kwoma infant can make both to pain and to hunger. It constitutes an injunction to the mother to discover the source of the trouble. Her first response is to present the breast. If this fails to quiet him, she tries something else. If she believes that the child is crying because he is too hot, she moves him away from the heat of her body. If she thinks he is cold, she cuddles him. If his crying calls her attention to a mosquito on him, she brushes it off and scratches the bite. If she suspects that sores from yaws are hurting him, she tries to move

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854 him into a more comfortable position. If he seems to be crying because he is sick, she tries to distract his attention by
[524] crooning to him, rocking him gently, and patting him. One mother, by putting a stone in a tin can, had invented a rattle which she used in these circumstances. Each time a mother reacts to her child's crying by discovering and removing the source of discomfort, she rewards this response in her child. The situation in Kwoma is such that, for the young infant, crying is followed by the alleviation of pain more frequently than is any other response.

When the infant begins to talk, he learns an even more efficient technique for securing help. A mother does not always know the trouble when her infant cries, but his words elicit immediate and appropriate help. A Kwoma infant who has learned to speak may say, "Mother, my back itches," or
[861] "I am cold; warm me." The mother rewards these demands by removing the source of discomfort. This indicates one of the advantages of learning language and hence why an infant is motivated to do so.

856 Thus during infancy the response to discomfort which is most strongly established is that of seeking help by crying or asking for it. Responses such as approaching the breast, moving to avoid pains, and other independent acts are also established. They form a basis for later learning, but hold a less important position in the response repertory of an infant than that of seeking help.

854 A motive which becomes strongly established during infancy is the wish to be near to and touch the mother. Almost all the pains and discomforts which an infant experiences are reduced while he is either sitting in his mother's lap or lying by her side. He is fed there, he sleeps there, and he is warmed and cooled, scratched and petted there—always while in bodily contact with his mother. The following case indicates the strong attachment that an infant has for his
854 mother's lap and how loath he is to leave it. Mbora one after-
866 noon was teaching her infant son Suw to venture from her lap. She was rolling a ball a little way from her and then

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.[a] Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

[a] Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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854 757 or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[5] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

854 865 Very few aggressive responses are established during infancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

858 As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[753] [5] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 64.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *owambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yagisa fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37–53).

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862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[3]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house: She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.
[364] [4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.
[754] [5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

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been one that they had already learned during infancy. In any case neither parents nor older siblings scolded them for this behavior although it was often done in their presence. Kum showed considerable interest in the genitals of other males,* staring at those of his father and older brothers. Perhaps the discovery of his own penis as a source of gratification stimulated his interest in the genitals of others.

While a child is being weaned he must learn many new and independent habits for coping with pain. He has to warm himself by the fire rather than by contact with his mother's body. He must suffer the pain from pressure against his yaws sores, or change his position until the pain is relieved. He no longer has someone to brush the mosquitoes from him but must deal with them alone. He must go down to the spring with his older siblings and wash himself with cold water instead of being gently bathed by his mother with warm water. When it rains he must run into the house if he wishes to keep dry.

When a child is weaned he may no longer sit in his mother's lap by day nor lie by her side at night. This is apparently felt as the most severe frustration experienced at this period of life. No longer is it possible to attain the vantage point from which all drives have hitherto been satisfied.

Kum's behavior indicated an especially strong desire to be near his mother and to touch her. When she came back from work in the evenings he would usually clasp and hug her leg. When she left in the morning he would cling to her, begging to be taken with her. When she sat in the house making a net bag or cooking a meal, he would stand beside her and often lean against her shoulder. Chinuwa, the mother, would never allow him as much contact as he seemed to want. When he hugged her leg or leaned against her side she might tolerate it for a moment, but would soon push him away and tell him to stop annoying her. Kum reacted to one of these rebuffs by

* Both men and women in Kwoma society go naked with the exception of some of the young men who have, within the last few years, adopted the custom of wearing laplaps (calico wrap-around skirts) from their contact with Europeans, and a few of the younger women who have recently procured blouses from white traders.

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throwing himself on the ground screaming with rage. On another occasion he wept silently with his forefinger in his mouth. Usually, however, he would move away a little, look at his mother, and then move cautiously toward her again, as though in a state of conflict. Merik exhibited similar behavior, but to a less marked degree. His mother had not respected the prohibition against cohabitation while still nursing, so that his infancy period had been cut somewhat short by the birth of a younger sibling. His behavior seemed to indicate that he had already learned that he could not hope to regain his infantile pleasures, but that he was not yet mature enough to turn to the childhood play group.

With weaning, then, many of the demands which the Kwoma child has learned to make during infancy become no longer successful. His mother no longer responds in the same helpful way to many of his requests. His demands to be taken into her lap, scratched, patted, or warmed, are now ignored. When she no longer heeds his demands, he becomes more vociferous. Unless he is in serious danger, however, she still does not cater to him. He then reverts to the earlier response of crying. When this fails, he tries other responses in his repertory. For example, one morning Kum's mother put on her net bag to go to the swamp to collect sago. Kum, observing her, said, "Mother, I want to go too." "No," she replied, "you must stay at home." Kum repeated his request more vigorously, but his mother did not heed him. Then he began to cry, but still without success. His crying increased in intensity until he was screaming. His mother, having finished her preparations, started down the path. Kum ran after her and clasped her leg, trying to hold her back, and shrieking. When she disengaged her leg he threw himself on the ground and rolled over and over in the grass.

If a child is too vociferous and persistent in his demands, he is actually punished. One morning Kum was calling to his mother, who was a short way down the mountainside gathering firewood: "Mother, come! I am hungry. Mother, come! I am hungry." She answered at first that she would be home

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shortly. Kum kept on shouting until finally his mother stopped answering him. Then he began to wail. His older *brothers*, who were playing ball a short distance away, told him to be quiet. His stepmother, who was working in the house, after several times telling him to hush, finally gave him a scolding.

During the weaning period a child continues to receive help from his mother if he is in grave danger or sick. If he contracts malaria or some other serious disease, she will take him back into her lap and minister to him. If he has a headache or stomach-ache, she attempts to cure him by phlebotomy. When Kum once got lost in the forest, his mother and both his *brothers*, guided by his cries, searched until they found him and brought him home. Thus a child must learn to discriminate between serious dangers and minor pains. Demanding is still successful as a response to the former situation, but it is necessary to discover a new mode of coping with the latter.

Parents and older siblings teach a child to anticipate pain. They point out dangers so that he may avoid them before he is hurt. They warn him about snakes, scorpions, nettles, and other objects in the natural environment that may injure him. He soon discovers that if he does not heed their warnings, the predicted pain does follow, and so he learns to heed them.

Parents and older siblings extend their warnings to include supernatural dangers. They tell the child that huge, snakelike monsters which cause storms dwell in the swamp, and that it is dangerous to go near their dwelling places. This danger is brought within the sphere of experience of the child when his mother tells him that a *marsalai* occupies her breast and vivifies the story by putting a leech on it. A child is also warned during the weaning period not to venture out at night, for this is the time when ghosts are abroad; and not to go too far from the house unless accompanied by an older person, for if he does a sorcerer may kill him.

A child at this age also learns that people as well as the

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natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in serious danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety. His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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and eliminating similar minor dangers, he is now punished for becoming angry with his parents, as was shown by the scolding received by Kum for crying loudly for his mother. 865

In the realm of prestige, the Kwoma child during the period of weaning plunges from the very top to the very bottom of the social hierarchy. Most of the commands which he issues are now ignored, and the help which he expects is denied him. Furthermore, he has to learn to obey the commands of others during this period. His control over his social environment is at a minimum. 858

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[313] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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concepts of the culture, and must learn to respect them. As an infant, he suffered no such restriction, for no food that was available to him was prohibited on these grounds. During the weaning period he received some training in this respect, but it is especially during childhood that this learning takes place. In contrast to discriminating between things on the ground of their edibility, this restriction on behavior is not supported by natural characteristics such as hardness, bitterness, or poisonousness; it is a man-made prohibition, and must be inculcated entirely by means of social rewards and punishments.

A Kwoma child learns that he cannot eat any food that he sees, but that he may do so only if he has regarded certain property rights.[1] Several times a week his older sister or his mother brings a net bag laden with fruit and vegetables back from the garden. Bananas, plantains, spinach, coconuts, yams, and taros are emptied out on the porch floor to be stored or cooked. The child soon discovers that he cannot help himself freely from this pile of food. If he does so, his mother or sister scolds him: "Don't take those bananas; they were picked from So-and-so's tree and we are going to use them in soup." Sometimes he is told that certain fruit or vegetables come from his own tree or from his own plot in the garden; in this case, his mother is not cross with him if he takes some, but says: "Those are your bananas, but it is your turn to contribute to the family pot. If you eat them now, we won't have enough for the soup." On other occasions he may begin to help himself to a breadfruit that his older brother has just roasted for a between-meal snack, and get a kick or blow and a volley of abuse from this brother when he is discovered. On the other hand, he finds that if he first asks if he may share the snack, his brother usually gives him some.

After considerable trial and error of this kind, as well as after explanations and examples from parents and older sib-

[1] Property rights in respect to tools, toys, etc., follow the same formula as property in food; but since Kwoma children have few toys or tools, it is with respect to food that property rights are primarily learned.

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867 264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 859 261 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then." 867 857

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy. 261 867 857 261 685

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention. 867 857 123 685 [261] [754] [868]

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting 868

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error.

[86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.[a] A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

[a] A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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857 868 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

241 Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 [252] Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [962] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they [223] are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, [224] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an [125] adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [411] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is forced to clean up after himself. The following example indicates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis. One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor and that they were going to punish him for it. While they were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in, scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished. Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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property.[10] From this time on a male must avoid looking at the genitals of any woman except those of a lover or wife. 864

The sexual response for which a boy is most severely punished during childhood is that of tumescence in public. Any female who observes a boy with an erect penis is expected to beat the member with a stick. It is usually the boy's older *sister* who takes the responsibility for inflicting this punishment. I never saw this punishment actually administered, but I did observe boys with erections on two occasions. While playing at my house one morning Ham had an erection. His older *brothers*, Gwiyap and Mey, noticed it and teased him about it. They told him that he should be ashamed of himself and warned him not to let any females see him that way. On another occasion Fit was observed by his playmates with an erect penis and was similarly teased. Shortly after this I was visiting at Fit's house. His *brother*, Gwiyap, began telling his older *sisters*, Awa and Kwiya, about what had happened to Fit, illustrating the story in a joking manner by putting a stick between his legs. Awa and Kwiya laughed at Gwiyap but they scolded Fit. "You had better not let *us* catch you that way or we will beat you. What are you, a baby? You should be old enough to control yourself." Fit was much discomfited at this. He denied the truth of Gwiyap's story, told him to shut up, and finally left the house sullenly. Kwoma inculcation on this point is apparently very effective for I observed no adult, and, in fact, no other child with an erection.

A boy is also restricted from fingering his genitals. Anyone who observes a child touching his penis scolds him for it. They tell him that he should not do it because this part of his body belongs to his future wife, and that masturbation will cause injury to his penis. The training is effective enough to prevent the child, who during the weaning period was allowed to touch his penis, from persisting in this habit. I did not observe any boy child manipulate his genitals, and

[10] *Enji mbumbowi*—"My something." This expression is also used to establish property rights, thus bringing the act in context with offenses against ownership and property. [192] [196]

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864 boys of this age even refrain from touching them while urinating.

I cannot say whether this prohibition also prevented private masturbation. I asked Ham, Fit, and Mey, all of them boys in the childhood group, whether they played with their penises when they were alone. All of them denied it with considerable embarrassment. They hung their heads, pretended not to understand me, and changed the subject as quickly as they could. This embarrassment suggests that they were guilty about masturbation, but it does not indicate whether they actually did not masturbate or whether they did and were afraid to admit the fact.

201 Boys who have not seen one another for some time rush
864 together, throw their arms around each other, and hug and
838 pat one another and rub one another's cheeks with their lime
[834] gourds. They exhibit this behavior with boys of their own age and sometimes with older men, but never with a female. Such an embrace is permitted between the sexes only when they are both aged and related. Mey, Fit, and Ham frequently chose to sleep together in my house rather than at their homes. They were often joined by adolescents. Although this was attributed to the advantage of mosquito proofing, they usually slept huddled together and often with their arms around one another.

524 Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connota-
838 tions: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simu-
864 lates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated "her." Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their "honor." When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month.

838 Boys often tease one another sexually when they sleep
864

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together. In a manner similar to that associated with the "homosexual" game, each claims that the other is his wife and will have a child by him. On one occasion Ham slept in the mosquito net with Wysep, one of my houseboys, when the latter's wife was away. The next morning Gwiyap and Mey began teasing Ham, saying that they suspected that Wysep had had sex relations with him and that pretty soon "his belly would swell up." Ham hotly denied the accusation, but the kidding persisted until Ham retired from the scene.

As far as I could observe, there was very little genital contact established either in the games or when the boys slept together. Sodomy is believed to be unnatural and revolting, and informants were unanimous in saying that anyone who would submit to it must be a "ghost" and not a man. Although this sanction theoretically applied only to the person who played the passive rôle, it seemed to be effective in restricting the practice.

The sexual training of a girl during childhood differs somewhat from that of a boy. Although she is punished for masturbating, in a manner similar to that of the boy, her conditioning differs in other respects, the most marked contrast resulting from the fact that the difference in her anatomy relieves her from the punishment which a male receives for having an erection in public. On the other hand, she is scolded by parents and older siblings for exposing herself unduly. She is taught to sit modestly with her legs stretched out together before her, and never to draw her legs up or sit with them apart. She is also warned not to lean over when a man is behind her unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her back. Furthermore she is told that a modest girl should step aside from a path if she sees a man approaching and stand with her back to the path until he has passed. She should not address him until he has gone by, at which time she may speak to him over her shoulder. When a girl is immodest, however, she is punished much less severely than is a boy. She is rarely more than scolded for such a lapse. The girl is also treated more leniently than the boy in that she is not restricted from looking at the genitals of the other sex.

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864 Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

757 593 858 Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children [755] by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

866 A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

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may learn to avoid or kill a scorpion even though he has never been bitten by one. So it is with other dangers, especially the more serious ones; if children were permitted to learn to avoid wild boars or crocodiles by actually experiencing pain from them, the society would soon disappear. Parental warnings come true frequently enough so that children usually heed them. 866

A child is not permitted to show excessive fear of his environment. If he is too afraid of a small snake or lizard to kill it, or if he is afraid to walk in the swamp lest he be pricked by a thorn, his older *brothers* will tease him and his parents will scold him. An overanxious child is usually called a "baby" in a derogatory manner. [861]

The warnings of parents and older siblings include supernatural dangers. A child is taught that certain glens, springs, rocks, and trees are dwelling places of *marsalai*, and he learns the names of the supernatural beings who inhabit them. He is warned that, if he goes too near one of these places, the monster will cause a violent storm and high wind that may blow down the dwelling of his parents, or it will "shoot" a sago needle into his foot for disturbing it. Such a needle, although invisible, is very painful and can be removed only by adult operators who have mastered the special magical technique. Actual storms and unseen needles are used to impress the validity of these beliefs upon the child. Whenever there is a severe storm, the adults in the hamlet speculate as to who has disturbed the *marsalai*. Was it Yat who was clearing a garden too near to the rock in which Kumbundum dwelt, or was it Wof who went hunting near the bog inhabited by Kurumbukwas? Similarly when a child reported that he had a pain in his foot which felt like a thorn but which he could not see, his parents would say: "There, you see. You have been 'shot' by a *marsalai*. We told you to beware of disturbing them." 869 776

A child is warned that he should not go near the house tamberan while the yam-cult ceremonies are being held. He is told that at this time the adult men of the tribe consort with *marsalai*. He is warned that although men can do so 869

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869 with impunity, it would be extremely dangerous for children and women to be near the scene. In fact, a child is told that he would die if he entered the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. Cases are cited to the children of women and children who had joined the men at this time either willfully [534] or by mistake and who had died as a result. The initiated tell the children that the gongs, trumpets, flutes, water drums, and bull roarers that they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of the *marsalai* who are present. Hints that these are man-made sounds come seeping down from adolescents and the careless remarks of adults, so that the child has a fairly accurate knowledge of the ceremonies before he ever participates in one. Despite his scepticism about the origin of the sounds, he nevertheless is awed whenever a ceremony takes place, and takes care not to venture near the scene. Furthermore, he takes care not to reveal to the adults that he has any suspicion of what really goes on.

869 796 Despite a child's awe of these meetings of the yam cult, he senses the excitement which prevails in the whole subtribe before a ceremony takes place and eagerly looks forward to the time when he will be old enough to attend them. He hears his father, *uncles*, and *older brothers* talk excitedly about the coming event, he sees them carefully paint their faces, comb their hair, don their best ornaments, and depart for the house tamberan. Then he hears the rhythmic harmonies of the gong orchestra, the high-pitched shouting of the singers, and the weird and plaintive flute melodies. These thrilling sounds burst out sporadically during the whole day, increase in tempo and intensity as night falls, and continue unabated as long as he stays awake. Stimulated by these events, [857] Kwoma boys make toy gongs from bamboo nodes and try to imitate the gong rhythms; they hum mimicries of the ceremonial songs; and they form miniature groups to practice the shuffling dance steps. Since they are not supposed to know these things, they do them in their forest playhouse or at times when there are no adults present.

869 789 Parents and older siblings also warn a child not to trespass in another person's garden lest he break out with boils. They

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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way. 869 789

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away. 869 795

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding. 861 123

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared. [761]

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861 123 children in the hamlet, saw me doing this, stole some shells, and tried to do it himself. His older brother, Mes, saw him and told him that shells were dangerous and that he had better not fool with them. Kwos paid no heed. He tried to light the shell, but it did not go off and he looked to see what the trouble was. At that moment the powder exploded, seriously burning one side of his face and closing one eye. Mes scolded him severely: "I told you not to play with those shells. Why didn't you heed me?" His father also scolded him: "You will probably go blind, but it is your own fault. Why didn't you heed your brother? He told you not to play with the shells." No one in the hamlet expressed sympathy for Kwos's injury; everyone blamed him.

861 The number of punishments that a Kwoma receives from other persons increases markedly in childhood. He is frequently beaten and scolded by his parents and other persons of their generation. They order him to do household chores and scold him for being lax about them. They shout at son or daughter, nephew or niece, to stop yelling and rushing around the house when they are resting or trying to carry on a conversation. They scold the child for snooping into cult secrets, for not helping a *brother* who needs aid, or for damaging the household property. One afternoon Ham was wandering about under the porch of Wof, his *paternal uncle*. The latter, irritable because of an argument that he was having with his wife, roared at Ham to sit down. Ham dropped as though he were shot, and Wof began scolding him severely. He accused Ham of being a little thief and of trying to steal something. Ham began to cry and as soon as he dared got up and ran home. The incidents of Wof beating his daughter for not getting the firewood, and that of Kwiya scolding Mey for not passing the proper mixing sticks, have already been reported.

861 602 A child is kicked and beaten, scolded and teased, by his older siblings even more than by his parents. Older siblings imitate their parents, commanding, scolding, and punishing their younger *brothers* and *sisters*. Older *sisters* punish a boy if they see him with an erection, a girl if she sits immodestly.

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Older *brothers* scold younger *brothers* for showing a precocious knowledge of cult affairs, or for not heeding their warnings and younger *sisters* for annoying them or for not carrying out their household chores properly. 861 602

A boy is most frequently hurt by his older *brothers* in the course of games. The most popular sport consisted in kicking a pith ball up a slight slope against the side of a house and then, when it rolled down, kicking it back up again. In this, as well as in the dart-throwing and "homosexual" games, the older and bigger boys tease the younger one and knock him out of the way when he interferes. They order him to retrieve the ball or the pawpaw when it bounds into the bushes, or to throw the target rock for them. In the "homosexual" game it is the smaller boy who is usually at the bottom of the pile and who is called "wife" by the older boys. 861 524 [602]

A child becomes adept at avoiding punishment from older persons by obeying, escaping, lying, and being secretive. He learns that if he does not do what he is told, a blow will follow; that if he persists in doing what he is told not to do, he will be beaten. Thus he not only learns to obey commands, but also to anticipate the commands, that is, to follow custom. He also learns that, if he has disobeyed, he can often escape punishment by running away from the person who has issued the command, or by lying if someone accuses him of doing something wrong. Finally, he learns that he can do things of which the older people disapprove, if they do not observe him. He therefore learns to be secretive. Smoking in the bush house is one example. Masturbation may be another. A child also learns secretly to beat cult-gong rhythms, being careful that no older person is present when he practices. Kwoma parents do not punish a child for lying or being secretive; they only punish him if the misdemeanor is discovered. Children therefore become very adept in these arts of deception. 861

A child has his first success in social aggression toward his younger siblings. They, being smaller than he, are easily overcome when they threaten or interfere with him. When they get in his way in games, it is not difficult to shove them 865 602

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865 aside nor dangerous to command them to get out of the way.
602 If they jostle him when he is about to throw a dart into a pawpaw, he can kick or beat them without fear of effective retaliation, and he is rewarded for doing so when they thereafter keep out of his way. If younger *brothers* or *sisters* take some food which he intends to eat, he can force them to give it back if he catches them at it or prevent a future recurrence by punishing them after the event. When younger siblings tag along despite his wish to be with boys of his own age, he can command them to stay behind and back up the command with a blow if he is not heeded.

Such is the success of aggression toward younger siblings that a child often expresses it even when they do not threaten or annoy him. Kwoma boys and girls continually tease their younger *brothers* and *sisters* and order them about apparently for the pure joy of it. Presumably by so doing a child both reassures himself that he is in a position to be successfully aggressive toward these younger children and at the same time finds expression for the aggression generated by older persons which he usually dare not manifest.[12] Thus he gains practice in expressing aggression toward persons who are not responsible for producing it—a type of response which he frequently employs in later life.

Toward the end of childhood, when social aggression has been greatly strengthened by success with smaller persons, a child may sometimes express it toward those older than he. If he does so, he usually escapes immediately afterward. It is, so to speak, "hit and run" aggression. Fit's feud with his older *brother*,[13] Mey, exemplifies this. One morning Mey was teasing Fit as they were eating breakfast. Fit lost his temper and cursed Mey by telling him to cohabit with his sister. Mey

[12] As soon as a child learns to be aggressive in response to a threat, this behavior tends to assume ascendancy over avoidance, because in the former case the goal of the activity in progress need not be given up, whereas in the latter it often has to be. Thus a child should develop a wish to be aggressive toward his parents rather than to obey them, but, since he dare not do so, he takes it out on his *brothers* and *sisters*.

[13] Mey was only slightly older and bigger than Fit. I should guess twelve and ten as their respective ages.

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returned the taunt, whereupon Fit hit him on the head with his fist. Mey scrambled up, grabbed a burning brand from the fire, and ran after Fit, who had started to flee. Mey managed to strike Fit twice on the back before the latter made good his escape. The next day Mey reported that Fit had stolen or destroyed the contents of his (Mey's) net bag and fled to his mother's house in another hamlet.[14] Fit did not return for a month. All went well for about two weeks thereafter. Then one afternoon the two began wrestling at a time when Fit had a razor blade in his hand. Fit lost his temper in the scuffle and cut a deep gash in Mey's lip. He then ran away, but, hearing indirectly that Mey did not bear a grudge, returned after a couple of hours. Two weeks later Fit stole a knife from Mey and again ran away to his mother.

A child is sometimes aggressive even toward his mother and father. For the most part, he expresses it indirectly in such ways as grumbling under his breath when he receives an order from them, or insulting them behind their backs. Sometimes, however, the tendency to aggression becomes strong enough to overcome fear of retaliation. Gwiyap reported that, when he was a child, he had been infuriated with his father for scolding him, had seized a spear, and had attempted to run it through his parent, but someone present had prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He also told of an occasion when he had struck his stepmother. She had been sitting by the fire cooking and had asked him to pass her a ladle. He delayed in doing it, and she began to scold him. He became angry at this and "punched her in the nose." She picked up a stick to beat him with, but he ran away. Mey reported a similar story of an occurrence several years before. He said that he was lying on a platform which was built shoulder high on the limb of a tree in front of his house. He had a sharpened stick in his hand and was lying in wait for his mother because he was angry with her. Finally, she came close to the platform and he jabbed her several times as hard as he could on her head and shoulders. According to

[14] Fit's father had died, and his mother had married a man of another sib.

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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865 Social sanctions as well as fear of retaliation play a part in determining the manner in which a child will react to pain from the social environment. Custom as well as natural expediency dictates when it is appropriate to be aggressive, when submissive. Custom also specifies the manner in which either of these responses may be expressed. Members of the community stand ready to punish deviations from custom.

A child is punished for being too submissive. If he runs away when he has a right to retaliate, members of the hamlet who observe such action scold him for being cowardly. If he is afraid to join in the childhood games, he is teased for acting like a baby, especially if he runs away when both he and his brother are attacked. An instance of this occurred when Gwiyap, Mey, and Fit were playing the "homosexual" game. Gwiyap caught Fit and threw him down, and Mey ran away. [593] The boys' uncle, Yat, who was watching, scolded Mey severely for running away when his *brother* needed help. "If your *brother* is in trouble, it is your duty to fight for him."

Children are punished for being inappropriately aggressive. If a child is aggressive when he should be submissive, or more aggressive than the circumstances warrant, he is called to task by members of the community who observe it. Kwoma children may tease, punish, or scold a younger sibling, but [602] may not actually injure him. A child is continually being lectured about the great value which his relatives will have for him throughout his life in terms both of defense and of economic aid. Parents say: "You and your *brother* are 'one blood.' If you hurt him, you hurt yourself." For a boy, the sanction against hurting a *sister* is more severe than that against hurting a *brother*. An aggressive act which, if made toward a *brother*, would pass unnoticed, is punished if made toward a *sister*.

The reaction of the community to the fight reported above between Mey and Fit illustrates the operation of the social [602] sanction on aggressive behavior. Several older *brothers* of the two boys were sitting around the breakfast fire when the fight started. Their reaction was one of laughter and of egging the boys on. Soon after I asked Gwiyap, who had been

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

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826 He is taught that growth depends upon the renewal of blood,
856 and that food produces blood, which promotes growth as long as it is fresh. When blood has been in the system for a time, however, it begins to grow stale and finally rotten, and then growth ceases until the bad blood is removed from the body. It is furthermore believed that the best method of removing this bad blood from the system is through the penis.[20] As might be expected, children with a strong wish to grow up and with a method which they are told will accomplish it, take this means even though it is painful. Boys frequently go into the bushes and scrape their penises with nettle leaves so that the blood may flow out. For some reason that I could not discover, perhaps because penis scraping was associated with masturbation, boys performed this act only in private and were ashamed if they were discovered. One day Gwiyap, seeing that Mey had left his net bag lying in my house, opened it and pulled out a bundle of nettles. When Mey came in, I asked him about the bundle. He became very embarrassed and said, "Oh, just something of mine." When Gwiyap began to tease him about it, he ran from the house.

It would perhaps be more appropriate to describe this complex in terms of the fear of not growing up rather than in terms of the wish to grow up. The following cases suggest that this is probably the way in which Kwoma boys think of it. Fit asked me if I had performed this rite when I was a child, and when I answered that I had not, his mouth dropped
[123] in amazement. "How did you grow up, then?" he asked. Gwiyap, who was also present, settled the matter by explaining to Fit that white men are different from Kwoma. On another occasion Ham asked me the same question and was equally amazed at my answer. Apparently Fit had told him what I had said, and Ham had asked me to make sure that Fit was not teasing him.

[787] [20] This belief concerns health as well as growth, and, as has already been shown, phlebotomy is practiced in the case of sickness, in order to "let out the bad blood."

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CHAPTER V

ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumbima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

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881 561 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who [608] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes [304] the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three [292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[1] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three [535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. [786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[1] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an ado-
252 lescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities.
602 While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a ***brother*** and ***sister*** form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my housemays, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbima hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

[252] [476] An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [226] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the criteria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more industrious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more important criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big, strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly, were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, Uka, a powerfully built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always mentioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her husband left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from relatives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents, but the boy and his family would not accept her because she was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy. When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs. When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms. If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is not worth any."

Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, industriousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

* Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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882 839 [123] intimate relationship with my other informants. This, together with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could determine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse suspicion. [795] The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161-162.

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his face, combs his hair, and nowadays also dons his gayest laplap, and either walks past the girl's house or down a path where he is likely to meet her. He also plays an active part by resorting to love magic. He tries to put scrapings from a fingernail of his left hand or blood from the left side[13] of his penis into the lime gourd or cigarette of a woman whom he desires. If she ingests these magical substances, it is believed that she will have an uncontrollable sexual desire for the man who gave them to her.

In his sexual activities a boy also runs the risk of making a girl pregnant. If this should happen, her relatives try to force her to name the father of the child. If she names a particular youth as the father, he will be forced by her relatives either to marry her or to pay them an indemnity in shell money. Threats of sorcery or violence are employed to bring about the marriage or extract the payment. The reason given for the indemnity is that if a girl has had a child before marriage no one will pay a full bride-price for her. If a boy is willing to marry the girl anyway, he is not greatly inhibited by the fear of making her pregnant, although there is some social stigma attached to such an event. If the girl is unattractive, however, this factor assumes greater importance.

The danger from the relatives of a girl has certain consequences in controlling an adolescent boy's general behavior toward a girl as well as in determining his mode of sexual behavior. Breaches in etiquette with respect to females become much more serious than they were during childhood. We have seen that, if he stared at the genitals of his mother or sister as a child, he was scolded by the female at whom he stared; when he reaches the age of puberty such behavior is defined as specifically sexual. If he now stares at a girl, her relatives classify the act as a sexual advance and react to it accordingly. To be sure, they do not react as strongly as to an actual liaison, but they usually criticize him and may even insult and threaten him. Even staring at a girl's body in gen-

[13] The only explanation that I could get for the idea that the left side is important was that work is done with the right hand, and that this, for some reason, made the left side preferable in sexual matters.

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882 834 eral, and not specifically at her genitalia, may lead to suspicion, if it is more than a quick identifying glance. A boy must restrain his eyes even when the girl's relatives are not present, for she may report his breach of etiquette with similar results. For these reasons we had considerable difficulty taking photographs of females. As the Kwoma women phrased it, a photograph "caught" their genitals and made it possible for them to be looked at without the possibility of social control. After we had taken several pictures of women in ignorance of the prevailing sentiments, we were told by both the women and by their relatives to take no more.

To avoid the sanctions against looking, a boy either keeps his eyes fixed on the ground or sits or stands with his back to a woman whenever he is in her presence. If he happens to be sitting facing a path down which a woman is walking, he must arise and stand with his back to it until she has passed. He may not speak to her until she has passed him; when they are both back to back he may speak to, but must not look at, her. Whenever he meets adult females on a path, they turn aside and stand with their backs to the path until he has passed. He must keep his eyes on the ground and must not stop and talk to them until they are behind him. If a boy goes visiting, he must be very careful in his behavior. He may only quickly glance under the porch to note who is there and must then keep his eyes on the ground until he has found a seat facing away from the women, when he may gossip with them over his shoulder.

An adolescent boy must obey these rules with respect to all adolescent and adult females except those who live in his own household, with whom he need not be so elaborately careful. His behavior toward them does not differ appreciably from that which he learned during childhood; he may not stare at their genitals, but he is not restricted from looking at them
832 in general. When no one else is around and when a girl has made sexual advances toward a boy, he may look at her. In fact, this is defined as part of the preliminaries to sexual behavior. Just as boys avoid the sanctions against sexual intercourse by having affairs in secret, so they develop techniques

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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he had had sexual experiences, but feared punishment or disapproval if he confessed, so I told him that boys of his age in America had intercourse and cited several examples. He was much interested, and asked if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him that the boys kept it a secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that Americans had a means of preventing pregnancy. He expressed his amazement at this, and the subject was dropped. The next night, however, when we were discussing other matters, he brought up the subject again and mentioned six girls, three of them his *sisters*, with whom he claimed to have had sexual relations. One of them was Awa, Mar's sister. He recounted his experiences with great gusto, but warned me not to tell Mar about them, especially about his affair with Awa.

About two months later Gwiyap appeared with his hair combed and a new laplap around his waist and told me that he had a date that afternoon with Famba, a girl of his own generation and lineage, whom he addressed as *sister*. After playing ball for a while with some of the other boys, he departed. That evening I asked him how he had fared. He answered that his "shitnothing" *brother*, Fit, had followed him to the tryst. He had told him not to come and finally had chased him back with a stick, but when he finally met Famba he had not dared do anything because he was afraid that Fit had sneaked after him and was spying.

Two weeks later while I was sitting with Gwiyap in front of my house, Kwiya came by carrying firewood. She was a girl of about the same age as Gwiyap who lived in the same house and belonged to the same lineage. As she passed he exchanged bawdy remarks with her, as is the custom between *brother* and *sister*. Then he said to me that he thought he would go to America with me when I left because so many girls liked him and asked him to cohabit with them that he would certainly get in trouble if he stayed at Kwoma. He then recounted his sexual experiences. There was Kwiya, the girl who had just passed, and Awa, Mar's sister, both of whom were his household mates. Then there was Famba,

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[418] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[464] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing."[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[361] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sa-*
[196] *kana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
539 "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [518] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

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584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed
582 against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed
[754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re-
[158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in
[602] his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. [123] [838] [839] In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 834 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[28]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[28] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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882 794 533 eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

882 796 794 796 534 302 On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tamberan gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event. He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the prescribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[26] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[26] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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882 602 554 166 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[32] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[33] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual cooperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[32] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[33] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 881 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry. 572 608

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material. 882 609 [867] [574] [576] [276] [754]

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when 882 609 578 [865]

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their coöperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man." 882 609 836

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud. 602 578 [583] [626] [627]

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness. 882 584 602 578

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 584 602 578 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him, and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 836 602 578 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives. 882 836 584 602 578

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed. 882 721 648 609

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects. 882 562 [224] [881] [781]

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so. [754]

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
628 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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ment, and, in the case of boys, to be less terrified of the supernatural environment. They discover that sorcery can be combated and that *marsalai* are, in part at least, a fraud. Their social environment expands. The battlefield on which they fight to be respected now extends beyond the hamlet instead of being confined primarily to their siblings as it was during childhood. They learn the value both of maintaining safe relationships and of threatening to break them. Perhaps most important of all, they learn not to let anyone impose upon them.

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CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 A KWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less pub- [608] lic manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbima hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group cooperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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476 relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not
574 have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this
262 call and appear the next morning at the place where the
[203] work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the
[621] households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

241 The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision
311 which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the
[417] hamlet or in an outlying district.[4] If the garden is planted
[231] near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

241 The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number
476 of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is nor-
[462] mally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[423] [4] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine. 241 244

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling. [482] [462]

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe. 241 244 422 343 251

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight. 244 249 245

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does 000

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is an occupation which a Kwoma male does for the first time as an adult. Women never hunt. A man usually hunts alone, although occasionally he will allow an adolescent boy to accompany him and watch. The bait-and-blind technique is considered the most effective method. For bait the hunter cuts down a sago palm in the swamp wherever pig signs are evident. He erects a blind of fronds alongside this, and on a moonlight night waits for the prey to come to eat the fresh sago pith. The hunter may crouch in the mud for several hours before the sound of sloshing footsteps, punctuated with deep grunts and the breaking of dead sago fronds, heralds the arrival of the game. If he is lucky enough to attract a wild pig to his bait, he edges slowly and soundlessly along the blind to a point opposite his prey and then rises slowly and thrusts his spear into the beast's heart.

The Kwoma also hunt with trained dogs. They walk through the swamp until their dog picks up the fresh trail of a wild pig. If the dog brings his quarry to bay, the hunter dispatches it with a spear. Wild pigs are also trapped. A hole about four feet in diameter and five feet deep is dug in a pig trail and covered lightly with twigs and leaves. The trapper visits this pitfall periodically.

After a pig has been killed it must be transported from the swamp to the hamlet. If the pig is not full grown the hunter lifts it across the back of his neck and carries it as a shepherd does a lamb. If the hog is full grown and fattened on sago pith, however, it is too heavy for a man to carry alone. He therefore, if possible, drags the carcass to a pool and leaves it immersed in water while he goes home to get help from his *brothers*. Kwoma theory believes that the meat keeps better immersed in water than if it is simply left where it falls. At least three men are required to carry a large hog. Two of them lift the burden onto the back of the third man, and he staggers as far as he can before the hog is transferred to the shoulders of another. By taking turns in this way the carcass is finally brought home.

The adult man of the hamlet who is most adept at butchering usually performs this task. The pig is laid on its back on

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.[4] The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

[4] Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [476] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[796] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[59] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[865] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decora'e, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[649] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house, plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its male members build their houses. The exact site is decided by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with respect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sections belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

The responsibility for defending property rights in land, produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life. He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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685 628 578 next day Yat sent a message to Sumwe Sumwe, announcing that he had discovered that his pig blind had been destroyed and that if they trespassed on his land again there would be trouble. The Sumwe Sumwe returned an equally aggressive message to the effect that Yat had built his blind on their property and that he had better not try to rebuild it. Angry and insulting messages flew back and forth most of the day. A few days later Yat again visited his pig blind, and on the way he met Dowar. Both of them were carrying their pig spears. After an angry exchange of insults, according to Yat, he challenged Dowar to a spear duel, but the latter threw down his spear and ran. Yat picked up the discarded spear and broke it against a tree. Then he returned home and boasted of his prowess at the house tamberan that evening. The topic for gossip was again that the Sumwe Sumwe were a bad lot and, in addition, were cowards. Many tales were recounted of their sexual depravity. Yat felt that Dowar had learned his lesson and would not interfere again. He said that if the offense were repeated, he would take the case to the patrol officer.[19]

685 621 578 Another case involved theft within the house-tamberan group. Kafa, Yat's wife, began shouting angrily one afternoon at Mar's betrothed, Yawa, accusing her of stealing sago grubs from a tree on her husband's plot. Yawa, being a rather cowardly and unaggressive girl, made a feeble denial, but Mar's mother and *aunt* immediately took over her defense and shouted invective in reply. Yat's other wife then joined in the argument, and for almost an hour the four women kept up a stream of insult, accusation, and threat. Now and again other women of the neighborhood would make a point on one side or the other, but none of the men joined in the argument. I asked Mar what he was going to do about it. He replied that it was a woman's argument and no affair of his. He was not very fond of his betrothed, and felt that she was a lazy good-for-nothing who had been foisted on him. He commented proudly on his mother's sharp

[19] If the dispute had continued it probably would have actually been settled at a meeting of the subtribal court.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

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593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [613] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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protectors. With regard to these affairs the Kwoma take the attitude that they are discreditable only if discovered. Every man knows that his wife is probably unfaithful to him, but unless he is extremely jealous he does not spy on her and punishes her only if she is indiscreet enough to be conspicuous.

There are two occasions of ceremonial sexual license. One occurs during the yam-cult ceremonies. As described in the previous chapter, the yam cult is divided into two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*, and every Kwoma male is initiated into one or the other of these sections at pubescence. When the cult holds a ceremony, the *Yenama* dance on the first day and night, and the *Minjama* on the second. On the afternoon of the first day, the married women of the tribe dance in the clearing on one side of the house tamberan. They bring with them net bags which are decorated on one side only. These they hold above their heads as they dance with the decoration either toward them or away from them, depending on whether their husband belongs to *Yenama* or *Minjama*, and the men note the information thus given. Taking advantage of the fact that all the *Yenama* men will be at the house tamberan that night, the *Minjama* visit their wives. The *Yenama* have a chance to retaliate on the following night when the *Minjama* men are dancing. The second occasion for ceremonial sexual license occurs during one of the nights of the age-grade initiation ceremonies when the men and women dance together at the house tamberan. During the dance, the women slip tokens to the men of their choice as a sign that they are willing to have intercourse with them, and the couples unobtrusively drop out of the dance and repair to the bush. For several days before and after these occasions of license, salacious jokes and sly boasting are rife. The taboo on sexual relations between relatives operates with respect to all extramarital affairs.

When a man has children, daughters appear as a new interdicted category of women. The following myth represents the Kwoma horror of such a relationship and the intensity of guilt associated with breaking this incest taboo.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [678] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[762] [192] [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy. 834 885 888

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor. 587

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives. 768 583 [602]

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none. 595

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work, 591 342 476 [885]

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him. 000

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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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796 794 533 posing rhythms become the orchestra leaders and may hum out a new arrangement to be interpreted under their directions by the gong-players. "Let's try this one—'gading gadong, gading gadong, kura kura, kura kura',"[28] he will say, and each player must know which part his gong should take and should be able to translate the words of the leader into the proper blows on the lips of the gong at the proper moment. Usually the leader merely suggests that a named rhythm be played, if the ritual permits such a choice, or, if not, simply directs the players. Good players are permitted to play only when the gong rhythms are the central part of the ritual, and the dubs and novices take their turn when the gongs are being used primarily to accompany the dancers, so that every member of the cult has an opportunity to perform on the gongs at some time during the ceremony. While those who play well are praised, those who are clumsy and inept are teased, criticized, and ridiculed.

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796 794 535 554 Dancing during the cult ceremonies also provides an opportunity for a man to gain status. He may be applauded either for being a tireless, or for being a spectacular, performer. The man who can dance an entire night without ever sitting down to rest and smoke is spoken of as having "dry bones" and being "hard too much." Similarly, anyone who can join the dance with fervor when it is lagging and put new spirit into the performance is highly regarded. Once at a *Nokwi* ceremony, when a dance which had been going on for several hours had begun to lag, a man who had just arrived, adorned with particularly striking face paint and decorations, rushed into the circle balancing a spear over his head, stamping his feet on the ground, and shouting. The other dancers quickly caught his enthusiasm, the tempo increased, and loiterers joined in. Spectators shook their heads, smacked their lips, and allowed that he was indeed a man of parts.

794 796 533 Singing provides another means of self-expression during the ceremonies of the yam cult. The men blend their voices

[28] This is actually a formalised gong rhythm known as "the cassowary" and supposed to represent a hen cassowary and her chicks.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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821 776 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

753 755 [796] Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

825 776 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth. 825 776 789 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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lets, when they hear this rhythm, rush to their own house tamberans and repeat the rhythm on their gongs. The *marsalai* must tremble, it is said, when he hears the thunderous command issuing successively from each house tamberan in each of the Kwoma subtribes. Doubtless he hastily shuts his mouth.

A Kwoma male must submit to the hazing of age-grade initiation even after he has reached adulthood. There are four occasions on which he attends this ceremony as an initiate, and, since it takes place only once every five years, there are normally three rites during adulthood when he must permit his *ceremonial father* to slash his tongue and penis. Thus it is not until a man is over thirty that he ceases to be an initiate. On each occasion he advances a degree in prestige and is permitted to wear a certain hair ornament that those of lower grades may not wear. Just as the newly initiated adolescent derogated the uninitiated children, so the adult derogates those in stages below him and struts about wearing his newly acquired headgear.

After a man has passed through the initiation cycle, he takes his turn as an initiator. He adopts a *ceremonial son* whom he sponsors through the cycle. Finally, at the age of fifty or more, after twenty years as an initiate and twenty years as an initiator, he attends the age-grade ceremonies merely as a spectator.

The attitude of an adult man toward ghosts differs little from that of a child. He still reacts to them with a mixture of aggression and avoidance. Kwoma men are quite loath to walk very far from their dwellings after dark, and if they do so they either carry a torch or wear a dagger made from a human thigh bone, both of which are supposed to frighten ghosts and make them keep their distance. In spite of these precautions, men not infrequently encounter what they believe to be ghosts. One evening I heard frightened shouting, then the patter of feet rushing by the house, and finally angry shouts and imprecations from the house tamberan. The next morning I learned that Kar and Marok had stayed late on a visit to another hamlet and had been forced to re-

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885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[30]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[30] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

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754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 627 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[31] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[32] against him or one of his relatives.

[31] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[32] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

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A person is seldom, if ever, convicted of sorcery. I am reasonably certain that there were many fewer occasions on which sorcery was actually practiced than there were cases of sickness and death attributed to this cause. I was unable to discover anyone who would admit to having practiced sorcery, and the Kwoma themselves were unable to convict any sorcerer during my stay, despite their constant efforts to do so. This evidence should not, of course, be taken as proof that men never practice sorcery, but as indicating the probability that they rarely do so. 754

Mar's nervous breakdown illustrates how sorcery works from the point of view of the person sorcerized and how it may be used as an explanation for neurotic anxiety. One evening shortly after Mar began his courtship of Aya we heard him exchanging shouts with someone down the mountainside. Later he came to my house and told me that he had been arguing with Waramus. The latter had discovered that Mar wanted to marry Aya and had shouted: "You stay away from my daughter; you are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry a lazy person like you, and one who is her relative, too?" When Mar had told me this, he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater?" I reassured him. He then bit his underlip, raised his hand, and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, "That damned Waramus! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." I asked, "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" and he replied, "It is too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." 159 754

Mar did not carry out his threat, nor did he make any move to see Aya for the next few days. A week later he went with several of his *brothers* and *sisters* and his betrothed to work on their garden. Three days later Fit came running back from the garden and told us that Mar was dying. He said that Mar had had a nightmare the previous night and that his father's ghost had appeared and tried to take his soul away. We took some medicine and went back to the garden with Fit and Wof, who had also been told of Mar's sickness. When we arrived at Mar's bush house, he was moan- [787]

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159 754 [129] ing on his bark slab bed. He seemed unable to talk and could only groan inarticulately. We took his temperature and found that it was normal. When we asked him where the pain was, he shook his head, refusing to answer. Wof then diagnosed the sickness as the result of sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies, he dies, that's all." This elicited a groan from Mar. We told him that we had some very strong medicine which would counteract sorcery, at which he lifted his head and looked at us with a doglike expression and then took the Eno's salts which we gave him. We suggested that he go home, for the bush house was damp and lonely, but he groaned and shook his head at this suggestion, indicating that he could not make it. Wof then gathered some nettle leaves, formed them into a cone, into which he muttered a prayer, and then rubbed them over Mar's chest and belly. This made Mar gasp and come out of his lethargy enough to mumble that he believed Waramus was sorcerizing him for courting Aya. We finally raised him to his feet. Leaning heavily on us, he swayed and staggered but was able to walk. As the trip progressed, he seemed to become stronger and for the last part of the journey walked unaided, but when we arrived at his home he fell groaning on his bed, where he stayed for two days without speaking. Wof meanwhile approached Waramus, who denied that he had sorcerized Mar, but said that he still did not want him to court his daughter.

Mar did not leave his house for over a week, gradually recovering his voice and his strength. He believed that Waramus had sorcerized him but had stopped after being accused by Wof, and that this had saved his life. Waramus denied Wof's accusation, and as far as I was able to determine his denial was truthful. The case would have progressed in much the same way, however, whether he had done so or not. Thus it is evident that sorcery functions as an explanation for sickness and that accusations are made against persons who are feared, and finally that the actual performance of black magic is not pertinent.[11]

[787] [11] The fact that Mar had a nightmare in which his father's ghost attempted to take his soul suggests that his sickness may have been due to

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When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death repeatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus.

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

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761 take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer
754 will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the
[648] next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was
[764] hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited
[123] voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[38] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

602 The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear
764 of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the
[765] corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[38] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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clay or mud, and give up some preferred article in their diet during the interval between the first and second funeral ceremonies. Whether a person makes such manifestations of sorrow depends more on how close a bond of friendship or dependence he has established with the deceased than upon formal kinship ties. 602 764 [765]

Beliefs about ghosts, as well as fear of sorcery and the feeling of bereavement, determine Kwoma death customs. It is thought that the ghosts of the relatives of the deceased come to escort his soul to the land of the dead. It is further believed that they are attracted by the corpse and hover near the body both while it is in the house and when it is on the funeral platform, and do not leave until the bleached bones are finally buried. If a Kwoma does not express sufficient sorrow for the death of a relative, the ghost of the deceased is likely to become angry and either frighten or possess the unappreciative man or woman. Thus those who are not motivated by personal feelings for the deceased may still mourn to avoid antagonizing his ghost. 775 765

A corpse is allowed to lie in the house until a burial platform is built. Early in the morning of the day following the death, the relatives erect near the house of the deceased a covered platform set on stilts about ten feet from the ground. When it is finished, the corpse is placed upon a wooden shield carried by several of the male relatives and lifted to the platform with the aid of a ladder. The body is then washed, and three of the spears of the deceased are placed across the neck, abdomen, and legs and lashed to the floor of the platform to prevent the corpse from falling. The points of the spears are broken so that they will not be stolen. These rites are performed by any old man who is willing to play the rôle of undertaker. All who have had contact with the body wash themselves immediately as a prophylactic against the sickness which they believe would otherwise result. 764

A corpse is allowed to stay on the burial platform for several months. During this time the relatives who have chosen to go into mourning continue to fast and to daub themselves with clay. At the end of this time a second funeral is held, 765

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765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[37] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[38]

885 571 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 593 602 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still command and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[37] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[38] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an adz in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 If he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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621 sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example,
578 had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A
[514] number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded
[346] as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another local-
[648] ity to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

593 A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his
578 wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very
[754] effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

593 already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and [583] she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride- [842] price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out [586] to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

842 The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mix- 843 ture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

844 When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or near- [754] by households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[597] [39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[43] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[44] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[43] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[44] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother*
[601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is
[881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though
[574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite
[754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos
[765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to
[764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476] 602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the chil-
dren of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common inter-
[628] ests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[619] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the subtribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't 609 156 578 123

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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609 578 [156] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."

648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma [439] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only ex- [436] change sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail [582] visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, [574] there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and [796] Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

" Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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Finally they killed him, cut him up like a
727 pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed
[266] to eat the soup,[50] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

726 The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently em-
[721] ployed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and
727 fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

721 A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain
554 prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man
[794] is eligible to join *Nokwi*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwi* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwi* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[829] [50] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

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Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

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721 593 578 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even [302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her. [648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

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Ambunti, the government post. Some of the men present had seen six river natives hanged by the white government for head-hunting and did not relish the idea of being caught themselves. They said that it would be much safer to attack Sowal, a tribe far in the swamp which the whites had not yet visited. Wof, a *brother* of War, voiced another objection to the raid. He pointed out that his gardens adjoined Yelagu territory, and since they would be sure to retaliate, it would not be safe for him to work in his garden if the raid were carried out. The group disbanded, excited but undecided. 721 648

For two weeks there was a great deal of discussion among the men of the tribe. War and Wof argued with particular vehemence, War presenting over and again the reasons why it was a good idea to raid the Yelagu, and Wof countering with his objections. The two even broke relationship for a time because of the dispute. Neither visited the other's house, and they passed one another guardedly without speaking. The other men of the tribe, meanwhile, had been swayed by the argument that there was considerable danger of punishment from the whites if Yelagu were attacked, whereas Sowal involved much less danger. It was also reported that high water had driven the Sowal out of their central village, and that they were living on knolls in small isolated groups that would be particularly vulnerable. The pressure of these arguments finally forced War to give up his idea of attacking Yelagu, and he threw his weight into planning for the Sowal raid. He and Wof reëstablished their relationship. [578]

War and some of the older men of the hamlet began to incite the young men to go on the raid. He told them that this was their chance to become big men. In particular he played upon the emotions of Mes, because he, as my shoot boy, could use a gun. The effect of these incendiary talks put Mar in a strong conflict. One evening he came to talk to me about it. He told me that he had decided not to go on the raid. He was afraid that the raiders would get in trouble with the whites, and he was not going to have anything to do with it. Then he began talking about what he would lose by not going and started to weep. He sobbed: "Never mind. I'll

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721 never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my
648 life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near
[703] War's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs
[262] bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned
[526] the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[52] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[123] [52] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

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View of the Sepik River taken from near Rumbima house tamberan. The forested slopes of the Peilungua range upon which the Kwoma dwell may be seen in the right foreground and left center. The sago swamp at the base of this range extends from the left foreground to the right center. The light section which is partially surrounded by this swamp is a mat of grass floating on the lake, the unchoked part of which may be seen beyond. Above and to the right of the lake may be seen glimpses of the Sepik as it winds its way around the spur at the left toward Ambunti. See Chapter I, page 8.

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Coöperative work group constructing the house of the ethnographers. The roofing material is split limbom palm spathes. The construction is that used by the Kwoma in making bush houses, permanent dwellings having an enclosed room and sewn shingles. See Chapter VI, pages 129–130.

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Work bee dragging a log from the forest where it was cut to the Rumbima house tamberan. The log was later hollowed into a slit gong which Yat contributed to the community. The workers are those of Yat's relatives who answered his call for help. In return he will provide them with a feast.
See Chapter VII, pages 198–199.

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

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Mundik just after he had fled to our house for sanctuary after having been beaten and bound for attending the cult meeting associated with the second funeral feast. This ceremony is restricted to those who have received their keloids of manhood. Mundik, being a Yelagu, had not received these. A further reason for his being beaten was that he had killed his wife in a fit of rage and fled to Kwoma, his mother's former home, to escape being killed by his wife's relatives. The Kwoma shunned him and used his breach of cult rules as an excuse for expressing their feelings toward a person they believed to be a homicidal maniac. Had he not loosened the bonds on his ankles and escaped from the house in which he was imprisoned, he may well have been killed before the ceremony ended. See Chapter VI, page 144, and Chapter VIII, page 213.

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Awa mending a fish net. She is repairing the hoop with a piece of split liana. Awa, Mar's real sister, was one of the adolescent girls of Rumbima hamlet. See Chapter V.

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Kum, the chief character of the weaning period. See Chapter III.

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Gwiyap, our best informant, wearing a laplap which he had earned working for us as a house boy. See Chapter V.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

THE previous chapters have stressed the particular customs which Kwoma society chooses to transmit to its children, the categories of persons who teach them, and the stage in the life cycle of the individual to which these customs apply. The purpose has been to present the data on these aspects of Kwoma life so that they might be useful for comparative or historical purposes.

The present chapter is devoted primarily to an inquiry into the nature of the transmission of culture and to a psychological analysis of the manner in which this transmission takes place. Although Kwoma data are employed in this analysis and the statements are made in terms of these data, the purpose is to develop hypotheses concerning the process of socialization which have significance not alone for the Kwoma but for all cultures. It is obvious that such hypotheses, validated by only a single society, cannot be considered more than tentative. Since the data with which to test these hypotheses in other societies have not yet been reported in the anthropological literature, they are presented in this form, primarily in the hope that they may be sufficiently suggestive to be tested by those future fieldworkers who become interested in a theory of the transmission of culture.

Were the transmission of culture a genetic process, it would be expedient to turn to the biologist for a basic theory of socialization. Anthropologists have demonstrated, however, that the behavior of peoples in various societies is not instinctive but cultural; it is a matter of habits. Since a habit is something which is learned, it is evident that a theory of learning must form the basis for an understanding of the process of socialization.

The theory of learning developed by psychologists has been demonstrated to apply both to animals and to men in Western society. It may be assumed that this theory also

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applies to the behavior of the members of other human societies. Such an assumption follows from the more general hypothesis of the basic psychological unity of mankind, an hypothesis which has been supported by anthropological evidence. Although it may be assumed that the basic mechanisms of learning apply to the Kwoma, it remains to be demonstrated how the Kwoma take advantage of these mechanisms to indoctrinate and train the oncoming generation; from this evidence some hypotheses concerning socialization may be developed.

Learning does not take place in a vacuum, but only when certain necessary conditions are present. In social learning these conditions are determined by the society, the culture, and the natural environment, whereas in the laboratory the conditions have been determined by the experimenters who have artificially and systematically varied them. Psychologists have built mazes of different shapes, decided where and when to provide food or electric shock, and carefully controlled the degree of hunger of the experimental animal by withholding food from it. With human subjects they have similarly varied the conditions. They have used fear of authority and the wish for approval as motives and employed praise or money as rewards whenever the problem investigated demanded it. It has been expedient for the psychologists to control the conditions in this way, for by so doing they have been able to discover many of the dynamics of learning. From the point of view of the social scientist concerned with the problem of socialization, however, psychologists have accomplished only part of the task, for the conditions under which social learning takes place are determined by the necessities of social living and by the regulations of the existing culture. The conditions of social learning are for the social scientist to study, not to manipulate.

Before examining the social and cultural conditions of learning, it will be helpful to present a summary of the findings of the psychologists which are most relevant to the present problem. Reinforcement, the most basic of learning principles, can best be presented in the following paradigm. This

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statement of the essential conditions for habit formation has been adapted from the theories of Pavlov, Thorndike, and Hull by Miller and Dollard.[1] Since this adaptation has been developed for use in the field of social learning, it precisely fulfills the requirements of this chapter. In order to learn, an animal must be motivated, he must act, he must perceive the cues that are present during his action, and he must gain satisfaction. In outline form the Miller-Dollard paradigm may be presented thus: There must be a

A. *Drive* or drives of sufficient intensity to produce a
B. *Response* or series of responses made in the presence of
C. *Cues* which stimulate the animal's receptors until a[2]
D. *Reward* reduces the intensity of the drive.

Whenever the above conditions occur, the bond which connects the drives and cues to the response is strengthened. That is, when the organism again experiences the same drive and the same cues, it will have a greater tendency to make the same response. In the early stages of learning the increment in the strength of the habit is large, but after the conditions represented in the paradigm have been frequently repeated, and the habit well established, the increments become progressively smaller. Each time the conditions expressed in the paradigm are repeated and the habit thereby strengthened, reinforcement may be said to have occurred.[3]

The drives which are of greatest importance in the process of socialization are: hunger, thirst, sex, colon distention, bladder distention, heat, cold, fatigue, and pain.[4] Each of these drives may vary in intensity, and this variation is a function of the interaction between the organism and the environment.

[1] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. 3.

[2] Cues are also present during and after the reward, but these are not relevant to the formation of the habit in question.

[3] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. ii; E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. 4; C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

[4] For a recent statement of socially relevant drives see H. A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (New York, 1938), pp. 67–89.

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121 The intensity of the hunger drive depends both upon metabolic processes within the organism and upon the amount and kind of food provided by the environment. The hunger becomes more intense as the number of hours of food deprivation increases. It becomes strong more quickly when the expenditure of energy increases the rate of metabolism. Its intensity is an inverse function of the amount of food previously ingested and depends in a complex manner upon the physiological needs of the organism and how adequately they have been satisfied by the types of food available. In a similar way the other drives vary in intensity according to processes which take place within the organism and according to factors in the external environment which need not be detailed here.[5]

Acquired drives, as well as the above-listed basic ones, motivate behavior and belong in category A of the Miller-Dollard paradigm. Although these acquired drives are most frequently found to be the immediate impelling force for social habits, their intensity and even their very existence depend upon a continued relationship with basic drives.[6] It is not necessary here to describe the manner in which acquired drives come into being, but simply to state that whereas basic drives depend upon the relationship between the organism and the environment, acquired drives depend, in addition, upon the past experience of the organism. In other words, acquired drives must themselves be learned. Fear,[7] anger,[8] the wish for prestige, the desire for money, the

[113] [5] The best evidence for the factors which govern the intensity of drives has been adduced by the physiologists; for hunger see W. B. Cannon, *The Wisdom of the Body* (New York, 1932); for a general statement see C. P. Richter, "Animal Behavior and Internal Drives," *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, II (1927), no. 3, pp. 307–343; for experimental evidence on drives see P. T. Young, *Motivation in Behavior* (New York, 1936).

[113] [6] For a detailed account of acquired drives see N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

[113] [7] See S. Freud, *The Problem of Anxiety* (New York, 1936); E. Zinn, "Anxiety, Clinically Viewed," and O. H. Mowrer, "Anxiety, Some Social and Psychological Implications," *Papers Presented before the Monday Night Group* (1939–40), pp. 116–144, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.

[115] [8] See John Dollard, *et al.*, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven,

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wish for words of praise, the craving for affection, and the various conditioned disgusts and appetites are examples of acquired drives.

The second essential of learning is that a response shall be made. Responses may be gross muscular, such as walking, running, throwing a spear; glandular, such as the secretion of gastric juices; verbal, such as issuing a command; or ideational, such as thinking, fantasying, or planning. In fact, any activity of the organism falls in the category of a response.

Cues, the third essential for learning, are those stimuli which act as guides in the performance of any response. They tell the organism when, where, and how to act. They may originate from objects outside the organism, such as patterns of light, sound, smell, taste, and touch, or they may arise within the organism, as in the case of feelings of hunger, thirst, bladder and colon distentions, stomach cramps, and stimuli arising from the movement of muscles.[9] A cue is thus any stimulus which is appreciated by an organism and which acts as a guide in the learning or performance of a habit.

Reward, the final essential condition for the formation of a habit, may be defined as an event which reduces the intensity of a drive. The ingestion of food reduces the hunger drive; drinking reduces thirst; sexual orgasm reduces the sex drive; defecation and urination reduce colon and bladder distentions; escape from heat, cold, fatigue, and pain effect the reduction of the heat, cold, fatigue, and pain drives.[10]

Since there are acquired drives, there are also corresponding acquired rewards. In so far as one is motivated to strive for social goals, he gains satisfaction from achieving them. Safety, high status, the destruction of enemies, the gaining

1939); N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

[9] Both drives and cues are stimuli. When the intensity of a stimulus is its most important function, it may be spoken of as a drive, when it functions primarily as a guide, it may be referred to as a cue.

[10] The response which is most closely correlated in time with a reward is called a goal response.

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

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[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219–245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept of *free* trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33–54, 134–152.

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121 tried them.[18] For various reasons this accumulation of adap-
861 tive habits is passed on to the child. He does not simply learn to get along in the world; he is socialized. Thus an essential set of conditions for social learning is the behavior of the socializing agents. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of these conditions and their relation to social learning.

Before the analysis of teaching techniques is undertaken, several terms which are to be used should be defined. The terms "teacher" and "pupil" will be employed in a special sense, the former to mean anyone who attempts to change the habit structure of another person, the latter, any person whose habit structure is being so changed. Although Kwoma parents most frequently play the rôle of teacher, with their children as pupils, the teacher-pupil relation is not by any means restricted to them. Co-mothers, siblings, *paternal uncles* and *aunts*, and other relatives frequently play the rôle of teacher as well. The concept of teacher will also be extended in this context even to an adult who tries to influence the behavior of another adult. Although such behavior may be considered an act of aggression or coöperation, as the case may be, it is also a teacher-pupil relationship if a habit of the pupil is thereby strengthened or weakened.

A second set of terms will be used for responses, which will be characterized as "right," "not right," "wrong," and "not wrong." A right response is a specific act which the teacher wishes the pupil to make, whereas not right responses are all those acts which are incompatible with the right response under the given conditions. Similarly, a wrong response is a specific act which the teacher wishes the pupil not to make, and not wrong responses are all those acts which are incompatible with the wrong response under the given circumstances. These concepts may be illustrated from the cases which will be reported in detail below. When Wof punished Buka for failing to gather firewood, "getting firewood" was the right response, while playing, sleeping, eating, gossiping,

[113] [18] See A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution* (New York, 1929); W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), chap. v.

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or any other response which Buka might make when she should be getting firewood can be described as not right responses. When Mes warned Kwos not to play with a cartridge, "playing with the cartridge" was the wrong response, while doing anything else would be the not wrong responses. Teachers normally describe the specific act, whether it be right or wrong, and refer to the not right or not wrong responses as the negative of the specific act. Sometimes they exemplify the not right or not wrong, by stating a specific act in the negative category. For example, in the above cases Wof may have specified playing as one of the not right acts which Buka did, or Mes might have specified joining the play group as a not wrong response. Teachers normally try to make their pupils learn to make a right response or to make a not wrong response. The other two categories, not right and wrong, denote behavior which the teacher wishes to prevent, but which he can prevent only by teaching the pupil an incompatible habit, i.e., right or not wrong, respectively. This will be illustrated in the cases to be analyzed below.

In socializing their pupils, Kwoma teachers use various techniques, all of which make practical use of the paradigm of learning presented above.[16] Some of these techniques stress motivation, some the response, some the cues, and some the rewards, but the whole process is implicit in all of them. Kwoma teachers use different techniques for different situations; the kind of habit to be taught, the age and maturity of the pupil, and the kin relationship between teacher and pupil are some of the factors that determine which technique shall be used. The following presentation does not purport to be a complete list of the methods of teaching employed at Kwoma nor a full account of the situations in which they are used, but is rather an analysis and description of the more important ones observed.[17]

[16] Since pupils in our society learn by the same mechanisms as do Kwoma pupils, it is not surprising that many of the techniques of teaching in the two societies are similar. In fact, the following techniques will seem quite obvious to anyone who has been either a parent or a teacher.

[17] The following theory of teaching techniques was not worked out before the data were gathered. For this reason the cases analyzed below were not

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121 861 Unless the essentials for learning are already provided by the interaction of the environment and the pupil, they must be supplied by the teacher. In other words, when such conditions are not already present, the teacher, in order to change the habit structure of the pupil in the desired manner, must provide *motivation*, *guidance*, and *reward*. Each of the various teaching techniques employed at Kwoma may be classed under one or another of these three categories. The following table presents this classification:

1. Providing motivation
   - *a.* punishing
   - *b.* scolding
   - *c.* threatening
   - *d.* warning
   - *e.* inciting
2. Providing guidance
   - *a.* leading
   - *b.* instructing
   - *c.* demonstrating
3. Providing reward
   - *a.* giving
   - *b.* helping
   - *c.* praising

A Kwoma teacher must often provide motivation in order to make his pupils learn the habits which he wishes to teach them. He employs five techniques for doing so: punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting.

Punishment is not infrequently employed by a Kwoma teacher when other methods fail to correct the behavior of a pupil or when his behavior is particularly annoying to the teacher. A teacher punishes a child after he has made a wrong, or a not right response. The mode of punishment is usually either a blow on the back with the fist or a blow on the legs with a stick. The following cases will serve to illustrate its use.

Wof left early one morning with his second wife, Chinuwa, to work in his garden. Since his first wife, Kaya, had previ-

[129] carefully followed up, and observations with which to test the predictions arising from the analysis were frequently not made. The rather complete record of daily events which was kept did, however, provide data to check some of them.

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ously sprained her ankle and was incapacitated, he told his adopted daughter, Buka, to replenish the supply of firewood, which was very low. When he returned late that afternoon, he discovered that Buka had not obeyed his command and that there was not even enough wood to cook the afternoon meal. He, therefore, called to Buka and, telling her that she was lazy and disobedient for not getting the wood, struck her several times on the back. Buka cowered and ran away crying. Wof continued for some time to scold her in a loud and angry voice. Since I observed her a few days thereafter going by my house with her net bag filled with firewood, the punishment was presumably effective.

In order not to make the error of taking the effect of punishment on the habit structure of a pupil for granted, it is expedient to analyze the above case in detail in accordance with the paradigm of learning. It can be seen from such an analysis that the drive was that of pain from a blow on the back; the responses were running away, and crying; the cues were the sight of Wof, his words of criticism for not having obeyed his command to get firewood, and the memory of his command; the reward was escape from the pain of the blow. From this analysis it is evident that the habit which was reinforced was that of running away and crying when the cues described above were present. Wof, presumably, did not wish to teach her this habit but rather that of getting the firewood when he told her to. Although the punishment evidently did have this effect, it has not yet been shown how this came about. It is necessary to introduce the principle of anticipation to explain it.

By the principle of anticipation[18] any response which is attached by reward to the last of a temporal series of cues tends to occur earlier in the series. Thus when Wof again commands Buka to get firewood she will have a tendency to run away, to cry, and to make various visceral responses induced by pain. In other words she will have anxiety.[19] If she

[18] C. L. Hull, "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena," *Psychol. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1931), 487–506.

[19] Freud defines anxiety as the anticipation of pain. See S. Freud, *The*

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were to run away or cry under these circumstances, she would be doing something other than getting firewood. In other words she would be making not right responses as implied by Wof's statement of the reason for the punishment at the time of its occurrence. To run away and cry would therefore tend to raise her anxiety rather than to reduce it. Similarly, if she played, went to sleep, ate, or made any response other than getting firewood, her anxiety would not be reduced, for all such acts have been implicitly defined by her father as "not getting firewood responses." The only way in which she can reduce her anxiety is to get the firewood. When she does this and only when she does this, the real effect of punishment as a teaching technique becomes clear. The drive is anxiety; the response is getting firewood; the cue is her father's command; and the reward is the reduction of anxiety. It is thus that Wof's punishment was not in vain and did accomplish the effect that he desired.

The following case also illustrates the use of punishment by a Kwoma teacher. One afternoon, when several Runabima children and adolescents were playing in front of my house, the ball which they were kicking bounded into the bushes. Gwiyap, an adolescent, commanded Ham, a child, to fetch it, and when he refused kicked him in the buttocks. Ham ran away crying. Several days later the situation was repeated, and this time Ham ran away as soon as Gwiyap issued the command. Weeks later I observed Ham obediently fetch the ball, at first only after he was ordered to and later on his own initiative.

In the above case the drive was the pain from Gwiyap's kick; the response was running away and crying; the cues were the ball in the bushes, the sight of Gwiyap, and the sound of his commands; the reward was escape from the pain

[113] *Problem of Anxiety* (New York, 1936). O. H. Mowrer has developed this thesis and urged that anxiety is a learned response based upon an anticipatory response to pain. See O. H. Mowrer, "A Stimulus Response Analysis of Anxiety," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 553–565. Miller has shown that the acquired drive value of anxiety is based upon the response-produced stimuli of an antedating pain reaction. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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of being kicked. From the principle of reinforcement it could 121
be predicted that Ham would learn to run away when these 861
cues were again present. Observation bore this out. It could further be predicted that he was also reinforced on this occasion, the reward being escape from anxiety. However, just as Wof presumably did not wish to teach Buka to run away, so Gwiyap wanted to teach Ham to fetch the ball for him rather than to escape. That he was successful in doing so remains to be explained. It has been shown in a previous chapter that Kwoma children spend most of their time playing with other children, an activity which is apparently rewarding to them and hence one which comes to have the value of an acquired reward. Exclusion from playing with one's fellows should thus have an acquired drive value. There is no evidence that Ham was exceptional in these respects. Therefore each time that he ran away, although by so doing he achieved the reward of the reduction of pain or anxiety, he was thrown into another situation of discomfort. The acquired drive to play with his fellows was aroused. This placed him in a conflict situation:[20] to play aroused the fear of being kicked; not to play aroused the discomfort arising from being excluded from the game. Ham finally solved this dilemma by obeying Gwiyap's command. On this occasion, if the above analysis is correct, the drives were the fear of being kicked and the wish to play with his fellows; the response was fetching the ball; the cues were the ball in the bushes and Gwiyap's command; and the rewards were escape from being kicked and joining in the ball game. Thus Gwiyap's kick finally did have the desired effect, but only after time had elapsed and after a rather complicated series of psychological events had occurred to Ham.

This analysis suggests that another factor may have been operating in the case of Wof and Buka. She might have learned not only to run away from Wof, but to stay away from him. Unless some relative were willing to care for her,

[20] For a discussion of the factors governing conflict see N. E. Miller and J. S. Brown, "Conflict, an Analysis of Approach and Avoidance" (in preparation). [113]

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121 however, she would be in the same dilemma as the one in
861 which Ham was placed, the negative side being much more serious, since it would be impossible for a girl of Buka's age to live alone in the Kwoma environment. Thus it is apparent that the primary effect of physical punishment is to make a pupil run away,[21] but that the strong acquired reward value which teachers have for the pupil, as a result of his dependence on them, and the fear of being alone, bind him to the teacher until he learns the habit which the teacher has wished to instill in him.

In the cases analyzed above the teacher was bigger than the pupil. When teacher and pupil are of the same size or when the pupil is bigger than the teacher, the response to punishment is often counterattack rather than running away.[22] The case of Fit and Mey illustrates this. Fit struck Mey for teasing him, and Mey grabbed a burning brand from the fire and began belaboring Fit with it. In this case Mey's drives were pain from Fit's blow, anger at Fit,[23] and the fear of being hit again; the response was attacking him with a firebrand; the cues were the sight of someone his own size and the feeling of the blow; and the rewards were reduction of the pain from Fit's blow, the reduction of the fear of being hit again, and the reduction of anger. Thus Mey was

[21] In the middle and upper classes of American society, pupils are not usually permitted to run away from punishment. They are either held by the parent or punished more severely if they attempt to escape. The usual response which is reinforced is the promise "I won't do it again." Furthermore, doing wrong in secret is more severely punished in the United States than at Kwoma. The American technique should be more effective in teaching the correct response, but, at the same time, it should produce more anxiety in the pupil than does the Kwoma technique. A correlation of the extent to which parents in various societies permit children to escape punishment and do wrong in secret, and the degree to which the society produces neurotic adults might be fruitful.

[22] When such a situation arises between adults, it is normally the reputation of the teacher and the pupil as fighters and the size of the group which supports each of them, rather than their physical size, which determines whether the pupil counterattacks or runs away.

[23] The conditions at Kwoma are such that anger as a response to pain is frequently reinforced, particularly with respect to younger siblings. See chap. iv, pp. 57–62.

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing as his would-be teacher wished.

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right response, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have behaved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is inherent in such objects, because they have been punished for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the power to evoke feelings of fear.

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "infant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used in many contexts in which children are barred from doing what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the motivational power of this concept.

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121 861 The following case illustrates the manner in which scolding is used by Kwoma teachers. One morning Kum defecated in the path near his house. His co-mother, Kaya, found out what he had done and began to scold him for it: "You little baby (*karaganda yikafa*), you know better than to defecate in the path. I should beat you for it. Come and clean it up." Kum, instead of heeding her, ran away and hid in the bushes. After she had repeatedly called for him to return, she sent Gwiyap and Mey to search for him, but they could not find him. He waited until the hue and cry had subsided and then returned to the house. By this time the mess had been cleaned up and Kaya was so worried that he might be lost that she said no more about his misdemeanor (in my presence, at least). For the remainder of my stay at Kwoma, Kum did not defecate again in the path, but properly went to the latrine.

It can be seen from the above case that scolding apparently operates in a manner very similar to that of punishment. The motivation was the acquired drive of fear evoked by scolding; the response was running away; the cue was the memory of having defecated in the path, Kaya's presence, and her words; the reward was a reduction in fear. As with the cases of physical punishment, the primary habit learned was running away, and the right habit of defecating in the latrine was only subsequently reinforced by the reduction in the fear of being scolded.

The above case is not typical, in that Kum's response was to run away from scolding. Since running away takes some effort and since it is more difficult to get out of earshot than out of reach, this response is not as strongly reinforced as a reaction to scolding as it is to physical punishment, and Kwoma children normally learn by trial and error the more adaptive habit of waiting until the teacher stops scolding them. They also learn not to talk back, for this tends to lengthen the duration of the scolding and sometimes even leads to a beating. The following case will illustrate this type of response to scolding.

One afternoon when Kaya was sitting by her fire making

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sago briquettes, she asked Mey to pass her the two sticks which Kwoma housewives use to stir and ladle the thick gruel. Mey brought her two old sticks which she had long since discarded rather than the desired ones. She made Mey take the wrong ones back and get the right ones and began scolding him for his inattention and stupidity. Mey stood looking sullen and sheepish, and heard out her tirade. In this case the drive was anxiety evoked by the scolding; the response was looking sullen and sheepish and listening; the cues included being told to get stirring sticks and the memory of having brought his mother the wrong ones; the reward was reduction of fear (after she stopped scolding him). Thus listening and not talking back, rather than running away, was the response reinforced in this case.[24] The right response, of paying attention when spoken to, would be learned by Mey when on the next occasion he was asked to do something by his mother, did it correctly, and was not scolded for it.

Threatening is the third technique of motivating pupils employed by Kwoma teachers. A threat, like scolding, activates the acquired drive of fear in the pupil, but it differs from scolding in that it precedes the wrong or not right response. A threat is an "if . . . then" statement—"if you do such and such, then I will scold or beat you." Threats are used by Kwoma teachers in situations where they foresee that the pupil is likely to make a wrong response, either because the pupil is beginning to make such a response or because the teacher's knowledge of the pupil's habits suggests that he may do so. Kwoma teachers employ the technique of threatening as widely as scolding although perhaps not as frequently, since it is usually more difficult to predict a wrong response than it is to observe one.

Threats, like scolding, depend for their motivational power upon the acquired drive of fear. The phrase most commonly employed by the Kwoma teacher when threatening a pupil is *anafa fiju*, "I will beat you." *Fiju* is the term employed for all types of physical violence and injury. It has

[24] Unfortunately I observed no case of a child being specifically scolded or punished for talking back, but informants stated that this did occur.

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121 861 [192] [196] the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[25]

121 626 602 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] [25] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[26] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[27]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[26] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[27] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

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121 861 Warnings are extensively used by Kwoma teachers. A Kwoma pupil in the course of his life is normally warned about all the dangers which inhere in the natural and social environment.

The following case exemplifies how a child is taught to avoid danger by means of the technique of warning. I had removed the shot from some twelve-gauge cartridges which had spoiled and lit the powder in them for the amusement of the natives. The powder exploded with a harmless puff. Kwos, seeing me do this, decided to try it himself. Mes, his older brother, saw him and warned him not to. He said that cartridges were dangerous and could kill people. Not heeding the warning, Kwos tried to light one. The cartridge did not explode at first so Kwos looked into it to see what the matter was. At that moment the powder exploded directly into his face, burning it so badly as to close one of his eyes. In this case the drive was pain from the explosion and burn; the response was withdrawal from the cartridge, and a visceral pain response; the cues were the cartridge and the words of warning which Mes issued; the reward was reduction in the pain of the explosion.[28]

It should be noted that stopping playing with the cartridge accorded with the instructions in Mes' warning. The effect of this experience on Kwos should have been to reinforce both heeding a warning and not playing with cartridges. There is evidence that exactly this did occur. Kwos did not play with cartridges again, and he heeded a warning not to walk around alone. Although he could barely see out of one eye, he came from his house to mine to get salve. His father came later and warned him not to return home alone lest he get lost. Kwos, heeding this warning, waited until his sister came and led him home.

Kwos' teachers were not satisfied with the lesson he learned from the explosion but scolded him in addition. Waramus, his father, told me in the presence of Kwos, "He will go

[28] The pain of the burn persisted much longer and reinforced whatever successful attempts were made to ease it, asking me for salve and applying it to his face being one of them.

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blind; he will never be able to see again; but it serves him right for not heeding his brother's warning." Kis, one of his *paternal uncles*, said to him, "You little feces-eater, that's what you get for not heeding your brother." The habit of heeding a warning thereby gained additional reinforcement as a result of the application of the technique of scolding.

The following case is one in which the warning concerned pain from another person rather than from an event in the natural environment, and in which the warning had been issued some time before the pain was experienced. Ham had been warned by his parents not to walk around in other people's houses. He had been told that, when visiting, he should sit down and remain seated, and that, if he did not do so, the owner of the house would be very cross with him. One day Ham started wandering about the porch of Wof's house. Wof shouted at him to sit down and then scolded him severely.[29] He accused the boy of trying to steal sorcery material and implied that only thieves walk around in other people's houses.

In this case the drive was fear aroused by Wof's scolding; the response was sitting down; the cues were the memory of the warning and the sight of another person's house; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since the response reinforced in the parental warning corresponded with the instructions issued, that is, sitting down and not walking around, it would be expected that Ham's tendency to heed a warning was increased by this experience. Unfortunately, since I have no record of a warning issued to Ham after this experience, this prediction cannot be tested. About an hour after the experience, however, Ham obeyed with alacrity a command from his mother to pass sago fritters to his father. His alacrity may have been in part due to his recent experience, since both a warning and a command have the common element of instructions.

The only technique of motivating pupils used by Kwoma

[29] Wof was, of course, also a teacher in this case, and he used the technique of scolding. For the present purposes, Ham's parents will be taken as the teachers, using warning as a technique.

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[21] teachers which does not depend upon pain or fear is that of
[86] inciting. This consists of presenting to the pupil the verbal symbols which have been associated with reward along with instructions as to how to achieve such reward. The following
[262] case will serve as an illustration. At a coöperative work feast
[177] given by Nambomai, my Yambon houseboy, one of the foods prepared was stewed apricots. Gwiyap took it upon himself to teach some of the adults present to eat this food, which was hitherto unknown to them. To do this he said: "It is good. It tastes like ripe bananas." Afolawanj, an old man who was somewhat of a clown, was thus tempted to try some, but he had no sooner taken a mouthful than he spit it out, and refused to eat any more.

In the above case the drive was the appetite evoked by Gwiyap's statement that the stewed fruit tasted like ripe bananas; the response was eating; the cues were Gwiyap's instructions to eat and the sight, smell, and taste of the fruit; the reward was absent. Since there was no reward in this sequence it could be predicted that learning would not take place. The fact that Afolawanj did not again try the fruit is evidence that this was indeed the case. It could also be predicted that Afolawanj would have a decreased tendency to follow Gwiyap's instructions,[30] but I do not know whether or not this was true.

War's attempt to incite Mes and Mar provides a more dramatic instance of the use of this technique. When the Hongwam were planning a head-hunting raid on the Sowal, War, who was the prime mover in the affair, spent a whole evening at the house tamberan inciting Mar and Mes to go on the raid. He described to them all the advantages that they would gain from taking a head—that all the girls would want to marry them, that they could become members of *Nokwi*, that they would gain high prestige so that their words would be listened to at the court meetings, that their

[113] [30] This follows from the principle of extinction. When a response is not followed by a reward, the connection between this response and the preceding cues is reduced in strength. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. v; N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iii.

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relatives would be eager to help them in coöperative tasks, etc. He suggested to Mes that he take my shotgun along (he was acting as my shoot boy at the time) because with it he could be certain to kill someone and take his head. Mes asked me for the gun and was very disappointed when I refused. Mar, on the other hand, had seen several river natives hanged for participating in a head-hunting raid and had been so moved by the sight that he was afraid to go. He reacted to War's incitement by weeping and telling me that he guessed he could never be a man. Since traveling conditions prevented the raid from taking place, the correct response could not be made. A few days later a recruiter came to the tribe, and both Mar and Mes "signed on" for a three-year contract to work on a plantation.

Although the reaction of Mes and Mar indicates that War's incitement successfully induced motivation by evoking a complex of acquired drives and appetites based upon sex, hunger, fatigue, and prestige, his teaching was blocked because the correct response could not be made. Since both Mar and Mes said that they were going to work for the whites in order to gain prestige, so as to win an attractive wife, and in order to earn money to buy many wives, "signing on" may have been, in part at least, a substitute for going on the raid.[31]

Kwoma teachers do not always have to motivate their pupils in order to inculcate right responses, for this is frequently done for them either by others or by the natural environment. In such cases their task is to guide the pupil so that he makes the right response and to provide the proper cues.[32] Furthermore, even when the teacher himself motivates the pupil, the problem of guiding him still remains, and Kwoma teachers seldom simply motivate a pupil and

[31] Although it happens that the aim of the teacher was accomplished in neither of the above cases, this does not imply that the technique of inciting is not an effective means of teaching.

[32] Since responses and cues are so closely attached to one another in a habit, it has been deemed expedient to treat these two aspects of learning under a single heading, even though teachers may at times stress the cues and at times the responses.

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permit him to discover the reward by free trial and error. There are three techniques of guidance: leading, instructing, and demonstrating.

The most primitive technique by which a teacher can make his pupil perform the correct response is by leading. To do this the teacher physically limits the random responses of the pupil so that he makes the right response more quickly, or so that he is prevented from making wrong responses. Such guidance is used by the Kwoma primarily when the pupil has not yet learned to talk and therefore cannot follow instructions. The following case illustrates the use of leading. Njan, while lying in his mother's lap one afternoon, began to cry and struggle. His mother lifted him up to her breast, and, holding his head with one hand, directed her nipple into his mouth with the other. Njan began to nurse. Had his mother not directed his head, he would probably eventually have found her nipple as the result of random movements and satisfied his hunger. The mother, by holding his head, prevented him from making errors and thus forced him to make the right response more quickly. Informants stated that mothers taught their children to defecate in the latrine by leading them there and holding them in the proper position. These are the only situations observed in which Kwoma teachers employ the technique of leading, though there may well be others.

Verbal guidance or instruction is probably the most widely used of all teaching techniques. As indicated in the preceding analysis of punishment, scolding, threats, warnings, and inciting, instructions normally form a part of these techniques. In other words, teachers usually motivate and guide at the same time. On rare occasions, however, when the pupil is already motivated by some other agency, a teacher need simply help the pupil to make the right response, or not to make the wrong response, by instructing him.

The following case illustrates the use of instructions as a teaching technique. Fit was trying to light the fire in my cook house one afternoon. A strong wind was blowing, and the matches kept going out. Mar, who was watching him,

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told him to try lighting the fire on the leeward side. Fit followed the suggestion and was successful. Fit was already motivated to light the fire and was striving to do so. If left to himself he would probably eventually have succeeded, perhaps by hitting upon the response which Mar suggested, perhaps by discovering some other solution to the problem. Mar entered the situation as teacher by giving instructions which, when Fit followed them, achieved the desired goal. 121 861

Although the above analysis indicates the function of instruction as a teaching technique and the way in which it operates in a gross way, it does not explain why a pupil follows instructions. In other words, how did Fit know how to react to Mar's words, and why did he react at all? The answer to the first question depends upon verbal symbols and how a pupil learns their meanings. Although this is a most important part of the process of socialization, it lies beyond the scope of this inquiry. An answer to the second question—why does the pupil react to instructions at all?—can, however, be suggested. As has been observed above, instructions normally form a part of each of the teaching techniques which stress motivation. Therefore, since most teaching techniques result eventually in the learning of a rewarding habit, following instructions becomes a strongly reinforced habit. Words of instruction thereby come to have an acquired drive value.

Just as instructing depends upon the pupil's knowledge of language, so demonstrating, the third technique of guiding, depends upon the ability of the pupil to imitate. Miller and Dollard[33] have shown that conditions in our society are such that a child is more frequently rewarded and less frequently suffers pain if he behaves like certain people with whom he comes in contact, particularly his parents and older siblings, than if he makes responses which differ from theirs, and that therefore, by the principle of reinforcement, children learn to imitate. These investigators have also assumed that the conditions which lead children in our society to learn

[33] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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12\ to imitate are present in all societies, and in a chapter on
86\ diffusion have presented evidence which supports this assumption. The Kwoma are no exception to this rule. Most of the right and not wrong responses in Kwoma culture apply to all persons, and with respect to these responses a child will be rewarded for imitating anyone. Furthermore, although those responses which are right for only certain categories of persons—particularly those which depend upon the sex, age, or prestige position of the pupil—are both punished and not rewarded if the pupil imitates a person in another category than himself, he is rewarded if he imitates a person in his own category. Thus in the majority of cases a Kwoma is rewarded, and in only a minority of cases is he punished or not rewarded, for imitating. Since Miller and Dollard have presented imitation as a process of socialization in detail, it will not be further discussed here. It stands with teaching as one of the most important mechanisms by which culture is transmitted.

A Kwoma teacher takes advantage of the fact that his pupils have all learned to imitate, when he employs demonstrating as a technique of guidance. In using this technique the teacher gets the attention of the pupil, performs the right response, and then the pupil imitates him. Afok and Fokotay employed this technique when they were teaching Mes and Mar to play the sacred flutes. The two teachers would first play a piece while the pupils watched and listened. Then the two pupils would take the flutes and attempt to imitate them. The teachers would repeat their performance, and the pupils would try again.[24] This example reveals that this technique is similar to instruction, the difference being that the cues are the correct responses made by the teacher rather than his verbal representation of them.

Commanding, as a teaching technique, may be classed either as primarily motivating or as primarily guiding. A command consists of an implicit threat and explicit instruc-

[24] Afok and Fokotay did not depend entirely upon imitation but issued many instructions, scolded the pupils after errors and praised them after a correct performance.

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tions. Since both threats and instructions have been analyzed, it is not necessary to discuss commanding in detail, but it should be stated that it is an extremely important method of teaching.

Providing rewards, the third general category of teaching techniques, is also employed by the Kwoma. It consists of providing a reward after a pupil has made a right response. A teacher may use this technique after he has motivated and guided the pupil, or he may use it when either the motivation or the guidance or both have been supplied by some other agency. The general category of rewarding may be subdivided into helping, giving, and praising.

Kwoma teachers take advantage of the fact that a pupil can satisfy but few of his drives, either basic or acquired, without the aid of another person or persons.[33] Being helped is thus in many cases the *sine qua non* for achieving a reward. Teachers may, therefore, employ helping as a means of rewarding the right response of a pupil. They use this technique primarily to teach the pupil coöperative habits. In other words, teachers most frequently help a pupil after the pupil has helped them. The technique of helping is thus one of the important methods of transmitting that part of the culture which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity.[34]

Giving is closely allied to helping as a technique of reward, being used in the same coöperative context. If a teacher gives a pupil something, it is significant as a reward because the teacher has done the work of producing or otherwise obtaining the gift, and thus relieves the pupil of the necessity of doing the same himself. Gifts in Kwoma are of food, tools, or shell money. Barter and exchange are a form of reciprocal

[33] Malinowski has shown that all cultural habits are an integral part of institutions which imply the cooperative efforts of an organized group of persons for the satisfaction of a need. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), no. 6, pp. 952-54.

[34] Hull has suggested a psychological basis for this in the principle of reciprocal reinforcement. C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. ix, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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12.1 861 431 gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

[476] [461] The work bee is a good example of how both helping and giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. [574] When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[37]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

12.1 861 If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[37] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialisation since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialization continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialization as is the initial learning of them.

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pressing work of their own to do; the reward was getting the log to the house tamberan plot. Yat's helpers thus taught him to give a feast by helping him.

Not giving and not helping are also techniques which are frequently used to arouse motivation. Kwoma teachers may punish a pupil by refusing to help him or give to him, after he has made a wrong response, or they may threaten him by promising not to help him or not to give to him if he should make a wrong response. The threat of breaking relationship is effective, not only because it implies aggression, but also because it implies withdrawal of support. Thus War's threat that he would break relationship with Gwiyap if he did not stop taking sago from Payap's plot, implied withdrawal of help and was effective in changing Gwiyap's behavior for this reason as well as because it implicitly threatened the kinds of aggression which kinship restrictions inhibit.

Praising is the third technique of rewarding used by Kwoma teachers. It is an acquired reward on the verbal level. As with other rewards, it may be employed either in conjunction with motivation and guidance or alone. A Kwoma teacher most frequently employs this technique when a pupil has performed an unexpectedly "good" response rather than merely a right one. Kwoma pupils are thus reinforced for excelling, for doing better than others, and this may explain in part why Kwoma individuals strive for superiority and prestige.

One of the phrases frequently employed in praising is *handombas*, "good." This word gains its power to reinforce habits by being frequently used in rewarding contexts. A Kwoma will pat his stomach after a good meal and say "*handombas*," or he will say it when he is greeting a friend, or he will use it to refer to someone or something that he likes. He also uses it to describe tasty food, good workmanship, or someone whom he regards highly. As a result, *handombas* comes to have a relaxing or acquired reward value,[25] and thus has the effect of reinforcing preceding habits when-

[25] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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ever a teacher applies it to a pupil. Since, moreover, a Kwoma teacher seldom punishes, scolds, or threatens a pupil at the same time that he praises him, *handombas* becomes a cue, reducing whatever anxiety may be present, and thus acquires further rewarding value.

A second phrase, *harafa ma malaka*, is applied to men of high prestige who have many privileges that the ordinary person does not enjoy. It comes to mean, therefore, the right to go to the *Nokwi* ceremonies, to have many wives, to have many helpers at work bees, to be deferred to at court meetings, and to be so formidable that no one dare threaten or attack you. When a teacher applies this phrase to a pupil, it symbolizes an advance toward the attainment of these goals and is therefore rewarding. Furthermore, if a pupil is called *harafa ma malaka*, he is never called *kuraganda yikafa*, "little child," at the same time, as these are antithetical concepts. Since the latter phrase is used to scold pupils, the former symbolizes non-scolding and thus gains further reward value.

Praising may be exemplified by the following case. Yat speared two pigs in one afternoon, a remarkable feat since a man will often hunt for weeks without success. When he returned to the hamlet, he joined a group of men who were sitting in the house tamberan and told them of his accomplishment. The men praised him for his prowess, referring to his act as *handombas* and to him as a *harafa ma malaka*. Thus Yat was rewarded by these words of praise for whatever hunting technique led to his success.

In conclusion, the following summary of the results of the preceding analyses may be made. The assumption that learning principles apply to the process of culture transmission at Kwoma has led to an organization of the data observed, so that some of the factors which permit, and some of the forces which compel, a Kwoma individual to learn his culture have been isolated and defined. Furthermore, the application of learning theory has brought certain essential details of the process of socialization into sharper relief than might otherwise have been the case. It is evident, also, from the above

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analysis, that Kwoma teachers have a practical knowledge of the way in which people learn, and use certain teaching techniques which are adapted on the one hand to the principles of learning and on the other to the culture and the necessity of transmitting it. Some of the techniques of teaching which the Kwoma employ stress motivation, others guidance, and still others reward, but all of them are in some way adjusted to the fact that learning only takes place when a person is motivated by a drive to make a response in the presence of cues and gains a reward for so doing. It was further shown that punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting were used by Kwoma teachers to motivate their pupils; leading, instructing, and demonstrating to guide them; and giving, helping, and praising to reward them.

In accordance with the hypothesis of the basic psychological unity of mankind, learning principles should apply to the process of culture transmission in all societies. Furthermore, since every society is faced with the problem of training the members of the oncoming generation, certain teaching techniques should be present in all cultures, and, certain conditions of social life being present in all societies, some of the techniques observed at Kwoma should be found in other cultures as well. Divergent historical processes and differing environmental conditions, however, may have produced techniques which are unique to a particular culture or to a certain area, may account for the absence of certain techniques in one culture which are found in others, and may have resulted in variations in the use of, and the emphasis placed upon, these techniques from culture to culture. When the data with which to test the above hypotheses have been gathered, it will be possible to construct a general theory of the process of socialization.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE INCULCATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS

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THE manner in which supernatural beliefs and practices are transmitted to the oncoming generation is one of the most puzzling problems which a student of socialization has to solve. When a teacher wishes to transmit customs which accord with natural and social laws, he has the support of the environment, which supplies both motivation and reward to validate his teaching efforts. When, however, the teacher's task is to transmit habits which do not accord with these laws, his task should be more difficult. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe and analyze the way in which supernatural beliefs are transmitted at Kwoma and to suggest some hypotheses concerning their transmission in other societies.

A number of factors are responsible for the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. Perhaps the most basic of these is the technique of warning described in the previous chapter. Generalization from real dangers, imitation, the operation of chance, and finally social punishments also play an important part in the process. These factors will be discussed and exemplified in the following pages.

An analysis of the cases in which supernatural beliefs and practices are transmitted at Kwoma indicates that teachers rely in large part upon the technique of warning to inculcate this aspect of the culture. This technique was defined, analyzed, and exemplified in the last chapter. It was shown that a warning consists of a specification of the danger and its source, and of instructions for escape from, or avoidance of, the danger. It was shown that Kwoma pupils learn to heed warnings because when they ignore them they experience pain both from the source specified in the warning and from the teacher who punishes them.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified. 121 869 861

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives. 121 861 [862] [858] [882] [885]

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

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121 86 or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn 121 869 their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

[796] *Marsalai* are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to 869 be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible 796 for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about [862] these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker [823] on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to [821] go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle [796] into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these [778] monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

869 795 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

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869 206 826 [157] [856] [262] *Becoming a Kwoma*

Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[3] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

869 262 562 252 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 869 823 123 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[3] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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had previously experienced for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9–30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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lowed him. Mey's behavior can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear caused both by my whistling and by the sight of Mar starting to run while he remained; the response was running after Mar; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Had not Mar run away first, Mey might have discovered some other means of reducing his fear, but by imitating Mar he learned to avoid ghosts in the same manner as his older *brother*. Kwoma pupils in a similar manner learn to avoid *marsalai*, to protect themselves from the dangers of sorcery, and to escape the dangers associated with blood. Thus imitation is an important mechanism for the transmission of supernatural beliefs and practices.

Chance as a factor in maintaining su[illegible]natural beliefs has long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists.[9] The data from Kwoma tend to support this theory. Storms occur so frequently that it would be extraordinary if one did not occasionally occur after a person has disturbed the dwelling place of a *marsalai*, and this would help to prevent the extinction of the habit of heeding. The following case illustrates this point. Yat had cleared a garden site near a large rock thought to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. When the time came to burn the dried brush and branches, a necessary step in the process of gardening, he expressed some anxiety lest this might anger the *marsalai* which lived in the rock, but nevertheless went ahead with his burning. That night there was a bad storm with a high wind, and Yat took this as proof of his belief that he had indeed angered the supernatural being. Wof, Gwiyap, and Mar all explained the storm in the same way. The next time that there was a bad storm, I said to Gwiyap: "Yat didn't disturb a *marsalai* today. How do you account for the storm?" Gwiyap replied: "Maybe Yat didn't, but someone else did. Probably it was one of those stupid people from Wanyi."

Chance also operates to support warnings about ghosts. Marok and Kar stayed visiting in a part of the tribe some distance from their home until after dark, thus not heeding

[9] See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1928), vol. II, chap. xxi.

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the warning about walking abroad during the night. On the way home they heard a strange noise, took it to be a ghost, stopped in their tracks, and yelled for help. War and others, who were gossiping in the house tamberan, heard their cries and shouted back instructions to make a dash for the house tamberan. They did this and thus escaped what they believed was imminent danger. The chance occurrence of a strange noise had operated on this occasion to strengthen the fear of walking abroad at night.

An episode which involved Wof illustrates how chance can strengthen sorcery beliefs. He came home one day to find that someone had tampered with his store of sago flour. Believing that someone had taken flour in order to sorcerize him, he asked his first wife if she knew who could have done it. She replied that she had seen his second wife in that part of the room and that it was undoubtedly she who had stolen the food in order to sorcerize him. When Wof accused the younger woman, she denied it. The next day Wof came to my house and asked me if I had any medicine against sorcery, for he felt sick. He said that his head and stomach ached and he knew that someone was trying to sorcerize him. Whether Wof's illness was an attack of malaria, psychological depression resulting from repressed anger at his wives, or some other psychic or physical disturbance, it strengthened his belief in the efficacy of sorcery. He probably guarded his food stores more carefully thereafter.[10]

Chance can operate to reinforce the habit of heeding a warning about blood. Children who let blood from their penises do grow up; after phlebotomy has been practiced pains eventually disappear; and women who menstruate and men who let blood from themselves remain healthy. The following case also illustrates how chance may operate to support the belief in blood contamination. Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma our regular shoot boy left and we appointed Mes to take his place. Previously he had helped around our house and had eaten whatever pigeon meat was

[10] It was, indeed, not long after this that he scolded Ham for walking about his porch and accused him of being a thief of sorcery material.

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121-869 [262] left over from our table. When he became shoot boy the question arose as to whether he could still eat this meat since he killed it himself. Gwiyap was of the opinion that since he killed the birds with a gun rather than with a spear or arrow his blood would not be transferred and it would be perfectly safe to eat the meat. Yat, his *paternal uncle*, disagreed with this opinion, and held that it would be dangerous. Gwiyap then argued that the former shoot boy had eaten birds that he had shot without getting sick. Yat countered that, although he did not get sick, he had missed many shots and that this was probably due to his having eaten his own kill. Mes decided to heed his *uncle's* warning and ate no more pigeon meat. It happened that Mes was a very good shot and missed extremely few birds. He explained his accuracy as proof of the wisdom of heeding his *uncle's* warning.

Certain forces operate against heeding unrealistic warnings in Kwoma society. One of the most important of these is the fatigue drive. This drive exerts a constant pressure on the pupil not to run away from ghosts, not to bother to avoid the dwelling place of *marsalai*, to be careless about his food leavings, and not to go to the trouble of gathering nettles to scrape his penis to renew his blood. In other words his fears of the supernatural must be strong enough to overcome his indolence. Furthermore, the avoidance of supernatural dangers is frequently incompatible with the satisfaction of some other drive. When Yat discovered that he had cleared his garden too near a *marsalai's* dwelling place, his fear of disturbing the *marsalai* was opposed by his need to raise vegetables in a convenient place in order to satisfy his hunger. Similarly, when a pupil scrapes his penis or practices phlebotomy to let out bad blood these acts are opposed by the pain which they cause; when he does not eat a pig he has killed or yams he has planted, these renunciations are opposed by his hunger for these foods. Likewise a pupil's avoidance of ghosts and fear of sorcery often force him to give up satisfactions which he might otherwise attain.

In contrast to realistic warnings, when a pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning, the pain, except by chance, does

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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121 pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning he will be injured
869 just as surely as, and perhaps even more severely than, if he
178 ignored a realistic warning. Why they wish to prevent the child from being injured is a complex problem, involving identification, loss of help and support, and sanctions against negligence. The important question is why, if parents make their children heed unrealistic warnings in order to prevent them from being injured, does this habit not extinguish when they observe a child experience no harmful consequences when he disregards a supernatural danger? The following case of the extinction of a supernatural belief indicates that this is a real as well as a logical possibility.

121 Mar and Gwiyap had both been warned not to eat sago
869 flour washed by a female lest it make them sick. Before they
178 started to work as our houseboys they had heeded this warn-
252 ing and each had worked with one of his *sisters* in the process
262 of extracting sago flour. They had washed the pith while the *sister* crushed it. When they began to work for us, however, we demanded their services in the mornings, when they would otherwise have gone to the swamp to replenish the household flour supply. Awa and Kwiya, the *sisters* who had hitherto worked with them, had no other available *brothers*, and therefore formed a team of their own. They took turns washing and crushing and, of course, produced flour washed by a female. Mar and Gwiyap were somewhat hesitant about trying this flour, but they were faced with the dilemma of either going without flour, which had been a staple in their diet since weaning, or ceasing to work for us, which would have meant losing frequent gifts of trade goods as well as some prestige. They chose to risk disregarding the warnings about the food and hoped that the flour would not be like other bad food they had eaten and which had made them sick. Their parents scolded them for this behavior and warned them again. Since no other painful consequences resulted from their first attempt, they decided to try it again, and, for the remaining six months of our stay, they and the rest of their household ate this supposedly harmful food. After the first few occasions their parents stopped scolding and warning them.

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Thus, not only can the supernatural fears of pupils extinguish, but so also can the fears of the teachers become reduced in the same way, so that they no longer maintain these beliefs by sanctioning them.

The fact that Kwoma children can learn not to heed, and Kwoma parents to stop issuing and sanctioning unrealistic warnings, raises a serious question. Why does this not occur more frequently? Why, in the course of time, have not all these supernatural beliefs disappeared as a result of this process? The answer to this is suggested by one of the basic postulates of the functional theory of anthropology. Parents continue to issue unrealistic warnings and to sanction them because they form an integral part of one or more systems of beliefs, customs, and organized activities which, as a whole, satisfy a social need.[14]

The belief in *marsalai* forms a large part of the charter[15] of the yam cult.[16] *Marsalai* are believed to be present whenever this cult holds a ceremonial meeting and to bless those who participate. In playing the instruments of the cult, the members are producing a representation of the voices of these beings. After a ceremony, no man who has attended may have intercourse with his wife, because the powerful and dangerous influence of the cult *marsalai* still clings to him, and might injure her. Thus, were the belief in these monsters to disappear, the Kwoma would be forced either to provide a new *raison d'être* for their cult ceremonies or to give them up altogether. It is not necessary here to present a detailed account of the functions of the cult, but a few of them may be mentioned to show how important this institution is in Kwoma society. The most direct function of the cult seems

[14] See B. Malinowski, "The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology," *Reale Academia D'Italia*, XVIII (1940), 22.

[15] Every institution consists in part of the traditional purposes and reasons for its existence which are believed by the members of the personnel. Malinowski has called this the charter. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 932-954.

[16] The personnel, norms, and material apparatus of this institution can be gathered from the descriptive chapters. The charter and functions are stressed here because of their importance in this context.

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796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions [554] are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes [562] women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

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121 182 796 821 Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to [823] perform certain practices which are thought to control them. [782] In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

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[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the possessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing. In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed person, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus, exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to extinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
[202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at which accusations are made and denied and evidence is presented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who have no better theory of disease and no more effective methods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the supposed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

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121 826 182 [602] 262 [582] The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

869 121 182 Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

121 872 198 Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division [123] of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

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 121 177 178 [123]

and providing a new means of earning it, had set the stage for the extinction of a supernatural belief.

In sum, a number of factors seem to be responsible for the inculcation and maintenance of supernatural beliefs and practices. Kwoma teachers, having repeatedly warned their pupils concerning real dangers, are enabled to use this technique to teach their pupils to avoid dangers which do not exist. To make these unrealistic warnings more forceful, they describe the supernatural dangers as being similar to the real dangers from which their pupils have experienced pain. Imitation also plays as important a rôle as in the transmission of the other aspects of the culture. Despite all these forces which lead a Kwoma pupil to respect supernatural dangers, the effort and deprivation frequently involved in carrying out magico-religious rituals tend to make him omit them. Since such omissions would soon lead to the extinction of these habits, the sanctions of society, as implemented by punishments from his teachers, provide the ultimate force which prevents the pupil from discovering that these dangers do not really exist and do not have to be avoided. Finally, the teachers themselves continue to inculcate these beliefs because they are integral parts of institutions which as a whole are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic and acquired drives of the constituent members of Kwoma society. 121 869

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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

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[Title page]

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Preface

128 This manuscript consists of the journal I kept while doing field work
114 on a tribe which eventually came to be known as the Kwoma. It covers the
121 period between September 1936 - May 1937. The late Professor Stephen Reed, then a fellow graduate student, accompanied me up the Sepik River to Kwoma territory where we worked together for 4½ months. At this time he left because his thesis problem required a comparison of the Kwoma with a more acculturated New Guinea peoples, whereas I was interested in an intensive
128 study of socialization among the Kwoma. Most of the diary is my journal with only slight editing to clarify shorthand and some of the pidgin English expressions. Some of these, however, have been left in, and a glossary provided as a key to understanding them. Some of the native terms are also left in the text. They are, however, usually defined in context, but if not, they should appear in the glossary of native terms. (Refer to pages 228-244.)

Although most of the journal is mine, in several instances Mr. Reed, or Tip, as he is referred to in the journal, took a turn. It will be noticed that their understanding of the social culture of the Kwoma is quite confused. At the beginning of the journal, we are at first under the impression that "Waskuk and Bangus" are either moieties of some tribe or neighboring tribes. It eventually dawned on us that they are divisions imposed upon the Kwoma by the British patrol officers. (Where they got the terms I was never able to find out, but they in fact had no reference to any structural reality of the Kwoma culture, except perhaps that Waskuk was translated with Bangus; and Waskuk, by the way, is the name which appears on Australian maps, and is also the name used by Margaret Mead who had previously visited the Kwoma). In addition to the journal, the case histories of two of my close friends and assistants have been appended.

128 These case histories are of their daily life as I saw it, and my interaction with them, rather than a retrospective history. Finally, there are some field notes particularly on material culture hitherto unpublished.

Many people have helped in turning this document into understandable English, particularly Jane Martin, who really has made order out of chaos. Had it not been for her, the manuscript would still be filed in one of my bottom drawers with a memo,"something ought to be done about this sometime."

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Chapter I Orientation[1]

131 The Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Prince Alexander Mountains, just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta. 131 This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is 133 bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed by a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast rolling watershed 133 of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter s, plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitious; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

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[113] 1 For the following orientation, certain materials are quoted from the published reports on the Kwoma listed below:

"Kwoma Culture," John W.M. Whiting and Stephen W. Reed, Oceania, Vol. IX, No. 2, December 1938, pp. 170-216.
Becoming a Kwoma, John W.M. Whiting, Yale University Press, 1941.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Tambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

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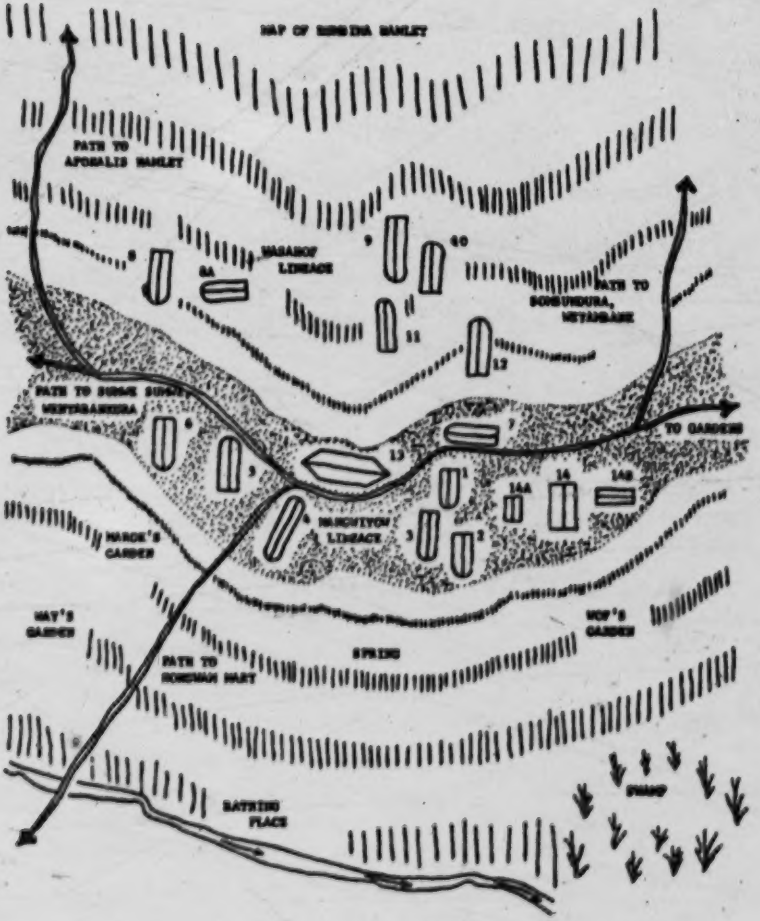
MAP OF SUBUDA HAMLET
PATH TO APOMALIS HAMLET
WASAHOT LINEAGE
PATH TO SUBUNDURA, METAMBARE
PATH TO SUBUDA SUBUDA METAMBARERA
TO GARDENS
MARUK'S GARDEN
MUNGUYON LINEAGE
MAY'S GARDEN
WOF'S GARDEN
SPRING
PATH TO KOREMAH HART
BATHING PLACE
SWAMP

RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

621 Mangriyow Lineage

613 592

1. Wof = Kaya = Chiamwa[2]
   Buka May Kam

2. Yowaka Yawa

3. Mar Gwiyap Kriya Awa Fit

4. Wor = Bora = Kama Kar = Di.k = Yama Kis = Amba = Sunga[3]
   Mano Kaya Kam Saw Yaka

5. Yat = Kafa = Gaga
   Gramp Kjan

6. Way = Mawimbwi
   Yamba Gwanta Marik Kadowan

7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramwa = Kaya
   (8a) Mas = Yimba Aya Kaca

9. Afok = Kamwa
   Kawaf

10. Yakatay = Kgwiya
    Kambo

11. Kaw = Kawaa
    Kayamaka Yawaka

12. Kwal = Gafa
    Angandin Angayamar

13. Rumbima house tamberan

14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters (Kaub and Wiaap)

[2] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chiamwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Buka, May, and Kam are Wof's children. Names ending in a vowel refer to females, those ending in a consonant to males. This is an arbitrary distinction made for the reader's convenience.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwem subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayemakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbins hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayemakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line.
592 Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five
361 brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us
[613] was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our
[114] hut with his first wife Enya, his levirate wife Chimuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chimuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Towaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Towaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[Life Hist. Analyst]

621 Mriye, an adolescent girl, and Pit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an
592 adolescent nephew of Wof's. Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, was a lad
361 just past puberty, not yet fully grown, but extremely intelligent, very active and had learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Mirok (household 7, family line 3). With him lived his wife Bewi, his married sister Uha, and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Mirok was in his middle twenties, the only male of his age group in the hamlet who had not left for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he was also the only one who spoke no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Mirok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, was a clumsily built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He had the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, dancer, and a man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Hama, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Hama he had three children: Hama, and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Hma, a nephew, about seven years old, also lived in the household. Ear, the next younger brother, an intelligent young man in his middle twenties, had just returned from working in the gold fields prior to our arrival and spoke pidgin English fluently. He had two wives, Bifa and Yame, but no children. His, the youngest brother, like Ear, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and spoke pidgin English. He also had two wives, Sunga and Anba, but no children.

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Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by Wor, Ker, and Kis, stood that owned by Yet (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Ker. He was the only man in the hamlet who had learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and had also taken a head. He had two wives, Kafa and Gogo, and one son, Hjan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There were no other members of Yet's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yet's dwelling was one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who had some reputation as a sorcerer. With him lived his wife Mwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Fambe and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also had taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Tukwaur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape Wor's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house was the dwelling of Waruwus (household 8, family line 7), whowas about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He was slightly cross-eyed and had a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him lived his wife Hawa, his eighteen-year-old son Has, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aye, a young son Hwas, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who was the wife of Has and a niece of Wof. * Has had started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There were no other members of Waruwus' line dwelling at Kumbima.

A short way down the mountainside from Merek's house was the dwelling of Hwai (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. Hewas married to a woman named Gafa, and they had two boys, Angwadin, a young child, and Angwaur, an infant. Hwai's

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* A theoretically incestuous marriage.

621 592 361 older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lived in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Hawene, and two girl children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprised the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

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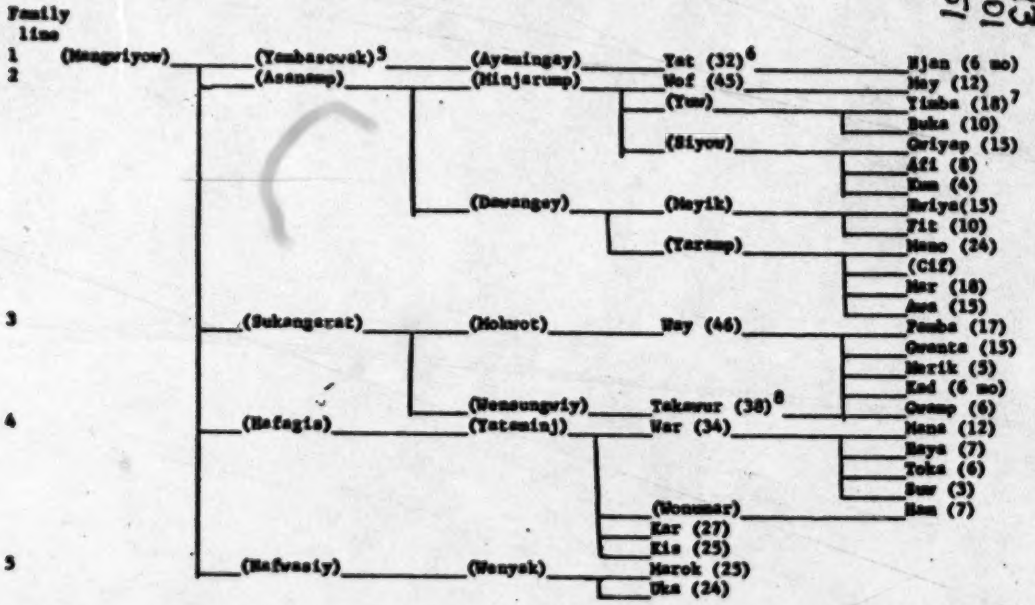
THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[4]



[4] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[2] The brothers in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a brother above him in the list older sibling; he calls a brother below him in the list younger sibling.

[6] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatsminj, of Wof is Wofarega, of May is Meysmukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[7] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table. [8] Does not live in the hamlet.

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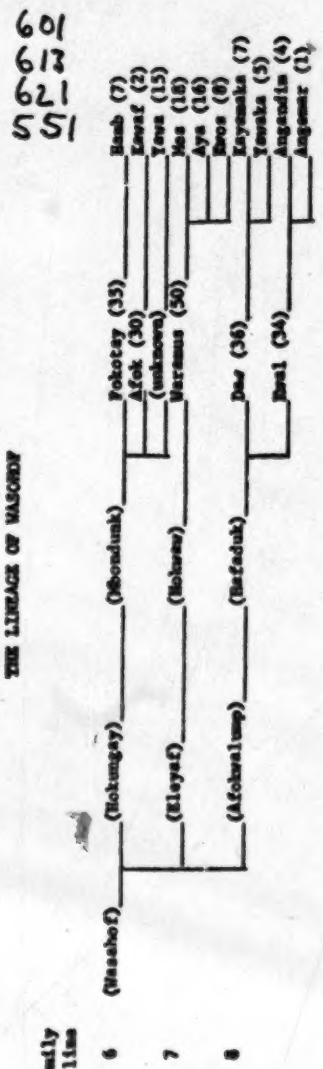

Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk* with a finish/as their spokesman, declared timer
that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably
testing us out to see whether we were "miasin" or not, for yesterday con-
struction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were
nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed
an outhouse for us.

342 Hamb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours
with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but
instead, a low verendah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back
about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the
south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like
a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of stripe bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Hamb is now making a bed. The
uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through
the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these
posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over
this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles
to the slats. Hamb is very proud of his house and considers it quite
superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisep's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[483] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five
of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical
device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their
reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also
they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

123 When the construction of Wiesp's and Nomb's houses was finished, the workers lined up for pay. This paying them has been rather annoying to us, and I don't think we have handled it too well. When our house was finished, we told all the workers to come around and we would pay them for it. Many of them lined up, and wishing to please them and to start in their good graces, we were quite generous. We gave them ten axes and ten large knives and various other nick-nacks, such as small cheap paring knives for the children, a few pipes, two or three harmonicas, a few jew's harps, some stick tobacco and some rouge. There was some confusion and wrangling as to how it should be divided, but finally everything was settled. Then we discovered that about ten of the construction gang had been in the bush washing sago when the distribution took place. They kept coming in during the next few days and voicing their complaints. We don't know their faces well enough yet to know whether they are trying to get paid double or not. Also, we didn't know what they deserved--that is, how much work they had actually done on the house. While the whole affair irritated us to small amount, we decided we could not risk being partial, so we gave them several more large knives and axes. That was not the end of the episode, however. When the boys' houses were completed, the workers wanted more pay. We decided that the pay in this second case would be either a paring knife or a loplop. After we had dealt out this second payment, a half dozen more people stepped up and claimed that they had not been paid for making our house. They had also been away washing sago. We know this to be true in a couple of cases, so we dealt out some more big knives. I doubt if there was any fraud involved; the irritant was the prolongation of the thing, and the feeling of unsureness on our parts of how to deal with it. Our house boys thought we were overgenerous.

123 There was an interesting occurrence when we were giving out the laplaps. We had just cut the last one that was wanted when up stepped Hamb, a youth of about seven who always went around naked as the others of his age. I couldn't help laughing at this and said, "Oh, come now Hamb, you don't want a laplap". The Waskuk joined in the kidding and laughter and as a result the poor boy was quite put out and began to look very hurt and tears came to his eyes. Whether or not the others would have kidded him without my starting it or not, I don't know. Anyhow, I felt sorry for him and gave him a small piece of cloth.

After the payment was all settled and everyone seemed to be satisfied, I walked down the hill to the stream to bathe. On the way, several of the Waskuk "finished timers" spoke to me in a hushed voice as if they were telling me a secret of great importance. They said there was to be a "singsing" the day after tomorrow at Bongus and that we could watch it. I thanked them and am looking forward to the event.

October 13, 1936.

114 Yesterday passed rather uneventfully except that I tried to make a deck chair with a piece of canvas and some saplings bound together. I didn't have enough canvas to finish it, and the part that I did finish was rather rickety. Hamb said it was no good and to throw it away, and I guess he was right. At lunch, I was determined to try the gypsy stove which we had brought with us. Hamb had refused to use it, considering his open fire much better. I transferred some embers from the fire to the stove and tried to kindle them in the stove. Some of the Waskuks were
372 watching and took over after my unsuccessful attempts. To make a fire they put a live ember under a little pile of dry chips, and after blowing on it, very shortly have a flame going. For firewood they use a very dry

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Numb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Numb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had
[123] treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Kar and Numb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost
346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Purari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an altar formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the perforation seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

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[123] and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively to the "tultul" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government representative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them they were "number one".

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[534] While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around the altar. About half of the natives there were shambling around it, sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air. The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then return.

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301 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the "finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly, and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like yagwuligwuligwuligo. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus wawa or awa, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with awa sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of wahowaho, dadohoha, or hahohowa that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "a". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

796 and four inches in diameter. They were not ornamented. The usual method
534 of beating the gong was to stand at right angles to it, the right side of the body next to the gong, a beater held in either hand. The gong was pounded near, but on either side of the slit, the beater striking endwise. This method was, however, by no means universal, for sometimes the drummer would stand facing the gong, or sit on it and idly tap with the side of the beater. The most usual and accepted method was the former; the latter the most informal. There were also several intermediate methods.

796 The rhythm consisted of accented beats and unaccented beats in alter-
533 nation. At each gong one of the drummers would pound out the accented, another the unaccented beats. Further, each gong would produce the rhythm of one accented and three unaccented beats. These beats were alternated among the gongs so that the accented beat of one gong would fall on the middle unaccented beat of another gong. Thus -/---/---/--- and ---/---/---/ would result in -/-/-/-/, (total effect). The rhythm of the gongs was more or less followed by the singers and dancers. This rhythm was not the only one employed, and Tip says that even it is not right. That is something we will have to check up on.

796 We stayed there and observed until just before noon. The dancing
123 and singing had been continuous until this time and then the dancers stopped for something to eat. We all went out into the small clearing in front of the house tamberan. In front of us was a line of coconut trees and beyond that a short drop, and then the sago swamp. On our left was a path coming down the mountain, and on the right, jungle growth. In the left
349 hand corner of the clearing and on the further side from where we stood another construction had been built. It was a representation of a ship with a mast, laddered rattlins, and crabclaw sails represented by two

349 coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation
[179] brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The
262 natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been wildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we
123 were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.
[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the
[346] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the
[198] front court could not see the sacred altar.

Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising. We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, á, o, u and ë . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ar. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvcv. Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ne is the imperative particle, saga expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones.
They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their
wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could
throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was
amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about
twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in
various unsuspected places, particularly right over my head, where it came
through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when
the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It
will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost
an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had
died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while.
We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been
buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had
stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an
inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from mat bags stretched

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
778 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves. The mask near the front was called asambwayf, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called ab/maku and belonged to Bangus (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawimayf. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½" screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the"lulumi"of Bangus,/ (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wi with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wí was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulual and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Vorsy) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Vorsy had tried to get them when he came up with us, but they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two seperate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination-- mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done [439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

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114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[964] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangus and Waskuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratria of his father and cannot marry
682 a woman of this phratria. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratria with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [191] [619] In the afternoon, Bovinambi, the Bangus <u>lulusi</u> (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Korissi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is <u>koromp</u>. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called <u>nambu</u>.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

October 25, 1936.

101 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions
69 of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called
Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another
[197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and
101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the
river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau,
173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the
721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige.
726A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it,
and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would
kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed.
[411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took
[273] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the
[266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.
Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the
adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present genera-
tion, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people.
Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs
[648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the
Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out
the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at
Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya
was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit
tree.

* Probably Kwoma

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
1727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessam. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumboya Nampara. Ngwisempɛe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempɛe is now situated at Wenyabumkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessam. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

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[648]

settle with the Hongwam. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weymbankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weymbank.

2: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1970 OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

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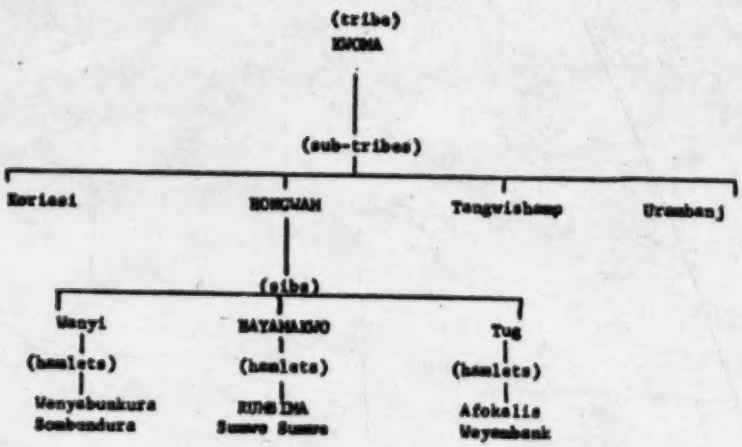

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj. After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[269] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[502]

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 some low, and each rising and falling in the range of a few notes. Sometimes the sounds blended and at others the effect was a discordant jumble.

When we got back to the house, there was a group of six or seven sitting around in front of the house, talking about the death. Nof, who had just returned from his yam planting, seemed rather more upset than the others. The dead man belonged to his mother's sib. Sof also remained with set face and working jaws. The rest were all laughing and joking and gossiping, and were much amused when a little later Tip and I started a pole vaulting competition.

In the morning the wailing continued. One of the natives said that it had gone on all night although we hadn't heard it. Occasionally the gongs were sounded. After breakfast, Mar said he was going to the funeral and asked if we would like to go. Tip and I had decided to split our work and to take turns going on trips, so I went with Mar. Gwiyap and Mey came too. They suggested that I carry the .22, so I did. When we had almost arrived at the scene of the wailing, a house near where the singsing had been held, we saw a pigeon. I didn't want to shoot for fear of disturbing the mourners, but the natives insisted that it was all right.

Nof and another man were sitting in a house next to where the mourning was taking place. They were looking rather sad. We sat down for a few minutes [633] and watched the women wailing. They were sitting under the porch extension, shaking their shoulders slightly up and down as they sang. There did not appear to be any words. Only one man was there--Mweje, a dilapidated old fellow with a withered arm and a scar on his forehead caused by some disease which had eaten away the flesh to the bone. He saw us and becked us to come over. When I came up to them, several of the women stopped their wiling to greet me as usual. Soon afterward, the wailing stopped. Some children

[Lie, wailing - analyst]

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly "savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its [754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up, [123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping ahold of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the [754] "kiop" and have him put in the calabouse. They said the dead man had been poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying [417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably [602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

764 [415] Next a bamboo filled with water (the usual method of carrying water) was carried up the ladder by Afalowanj, an old man; he was assisted by two other men in washing the body. Meanwhile the "savvy talks" broke the points of two spears formerly belonging to the deceased. These were passed up the ladder to the cubicle and lashed crossways over the body. The arms and legs of the body were lashed to the floor, and the burial was complete. The undertakers climbed down the ladder and went off to wash, saying that they would meet me at the house tamberan, where sortly[1] thereafter the gong tolled. As I was leaving, I heard one of the women inside of the house sobbing instead of wailing in the patterned manner.

754 Wof and some others were already at the house tamberan when I arrived. Later some of those who had officiated at the funeral came. The conversation once again turned to poison. Kwonai described the process by which he considered the men to have been killed. The group had calmed down considerably and now discussed the affair much more matter-of-factly than they had previously. They were still bitter toward the perpetrator of the deed and seemed to be afraid for their own safety. Kwonai told me someone had stolen a bit of food which the deceased had carelessly thrown away; the evil doer had then carried it to Koriyasi, who had performed a magical rite on it. They had put the leavings in a tall narrow pot, filled it half full of water, and let it boil away until only the sediment of the food remains were left. A bamboo of cold water was then poured into the pot and on the fire. That is followed by an explosion of steam. The food disappears, and soon afterward the man died.

114 October 28-Nov. 9, 1936. A week ago Friday, October 30, Tip and I went in to Ambunti to spend the weekend for the sake of a holiday. Bob Overall had brought the mail up the river that morning, so we were greeted with a very welcome packet of letters. George and Max (a medical assistant

[1] [i.e., shortly- analyst]

114 stationed at Ambunti) were very gracious to us. We relaxed, talked, played cards, and read. Tip went back Monday, but Max persuaded me to stay at the station until the sores on my legs were cleared up. I had gathered quite a number of these by scratching mosquito bites until they became infected. The sores were not bad, but Max was afraid that they might turn into tropical ulcers if they were not attended to. By Thursday I was completely cured and already had my luggage packed in the canoe when the gongs began beating at Malu, a couple of miles down the river, announcing a pinnace. I decided to wait in case there might be more mail. It was Townsend, the District Officer in charge of the whole Sepik area making a patrol of the sub-stations. Soon after he arrived another pinnace arrived. It was bringing Pursehouse, a cadet who was to accompany Townsend up the river to the Yellow River station. Counting McKechney, the engineer of Townsend's pinnace, that made six Europeans at the station--quite a remarkable occurrence. Max and George had to combine resources to seat us all that night for dinner. The mail situation was disappointing--only three Sydney papers and the September issue of the Pacific Island Monthly. I got a ride on the pinnace up to the lake below Waskuk. They towed my canoe; it was a much more comfortable mode of travel. Once, however, the pinnace turned suddenly to avoid a log, and the canoe filled with water and almost swamped. I held it up by the tow rope while the natives bailed it out. My luggage, however was soaked, but there was no serious damage.

796 November 9, 1936. Tip was in good health when I returned. There had been a
346 singsing while I was gone to celebrate the building of a new house tamberan.
346 (I will copy his notes) " The new house tamberan belongs to Soniyambi of the wərəmbaŋ sib at Bangua. It may be said to start when the l'xlɨ' center posts (kwatɨ) and beams and rafters are cut and stripped of their

bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wanké) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maratta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

"The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maratta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maratta to the refrain of a hogwasawit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hogwasawit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bangus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulusi, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

996 This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaiiw). It seems to be a ceremonial
346 anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the
[192] singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpé' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwatí as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bangus.
[179] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwat,
[539] representing the Rumbime, Wenyabankura, and Duwus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwat throw themselves
[535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and
[533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the owi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leatherneck' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the sides, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bangus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754
[796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

000 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by
482 carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags
with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men
carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were
past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the
men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders.
We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know
whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They
always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering.
Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They
will drop their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of
men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen
them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves,
but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[129] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or
five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of
biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel
confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their
violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from
the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did
very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi,
and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this.

[648] Owiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis.

[821] When Tip touched it, Owiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bUng" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

443 The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the bared (canal) leading from the foot of the Waskuk mountain to the Sepik. [489] mie varies according to the height of the river water. At high water canoes can come up to the very edge of the forest. At present the end of canoe navigation is 100 yds. out in the swamp grass.

"The market is held a few hours after sunrise for it takes more than an hour for the Waskuk to descend the mountain and about the same time for the Yambon to paddle up-river in their canoes. I reach the edge of the swamp grass shortly after 8 A.M. The Waskuk are before me, but the Yambon are not yet in sight. Four young men of Waskuk are seated on logs around a small fire. Twenty to thirty women sit in three groups apart from the [293] men without the benefit of the shade which the men enjoy. The women hold slabs of bark over their heads to avoid the sun and still wear their string bags even though they are sitting down. They talk among themselves as do the men with only a few remarks passing between the groups.

"After a few minutes wait, the heads of men poling in three canoes can be seen above the swamp grass. There are eight or nine canoes, but since the Sepik river women paddle sitting, these cannot be seen until they have reached the head of the canal. When they are all grounded and their paddles have been stuck upright in the mud alongside their canoes, the Waskuk women gather up their digging sticks and bark wrapped bundles of washed sago to walk through the ankle deep muck to the canoes. I follow shortly after with the men. The Waskuk women are busy setting up their digging sticks or, if they haven't one, a piece of bamboo of the same length. In front of these uprights each woman deposits her forty to fifty pound bundle of sago and unwraps it. The food had about the consistency of roquefort cheese and stands up in a triangular lump when the bark wrappings [439] are removed. Its colour is grey or a dirty pink. The Yambon women now

443 start the business. They bring two or three bundles of small fish each.
439 The bundle is of narrow brown leaves about a foot long and two inches in diameter, and contains between one and two dozen minnows of at least three different species. They walk about looking over the different lumps of sago which the Waskuk women have broken up into pieces roughly six inches square. One "rope" of fish is worth one block of sago at the present rate of exchange. But there is some inspection of the sago on the part of the Yambons and a similar feeling of the fish bundles by the Waskuk. There is little talk during the exchange. A Yambon woman sees some sago that catches her fancy. She taps the woman who stands by it to gain her attention and offers her a "rope" of fish. The Waskuk woman pinches the fish, is satisfied, and hands her a block of sago for it. The Yambon carries the sago to her canoe and comes back with more fish. The Yambons now change their article of trade from fish to the native spinach, and betel nuts. A few ropes of beads are also offered for the little sago that remains. The whole period of actual trade had been about 15 minutes. The few men of Yambon and Waskuk who are present wander about on the edges and take no active part in the exchange. When it is finished, the Waskuk retire toward the forest with their mat bags only partly filled by the few fish and vegetables they have received. They all stop in a little pool in the swamp grass to wash the last bits of sago from the bark wrappers.

142 " The contrast between the Yambon and Waskuk women in physique is very clearly seen at this time. It is like looking at paintings by El Greco and Rubens side by side. Yambon women are short, spindly and undernourished looking. Their breasts droop and their malars stand out. Their colour is dark brown. Few of them would look out of place riding a broomstick,

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping, storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[592] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
000

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[237] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Aabunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

124 evidence that it formerly existed; marriage--matrilocal, with gift of shells from boy's family to girl's; residence after marriage--patrilocal; and enough on language to enable us to understand vaguely what the old men are saying as they sit around the fire.

115 [648] Yesterday, a Mr. Eve came to Washuk. He is a surveyor for "Oil Search" Ltd. and has been all through the country between the Sepik and the Dutch border except for one little corner. Most of this country hasn't been traversed by anyone but him, and we spent a most interesting afternoon with him. He has made incidental anthropological notes as he passed through - such as house form, village arrangement and size, clothing, etc. He has all the names of the native villages in this area that he has seen (I guess he has not missed many), and he is going to let us make a rough copy of it this afternoon, and tell us what he knows about the vill ges at the same time. I should say that we were very much in luck to meet such a man. He had a lot to say about Thurnwald and admired his work very much. He said that he didn't get half the credit he deserved for his pioneering work. For instance, Champion and Karius only had to go eight miles (just over the limestone barrier) from the headwaters of the Fly to connect up with Thurnwald's work of years before, but they do not mention this. Another interesting thing that he has run across is a tribe in the interior which has a whistling language. Luckily he has two work boys from this place with him now, and I am going to see if I can get anything from them on their language and their tribe this afternoon while Tip works on the map.

DECEMBER 1. Mr. Eve stayed here three days and lived up to expectation. Tip made a copy of the map and got quite a few notes on the tribes that Eve had visited...enough to give a rough idea of where to go to future field workers. Had we met him before we settled here, I think we could

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred -- not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs [124] which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the [123] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to [196] tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilewas

126 which seems to mean 'sacred' is the term for the ghosts of powerful men,
196 for the big masks on the alter at the "singsing", and is a special term of greeting meaning something like 'hail, powerful man' or perhaps more accurately it is a sort of cult shibboleth. Then there is sukwiyawé which is 'to dream' and sukwié which is the term for "singsing" and another term for the sacred masks. Since they translate dreaming into pidgin as "look im tamberunk(ghosts)," there are seems to be some connection which may throw some interesting light on their theory of dreams. We have already noted that the subject of their dreams is almost universally dead people. Such a bias would have to be allowed for if any Freudian interpretation was attempted....Then there is the term wofu which means 'mother's brother's wife' and 'lungs'. This we can make no sense of except that the lungs are thought to be non-functional appurtenances.

124 This reminds me that a week or so ago, Kar, one of the most intelligent of the "savvy talks", came in and we got from him their knowledge of anatomy. (See Part III, Ethnophysiology)

114 To get back to the present, after we had finished the dictionary, there was a rainy spell. No informants came around, and we did not feel like sloshing around to look them up. Both of us were pretty low. We figured that we hadn't gotten anything worth while, and the chances of our doing so were pretty slim. We felt that the people were so scattered about that it was very difficult to observe anything like village life, let alone anything on our special projects. We even thought of moving to some other place - Yambon, for instance. We were not very serious about this, however, because it would not be worth while to lose what little we already had.

124 The only thing to break the monotony of the rainy days was a great deal of talk one evening down below at Wof's house. He is our nearest neighbor and his house is about forty or fifty yards down the hill. This talk kept
000 up long after they were settled for the night. It turned out the next

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys)
had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words
she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof
exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry
at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in
the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex.
What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is
probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of
striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously
when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When
we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all
on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask
which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This
suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib:
pig, gouris pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These
are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

614 [769] along was", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 276 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marek's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting is the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9, 1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

Now "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its 132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
136 is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at this time from the river villages, Yambon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwan where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon. For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwan youths who fetches water and firewood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish". The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire list-
[753] less and moaning. They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder
755

123 755 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a microphone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed from behind; thus we started back. His dependence on our assistance decreased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off gamba.

754 753 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waramus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waramus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbiman. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 [123] Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness. Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

164 [125] [657] on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due here in a few days on his patrol.

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and 572 [192] inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term nareməboy we find has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't [264] yet know. Later on when one's nareməboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different [158] from Hoogwem. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he 114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name, 627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabaakura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiop". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwam "bavi-talk" . His came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabenkura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to protect themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called samba and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwam. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's samba. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwam sib and got some
194 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwam in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wenyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangue man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Kar, of Rumbina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwe (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [533] [534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

765 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the geramut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a maze of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to beard them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

794 The word sugilawas which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named yenengara, minjama, and nokwisugwi which are sugilawas "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in yenengara his first son will be minjama, his second yenengara, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. Nokwisugwi seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for maris, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

796 December 17th, 1936. (Again Tip). The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong mari", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalis with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalis we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit [534] dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the *benif* quite often.

[346] [798] [538] [532] [614] In the house temberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honyem sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, [703] [178] [554] however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of Kumbina sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task. So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukau. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My "monki", Owiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

657 a half-day, he got a line representing between 80-90% of the recorded
177 population. At Tangwishamp the day before he had had a line of five old men who were not able to go off to the bush and hide with all the rest. One former medical assistant wrote under 'Remarks' in the village book 'it would be much easier herding sheep'.

657 From his inspection he concluded that the Kwoma are a very healthy
177 group of people. He had given us his tabulated results. The spleen rate
164 in children is rather high (they don't bother with adults), and filarial glands are found in one-third of the population. But framboesia is scarce and tropical ulcers few. Ring-worm is found in about one-sixth. After the inspection was over we dove into a half dozen bottles of beer which Max had brought for us.

657 The next morning the dispensary was set up outside our house and
177 treatment was given to those who had seemed to need it in the line the day before. Many more appeared than were called, all wanting the hypodermic injection 606, for framboesia. The fame of this is known to all, but beside its purpose it is expected to clear up any complaint that a person may have. Max was very good and gave over forty injections, handling the people very well. We told him the Hongwam term for hello, good-bye, etc. which he used to our friends great delight.

648 On the 12th we saw a pinnace going up the river; the second that has
657 gone up the river since our settling down here. Max told us that this was Assistant District Officer Ellis of Angoram who is going up to the Yellow River to dismantle the new station which is a failure. That means that after the first of the year Ambunti will again hold the title of being the most remote station in the territory--some say in the British Empire, but I doubt that. At any rate it sounds much worse than it really is.

648 657 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Max left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days 648 [439] [178] [173] tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come up one time with some of our Hongwam; and the Kwoma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Varey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

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Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Haab thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "one go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dozen times since buying it from Max Mama when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached Sombundura, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that the pig had come for its morning meal. They showed us what they were [439] paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dozen two foot ropes of ¼ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks . In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Haab and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the woman still stood close by and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

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28 broadside shot at not more than thirty feet. I drew a quick aim and fired - the pig, just ahead of Hamb, instead of dropping in its tracks, went bounding off into the bush. This was very bad, for not only would the sale fall through but the pig might go off and die in the bush. So a chase started then that was to last until after noon. John had come up with his .22 with a crowd of men as soon as they had heard us fire. We all began to scour the bush nearby and to get scoured ourselves by creepers, branches and nettles. The men and boys suddenly all had spears and the hunt was on. We who had guns were called all over the district by people who had just seen the pig. John saw it once and had two shots at it, but the .22 didn't kill it.

When we gathered together again at Marok's house, speculation was rife as to what had happened. Hamb swore that we both had hit it and that he had seen the holes the bullets had made. Inasmuch as I found the one bullet I was able to fire in the ground under the spot where the pig had stood, I am almost sure that I didn't hit it. Hamb's story was believed by [MM8] most everyone. Then it appeared that the pig was sugiliwas, and some supernatural agency had come down into it and given it power to run away. Marok seemed very proud of what the pig had done and told us that the pig was his people's (Wenyi) totem. Some said that it was maera, his sugiliwas, that was in the beast and wouldn't let it go until night because it didn't want Marok to sell his pig. We were quite willing to accept any such explanation for the sake of our reputations as marksmen.

The wear and tear on our clothes and bodies during the morning was terrific. John turned his nose into a yam stick in a headlong fall down a muddy slope, and I got a stitch in my side which made my eyes pop from answering false alarms at the house on top of the mountain. A hairless goat might feel at home in these surroundings, but as yet we can't even bleat.

114 February 11, 1936. Since the last installment, there had been a trip to Yambon where the mosquitoes were plentiful and the heat intense; a long forlorn wait at Ambunti for a pinnace to take us down the river for Christmas, but none came; a trip to Tangwishamp where they told me that the next village had murdered Mr. Eve and all his party, which got me pretty scared; a visit from Bob Overall, a recruiter, who bought five boys here and entertained us for three days with tales of his experiences on the river and elsewhere; and a trip to the Yellow river station by Tip, who will write about it later in this document.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik river runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a S, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[192] Tangwichamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[173] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,
[582] fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwen
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haysmakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[2602] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
22 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
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412 [402] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal

583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] minisma or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
[794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interatices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

657 December 13, 1969. 1 A While sitting talking with Max, one of the children
123 came in saying the child Suw was very sick. We went down to see him. His
177 mother was sitting just outside the building, and the other girls were in the house. War, who was sitting on the hill beside the house, greeted us. Kis and Kar were standing around. Kwonai was there. We took Suw's temperature; it was normal. Then we stood looking at him and discussing the case. Max said, "He certainly looks sick." Our faces were rather long. All of a sudden we heard a sobbing and looked up to see War, his head on his knees, and his body shaking with sobs. Suw's mother began to cry a little too. We went and got some medicine, a mixture of dover powders, asperin, and marnite in warm water, then came back and gave it to Suw. He vomited it up immediately and with it some undigested boyna leaves. After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

1 A [i.e., 1936 - analyst]

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
179 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waremus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived there was again a crowd of women in the house and [754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat [152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected [571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigmarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwan would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, Hey, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's nareмboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

114 down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about
[123] our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back
[521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 Hem came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Verey saying to
648 come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to baths, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them
231 and asked if we would shoot it tomorrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver, .44, a shot gun and the .22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house temberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed
[435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

231 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite
123 a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the
114 pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>augiliwas</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Mamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

754 Later Yat came up and said that Suw was all right. Someone had
648 admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat
461 and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall came, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see me and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerised along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kam up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Ewal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his older brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

578 of the house holding a large club, talking in a loud voice as was almost
593 everyone else of a group of about a dozen or so which had gathered. Daw's wife was near the center of the group with a digging stick in her hand. She is a strapping, good-looking young woman, and her eyes were shining with anger. Wof, Way, and Waremma, aside from the principals and the women, were doing most of the talking. Kwal went and sat inside the porch after a while; Daw, still trembling, dropped his weapon after a bit and told his wife to go back to her house. The houses are only about 20 feet apart and facing each other. It was rather difficult to find out what the trouble was, but as near as I could make out, Daw had been away all day and had come back to find his betel nut stolen from the tree near his house. This was the culmination of several thefts, and he suspected his brother, and accused him. His wife was evidently the leader in the accusation, for Kwal grabbed a spear and began belaboring her with the handle of it. At this Daw grabbed up a 1 x 3" slab of 'limbon' about 4 feet long and cracked Kwal over the scull, breaking the skin and raising a nasty lump. What happened next I don't know, except as I was coming down the hill, I heard someone howling. The difference seemed to be settled, for everyone began to talk of other things. The two sulked while I stayed there about a half hour but joined a little in the conversation. After I had gone, I heard some more rather loud voices, but nothing happened. Mas, who came
[123] up afterward, said it had been settled. Kwal visited in the evening, and I put iodine on his cut. Owiyap did not go down. Mas arrived before Mar and I. The people of Tug were also there. The doctor and Wenyemenj and a couple of others sat aside by themselves. Whether the accusation was just or not, I could not tell. I asked if it were usual for brothers to fight, and he replied that it was the custom of the tribe. The words

578 593 lega kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Dag was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 January 17, 1987. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [775] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's naremboi came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wenyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin". which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told
[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, expecially May and Mar. We arrived
114 at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
123 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
439 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinam" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite a lot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwan were
024 friendly; Urambanji and Sasaraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwan always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
023 me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(<u>wisepeju</u> -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned.
521 Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration
648 purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the
[123] house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and
[721] settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, hirawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwama would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that,looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

114 the boys decided that the best thing to do was to pack up and start home at once. It was moonlight, but I decided that would be very foolish. I also thought that if watch was to be kept the most important time to be on guard was just before dawn because most raids take place then. I also knew that this would be the time that the guards would doze off, so I slept, or rather tried to sleep, the first part of the night. About three I got up and kept a look-out the rest of the night. I had a flashlight which I would focus on the surrounding bush at intervals. Sure enough, the boys began to doze off one by one, and for a couple of hours I was the only one awake, except once in a while one or another of the boys would rouse sleepily to replenish the fire. The moon had been shining brightly, but it went down about four o'clock. With it went most of the mosquitos, which had been terrific before. Dawn came and nothing had happened. I began to feel quite foolish for having been so scared. Kar suggested that we go down and look at my Haramboi's house. I almost did, but the boys were already packed up and anxious to leave, so we decided against it. We called out for the "savvy talk" who lived nearby and told him we were going and would report the Eve business to the police.

When we got to Urambanj, we asked if the story about Eve was straight. Kar looked embarrassed and said he didn't know. Later Kar talked to him and then he said, "Yes, it is true." We got some coconuts and food there and also some pig.

We got to the foot of the mountain below Dawus and washed in a stream there. It was Mundik's turn to carry the heavy box, but when we told him, he did not answer, but picked up the axes, which he had been carrying before, and went off ahead. Everyone yelled at him to stop, but we went on unheeding. For a while he kept just ahead of us, but then he disappeared altogether.

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about
464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before
[593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that
754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 War and Sowingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Hemb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urembenj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishemp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishemp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyep told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishemp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Gwiyep what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishemp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun marf" was dying and they were calling her relatives

763 back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty
202 well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren
[603] were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti
mountain.

757 January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

[593] This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did
[752] not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day
[757] before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

123 January 29, 1937. Afalousnj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I
439 paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with
522 it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

114 January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had
123 arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and Mar this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they were that they had.

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbina said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement [171] compared to the Nokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Ndunkwi of [301] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went [302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Mey who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was belaboring Fit with it. Later Mey came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Mey while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Mey had [522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Gwiyap and I were talking about it, and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through [123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was [illegible] fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Markam (tribe from which Wisep [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwan understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Gwiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with 602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not 593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the 595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Ham had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Ham,

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 [513] [252] I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that [522] struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and [524] Knos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilawas (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with
an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another
1¼ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother,
held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts.
I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to
whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then
laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The
ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it
to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the
house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly
to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove.
He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his
finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then
asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a
piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham
who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but
the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his
wife; he snapped at May and at Gwiyap's little sister for not making the
sago properly. Wof's wife sent May for the chop sticks to make the sago.

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice Hey took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. Hey did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaya looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinuwa approaching. She came up slowly with a large net bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. Hey came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaya if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinuwa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. Hey said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked May if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told me of Wer who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to May, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Nemb, went up and greeted Nemb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump May, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[560] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big meri" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
574 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[834] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Ham came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[161] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[857] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof
came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the
nothing.
diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ I said that if he had
something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just
like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept
it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa)
was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it
will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of
firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up
a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way
to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one
of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men
were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred
ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads
and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same
things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 231 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the "sac sac" (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 534 [574] In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in

[481] [313] [284] [483] diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabunkura. A log was cut to the desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

476
534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwiombi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mos, and Owiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwate wbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

439 628 532 534 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hey ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the "tunket" for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Hes and Gwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwam would take place at Mdoway house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 439 114 302 123 457 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird. February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwam wanted [435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 [411] [412] The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in; about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the
[837] Tangwishamps asked exorbitant prices for betal pepper. (Nemb had tried
[435] to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Gwiyap and Hay who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Yas in waus shit nuting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakole's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put
787 out in the ageyin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Gwiyaps sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Gwiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. Hay, Mar, Gwiyap, Nas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Nemb appeared and

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Nemb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar, Chimuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got none ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Gwiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Kwiya, Chimuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chimuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and May, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong.
323 Mar was working kumbank and cutting grass by the house tamberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

223 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Kriya and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chinawa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Kriyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the narsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Soubundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 24, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill
518 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

578 been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed
[123] up with the place here and will go with me when I go. He says he does not
feel like working.

527 Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what
262 they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to
[754] discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and
[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
[252] they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they
had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and
[415] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold
[262] it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When
the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and
boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with
[123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the
soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he
[123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I
helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me
to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach
was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed
that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayamas (a big man of Afokalisa)
got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been
poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sownambi's (kinship term) and I will fight
anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground
[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before
the white man (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a
spear.

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] [765] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] [754] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] [628] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 721 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yet came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Kwiyampa and Dowari and Mawendaya had broken it and

224 [518] made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and [648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Haymakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinambara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 627 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 241 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Kwai was cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Mey, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa'ŋ on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apekwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

114 [224] near Mar's. He was building a bannis (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mas cut it up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific. We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which were at Mar's . We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa was teaching Mar and Mas. He was very patient with them. He would sing out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mas slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa on the other. This morning Pokadaya left early. Mar, Mas and I had breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back to the house. Mas took a short trip and came back with a bunch of bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mas is his nephew, it is all right. We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai. Awambaka and Apinokw came to help carry my bed back, and we returned. Pokotaya and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

[754] Yawangamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to Wisep's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to the house tamberan to find Wof, Marok et al there. They came out and claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out for poison. (Mamb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night. They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from 754 755 Wenyebenkura this evening. They were making the rounds of Hongwan, getting

754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 [311] March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. [231] [431] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to do with Asanampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Har, Kumb, Mas, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

600 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from Wenyambaukura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga weni. They had spears. Say came to Yet's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Hayamakwa present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yet grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Memoy to fight, but Memoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing
[648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awa giggligly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Owiyap. Awa and Kwiya were there. Owiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Owiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Owiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), Mar, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.

231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and May and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on May's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mem (mother's brother). It is also War's mem and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his mem told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay mem at hant sunyiya. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

857 752 Fit and Hey have been playing all afternoon. Hey was chasing Fit. About 5:00 Hey caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hey's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hey's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hey did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 484 [628] Hey, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwama were helping to carry their cargo.

602 571 754 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the [601] relationship. He will no longer call them man but use their name. His daughter, Mamoa, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

489 262 [251] Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a mat bag of sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 602 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

574 476 April 4, 1937. Namb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and [501] fourteen men responded from Wenyembankura and Heyamakwa. They came about [252] 1:00. Namb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and Wer had his family make soup. This was not expected by Namb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Heyamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his presitge. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Namb had killed a gouria pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [197] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, [276] and drifted away one by one or twp by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Kwiya, Pambe, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

761 A man of Duwus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tambarans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbina gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of wank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Owiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Owiyap's belt by playing with it. Owiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Owiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but
a
she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamoey came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their boxes and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamoey beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide. so he did not get his pay.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the woman or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and Hay said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Duwus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

533 Namb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. Hay and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to Hay and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wanya similar to the poison beatings. 685 [533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawa, Ambe, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a watokolai about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

123 685 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then Hay repeated the evidence against him. He [648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gamba).

Hay just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, im i no wonki belong yu im i big felo man. im i no bilong nuther felo bannis, belong Rumbinan dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child.

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Aus came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "calaboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yelangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [576] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mes is now our shoot boy, as Nemb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mes realized that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Nemb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--
524 while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an
522 abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about
831 it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He
838 was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Poketay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it''Rumbima calling with a new gong--do you hear me?] and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss
685 about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[564] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Hemb and Hamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mes, Owiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mes in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Owiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mes and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwe called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwe's imagination. I told Owiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwis, Kwalump, Ambs, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kwonai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Mamk's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 30 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian gov-
ernment, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal
Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get
away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasel. Mi stop mari olatsim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind wearing the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Soual Urambanje of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenye to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wef's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent and that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Una down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Una to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Mar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [152] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 is sold to me. When the Tangwishamp bring fayombi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Mar, Waremus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga kafaamwani (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Gawi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambanj.

752 Awas was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harape ne neyaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbima were there. The

123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Ulembanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mweni at Sow's.

584 754 Gwiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true" -- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to tell her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Mas would get Gwanta in exchange. Yatamiaj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Down and Afa would get Uka's.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Dow put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Khos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Khos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Khiya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Mviya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwapak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Ngusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhviyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chinawa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong
mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride
price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased
and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for
fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his
mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind).
When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all
this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and
then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and
tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also
said that Yatsminj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked
to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was
likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamboran with it
(evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help
him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Oviyap just came in without his "lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the
women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed
and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi
and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very
much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopement be postponed. Masek was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. Way came

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Gwiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Gwiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Gwiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "mouki nothing".

593 Since Mgusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbims because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted kwoyemb na me yeto (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Yenakwot from Hawi Tuk (Yessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mas came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white man and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

578 Yevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumwe'Sumwe. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Owiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Owiyap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Tambon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Owiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura . Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Keya called out to Owiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Owiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a sugilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a sugilawas of the Wanyi people.

000
501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar went to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "gayeman along mi ol saiw" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Tanakwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Hongwom. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their KWRA and Afokalis said yes he is KWRA to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but it would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

513 593 [833] 262 584 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep by themselves.

After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Gwiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 685 754 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>sawuto mesni</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Mauk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that

114 he was my <u>laka</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

[754]

241 Eriya has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Koriasi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aya. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aya; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Koriasi whom he 'marked' a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Yaus--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik in brok in". If she goes to break sago, she buts a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aya, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had namoed (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, soche had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 524 Kum was playing this afternoon with Mey and began tapping him on the leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. Mey slapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. Mey paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 819 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyakay; Gwiyap was older than Mey. Mey says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as Mey when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

Revision

Gwiyap just went down and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuakai was older than he, that she was the same age as Mey who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas Mey has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because Mey was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: Mey was 5, Gwiyap and Kamakan were 4--Mar and Fit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: Mey 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mes is the same age as Mar.

000 May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mes is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Fwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was
685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wof's
587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the
684 white men and died there --Awa, also of Sumwa Sumwa married his widow through
578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife
582 of Nayamatanp, Wajumboi, who is now working at Bululo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wof's house late at night and set fire to it. Wof did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tangwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoke and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife has died.

578 Gwiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaopyap came asking for theirs.

114 Watakaup came in the afternoon with an invitation to come to Ambunti. I think I'll go.

April 22, 1937.. It was raining this morning, so I decided not to go to Ambunti but sent Mar and Mas to get kerosene, flour, etc. I went down to [286] War's to look at his house. The whole family was at home. The women were sewing mat bags, as well as War who was sewing a bag. His was working a wafa nasas from afosasp bone. Kar was lying on a bed sick.

I went up to the house tamberan to get its construction. Way was shaping the outside of a gong, but the mosquitoes drove me home. I sent 836 Gwiyap and May to wash clothes. Gwiyap came back full of excitement about Gwanta. He had seen her on the way, and she let it be known she wanted to have intercourse with him. He bribed Gwanta with 2 razors, one for him and one for her, to come and tell him when she next went down to get water so he could meet her there. He said he was going to ask her to come and sleep [593] with him at Wisep's house in his "klambu". She had suggested it the other night but her father had forbade her.

This afternoon he put on Mar's singlets and a brand new orange "lap lap" and went down the hill. He stayed all afternoon. Tonight he said he had called at Way's house. Gwanta and her mother were there--they sat and talked. She was sitting on the bed, and he asked her if there were plenty of "nats nats." She said yes. Then he told her if they bothered her too much to come up and sleep in his mosquito net. She said she would. Gwamb who was also there, said he would come too, but Gwanta said no--how many people do you think the net will hold. Mar remarked that she did not call him by his name and that she told him not to go with me but to stay.

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombundura. Pokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Gwanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Gwanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa="nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Gwanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chinuwe and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.

754 May and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tengwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and so were suspected.

Hwal and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Hwal and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (ongilawas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwam, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mar and Mas had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Mas' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overall.

123 685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left May in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Ohiyap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. May first accused Kis, but War exonerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Sombundura and had come back after I had returned.

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp [583] tongue. With her lives Yawe who is Mar's fiancee. It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yawe gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Owiyap and May.

[156] He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Minjama yam cult ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yenama and Minjama, while he is only a member of the former.

October 24, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He [114] said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Numb and Wisep, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap."

October 23, 1936.

*115 Mar is becoming tired of our continued questioning lately and will sometimes pretend not to hear us when we call him to verify the pronunciation of some word. He is apt to walk out of the room the minute we pause in our questioning. Yesterday we spent half an hour trying to get the Kwoma word for pass, but could not make him understand what we wanted although we tried innumerable methods of trying to obtain the information.

October 29, 1936.

[584] This afternoon Mar went up the hill for a while. When he returned he was quite excited and said he had been looking at a woman whom he might later have for a wife. He was dancing around with a broad grin on his face.

November 13, 1936.

[123] Lately Mar has taken to calling me papa. This happened after we arranged a kinship relation with Owiyap, May and ourselves, but Mar has done this without suggestion from us.

Yesterday there was talk of a fight with Tangwishamp. Most of the Kwoma men were gathered to talk things over, but Mar did not go. We asked him why not and he was quite positive about not wanting to fight.

[114] The other evening Yat was in, and we talked of going to Yesan, a river tribe above Yambon. Owiyap said he would take us there. We asked Mar if he would like to come, but he said no. When we went to Ambunti, May and Owiyap wanted to go with us, but Mar again said he would stay and take care of our house. Neither did he want to go to Wogu (a tribe across the river we were planning to visit) with us. -141-

November 17, 1936.

115 [584] [123] Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly respected member of the sib, a man of about 50, and noted for sorcery. Aya [582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor, so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

November 21, 1936.

115 578 582 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed. He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

November 29, 1936.

*115 [584] [123] A week or so ago Gwiyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 123 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiances and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where [754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, Mar sent Fit for *115 123 755 nettle leaves. These he got and Mar arranged them in a sort of cone, held them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or exortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. Mar then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

*115 123 [755] After the treatment he sat down again and resumed his moaning. Later Mar sent Fit into the bush for more and larger nettles. When Fit returned with them, Mar noticed him and put his hands up to us to be lifted up. After another rub down, Tip and I put his arms over our shoulders, one standing on either side of him, and started off. As the journey progressed we found he had to be supported less and less. We went slowly, stopping quite frequently to rest. The trip took two hours, and we were exhausted at the end. When we reached house, Mar slumped down on his sago bark bed and resumed his former state. We left him and went to visit again in the evening after Gwiyap had come up saying he had had a relapse and wanted us to see him. When we arrived he was in about the same state as when we had first seen him at the bush house. We gave him three cascara pills and left. December 6,1936.

Yesterday Mar was better, but not much. He was lying on his bed and moaning. He had not had a bowel movement; his temperature was still normal. We gave him a dose of 4 teaspoons of epsom and rubbed his face, chest and back with ambrosia, to which he reacted in much the same manner as to the nettles. In the afternoon he was somewhat better. Gwiyap reported that his bowels had moved and that he had eaten.

*115 787 This morning Gwiyap came in and told us that Mar died during the night but then came alive again. The story he told was that during the night Mar had been visited by the ghost of his older brother who had told him to come to the land of the dead. Mar at this point called out to his mother, "Mother, come! My brother is here and I am going to die." His mother has a large ulcer on her foot and could not come down from the next house where

*115 [787] she sleeps, but began to wail. Wof awoke at this and came with a torch to awaken us. He shouted at us near our house but we slept through it all. When I went to see Mar in the afternoon he was sitting up and seemed quite cheerful. He still talked very little and used no pidgin. While I was there he crawled out of the house and urinated. This he did on his hand and feet, belly up. I asked him why he did not stand and Owiyap quickly answered that he had a bad knee.

December 7, 1936.

The report today is that Mar is much better. Kar came around, and from him we learned that Mar's older brother was a "big man" before he died. At a ceremony his position was as high as that of Mar.

December 9, 1936.

*115 123 752 Yesterday Owiyap came to get me to treat Mar's leg. I went down to find Mar asleep and had some trouble in waking him. He had a nasty surface sore on his ankle. I swabbed it out with a solution of percuric potassium iodide and put a bandage with unguentine on it. He howled a good deal during the process but said nothing. Afterwards I fixed a little sore of Owiyap's and although he stood it much better, he squirmed a bit, and Mar laughed at this a little. I stayed for a while and he became more cheerful still saying practically nothing however.

*115 Today during the Mundik[1] episode Mar came hobbling up the hill leaning heavily on a walking stick to see what was going on. He went back after about

1. Mundik was a young man who killed his wife and, seeking refuge at Maskuk, was beaten by them and nearly killed for attending a ceremony without having the proper credentials (i.e., kaloids of manhood). They consider him to be insane.

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Oviyap, Tat, Han and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also [123] [657] because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbims.

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had His act as go-between.

The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the [123] things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Oviyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three [436] shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. [583] (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other [123] kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his [123] decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] [464] [583] [476] [614] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.

January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Gwiyap, Hamb, Mey and Mandik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] [754] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mee who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Nemb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Tambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Nemb would shoot a'gouria' for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Nemb [461] would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [241] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by Owiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Owiyap and Mey said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 5, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Owiyap, Awa, and Ewiya there to finish [787] it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [123] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

*115 household and then had a long conversation with War's son, Mas, a lad of his own age.

[302] He and Mas put a bleaching mixture on each other's hair--lime, water
*115 and foyimaka leaf. I did not see him look at Aya once nor did he speak to
584 her beyond a word of greeting. After we left and were out of sight he exclaimed excitedly, "Did you see my girl? Ai yo ha ha he hoiyo," he shouted. Then he put his thumb in his mouth and danced on one foot and exploded in a loud voice, "I think I'll get her. Never mind about sorcery". Then contracting his brows and looking at the ground, "Yes, I think so. I don't know." Later after we had returned to my house, he spoke of his fiancee once again and said that she was good and had a good vagina (laughter). If he went away, another man might get her. If so, he would break his lime gourd and clay pot and go up to the house tamberan and beat the gong for that man to come. Then he would fight him, punch him in the nose and then in the ear. "Yes (as if I had said I did not believe him) if I stay I can look out for her, but this place is no good, and if I stay I will be sorcerized", Mar said. "What are you going to give me when you go--some money?" I told him yes and he added, "I guess I'll give it to War and then no one else can get her. She's a good girl. Oh! War. " Then I said something which he misconstrued as a suggestion to go to War's house and sleep with Aya. Mar exclaimed, "No, no; if I went there, War would shoot me with a spear. (Pause). I think I'll take your fffle and shoot War. Yes!" (As though I doubted it).

*115 Before leaving, Mar warned me not to sleep at night unless I have my rifle by my side as there were some strangers walking around today with spears. He told me to sleep, and he would leave, but I still had work to do so he decided to finish his pipe and then go. Mar started at a noise outside and in a loud voice he asked, "What is that, a ghost ? Who is that walking

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go
to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No,
I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't
intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There
was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested
a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he
returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw
a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went.
February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Yaya, his fiancee. He replied that she
was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either.
March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion.
As we approached the house Mar called out for Mee who was not there.
Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if
he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar[1] was not there. He
was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still
talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not
go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but
finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaramanu. When her husband died she went to live with
Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One
day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaning

[1] Lit., probably Mrs.-analyst

587 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away
837 and was very indignant. She said Dagwwur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new
[583] wife. This he did -- Gewas' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 During the Yenama ceremony a Yenama wife will make an appointment
786 with a Minjama man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

#115 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the
836 marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

#115 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar
583 wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mes has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mes (Mar has been joking with Mes alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she had not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinawa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Hay and Pit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

#115 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
787 of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
602 He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get
753 it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

#115 When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dawangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and
[754] Mas decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

#115 The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
156 on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said,
[648] "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mas asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

#115 Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gwanta
584 and Pamba to get Mas' sister, Aye, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
[123] Mar will meet them there and take Aye to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mas and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aye's idea.

#115 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it
582 was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Gwiyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless. -154-

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

#115 157 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent [191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned #115 593 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second 736 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young-- his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishampe. He was carried #115 553 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His name was given him by the Malue with whom he stayed after the raid. His mother had named him Woyshokwe (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 726 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the house tamberan for a long time. The Mongwem hid in the house except for a few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his 'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then, when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the bush.

October 20, 1936.

#115 123 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

*115 put his arm around me repeating, "Oh, master! Greetings!" several times.
123 Mar's two sisters and three female children were around, and it may have
[574] been partly to show off to them. Such action fits in with Kwoma culture,
[522] in which embracing is the form of greeting. I asked Gwiyap if one of the little girls were his nimi (girl), intending to kid him, but he said, "No," and carefully explained her relationship to him. He was perfectly serious in this. I tried the same thing with May, with the same result; so apparently such kidding is not done in this culture. On the way back, Gwiyap carried the rifle and led the procession although Wof, Mar and Marok, all older than he, were present.

October 21, 1936.

*115 He came in this morning, and we asked him for some words, which he
648 gave us. Then, unbidden, he told us a story of a hanging he had seen several years before (three, according to Mamb). Some of the natives of Madeyakwa, a village in the bush behind Avatip, had wounded a police boy in the leg with a spear. The "kiap" had punished them by hanging seven of them and had brought in natives from the surrounding villages to observe this so that it would be an example to them. This is the second time he had volunteered stories of the killing of natives by white men. This time, as before, he told the story animatedly, as if he were telling a very interesting and exciting bit of news.

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Gwiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and May bothhbbgan helping around the house, and since Haab is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Gwiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a ganba (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to draw a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Gwiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Gwiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Gwiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Gwiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Gwiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

#115 787 all and he said 'yes.' He got a bit irritated at me after I had asked him several time but finally he told me of a dream which he had had several nights before and which he had already told to Tip. In this dream he had seen his father with a great many yams, coconuts, bananas, etc. His father was carrying them back to the cemetery to eat. He also had a large cup in which to cook the food. Owiyap was looking on, and the smell of death was very strong, "all the same big fella pek pek" (like a big pile of feces). His father began eating his food and with it the bones of dead men. Then Owiyap remembered another fragment which was about large dogs with hands and feet. They were climbing up coconut trees and throwing down the fruit. Then he saw a lot of dead men--people he did not know, who had died long ago. They were big men just like "you two fella masta", and were going in a sort of procession up to their dwelling place on the top of a mountain. I asked him if there were any women in the dream, but he said no. The people live in a great tree with a hole in the bottom of it.

November 10, 1936.

[123] Last night Owiyap had a dream in which he and Tip and I were walking over to Sasar[illegible]man. (Tip had actually walked over that way yesterday afternoon). When we arrived, Owiyap warned us that the Sombindura were coming for us with spears to kill us. Tip, however, had his .22. That was all he could remember. At it occurred yesterday, he became irritated when I asked him if there were any more.

November 14, 1936.

#115 123 The day before yesterday, I was fooling around in front of the house with some of the kids. I was pretending to fight with Owiyap. Once when my back was turned, he hit me with the flat of his hand. I turned around quickly and started to chase him--laughing and shouting the while. We scrambled down the mountainside, onto a path which led down the mountain

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Gwiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Gwiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Gwiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Gwiyap must have know his intentions. When Gwiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, but that he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberaaka" (one of the ghosts of dead Hoagwem).

*115 In talking over Owiyap with Tip, I was reminded of a couple of things about him that I have not yet recorded. In the first place, he has showed more interest in looking at pictures in the magazines and books that we have than the others --particularly the last number of the Pacific Island Monthly, which he has gone through half a dozen times, asking us what the pictures are--machines, ships, houses, etc., and then having been told, repeating them to himself, much like a child with a picture book.

Another thing is that several days ago, Tip gave him an old tooth brush. Since then, almost every morning he has asked us for it and has spent a long time scrubbing at his teeth, and then looking at them in the mirror and showing them to us.

[191] Still another fact is the remarkable amount of pidgin he knows, for a child and for one who has obtained it 'second-hand' from returned "savvy talks". He is always eager to learn new words, and is very quick to learn to make a bed, to cook, or to do other things about the house.

November 15, 1936.

*115 787 Tip got a dream from him this moring while I was asleep . Owiyap was with Her going through the bush when they met a cinuk (snake). It was a very tall thing made of leather and emitted a noise like a toy bull-roarer, but very much louder. It was a gambe (ghost) . They chased it, killed it and buried it. Then they were afraid about what they had done. As they were leaving the spot, another gambe approached and asked them why they had killed the cinuk. They lied, saying "We didn't kill him", and hurried away.

November 29, 1936.

115 883 584 About a week ago Owiyap and Tip were down at the market place watching the women trading. A girl came up to Owiyap and talked with him. He then told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a mat bag.

115 836 123 Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had intercourse. He was noncommital, "Me no savvy"; I mentioned that I had, and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

*115 123 775 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall. Neither Gwiyap nor Hay likes this. They said that ghosts would come. I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Rumb. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally worked it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a "monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 648 464 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwum again to sign on boys. Gwiyap is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is looking forward eagerly to the change. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.

December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinawa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.

According to Gwiyap
/Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinawa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbim who can be possessed by spirits.

December 9, 1936.

*115 123 [753] The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual, he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Har). The next day, he was all right.

578 *115 There is some talk of a feud between Howel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap. Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Howel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 [736] Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.

[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others. Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.

[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka, it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance). Since Siyowa's death, Mirok had been looking out for Uka.

January 26, 1937.

*115 593 I asked Gwiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Gwiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Gwiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his nan (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Gwiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Gwiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

* 115 584 883 Gwiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Sombumdum. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 123 657 The sore on Owiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Owiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Her had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 133 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Feilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a S, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing. [137 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1520 ft. above sea level.

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Owiyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

#115 Owiyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwum carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Owiyap finally found that another Hongwum had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "kiap" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Kwiya came by carrying firewood and Owiyap yelled something bawdy
#115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Owiyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
#115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Kwiya, Awe, Way's elder daughter, Mes' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bona nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mes' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mar about having intercourse with his sister (Awe), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awe in their house. May came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want May to know, for he might tell Mar.

March 4, 1937.

115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

115 572 765 Owiyap inherithd Yatafauf as a naremboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naremboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kawas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sumas kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Gwiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 191 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Gwiyap says that it is practiced at Yenbon.

*115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Kwiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarressed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both awa (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her awa or nawalaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 13, 1937.

*115 291 Last night Gwiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

*115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Gwiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

*115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Gwiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 787 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down to the water and threw her away. Then Gwiyap, Way, and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Gwiyap's mother's name was Kowabwas, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (gamba yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Merik, their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a nersalai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water', where they saw a canoe which Gwiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Gwiyap said, "Never mind", and took Gwanta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to Malu. The Malus asked what they were doing their and were told they were [123] hiding from the "kiop" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Gwanta and Gwiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the others behind. They stayed there and Gwanta killed a gouria pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Gwiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

*115 648 123 829 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.

#115 291 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it is a "gud felo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

#115 584 Gwiyap heard that Gamei, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs, said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

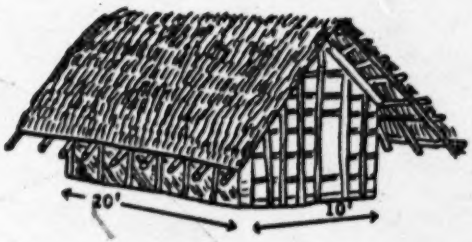
583 768 593 604 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, na fender ya which is about half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between her brothers.

Chapter V
Field Notes Not Previously Published

House and building construction

342 [428] [423] [372] Houses are not permanent enough to be important in inheritance. If a man dies, the remainder of the family lives in his house until it falls down or begins to leak. The house, however, is considered to be the property of the male children. A house may last ten years, and is abandoned when it falls apart. The available timber is used for other purposes-- firewood, for example.

343 342 The figure below illustrates a house for storing yams and taro (kayakd) but is identical in construction to a dwelling house.



There are two central posts at either end of the outside room. The roof overhangs in either direction. The construction is identical to the room of a dwelling house. The porches are extended from this frame.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

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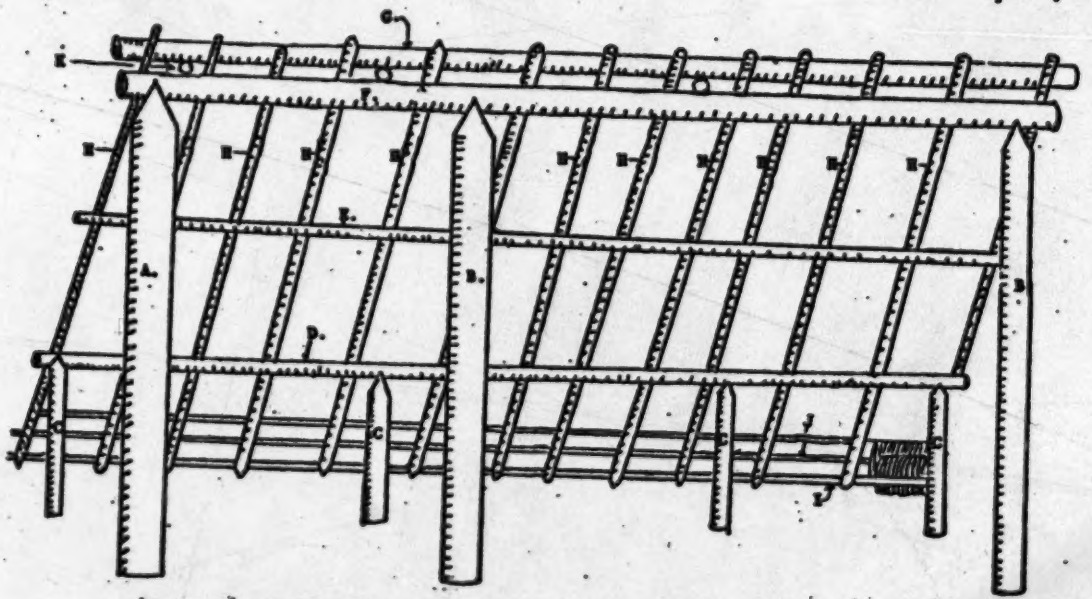
Key to House Construction --Center posts and roof



A. sumaŋ́ -- main central post
B. mɔ̃ɔ́ɗ́ kwatɛ́--subsidiary central posts
C. taŋ́ faŋ́-- side posts
D. akɛ́ faŋ́--plate
E. akɛ́ jiŋ́--stringer
F. akɛ́ touɗ́--ridgepole
G. yi touɗ́-- binder
H. ya yami--rafters
I. suku nyungeŋ́--bamboo runners attached to hold ends of shingles
J. aka ngɔ̃ŋ́-- runners to hold shingles
K. akɛ́ warunkɛ́-- cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap.

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[804]

Posts are measured and cut and moved to the building site. To measure the correct length a bamboo is marked by lashing a chip at the desired spot. The diameter of a post is measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around the post and breaking the splint at the point of overlap. The measure is used as a guide in digging the hole. The posts are also measured as they are set to insure a level ridgepole.

The figure on the preceeding page shows the frame of a house, the center posts and half of the roof, and gives definitions for the labels. Following is the procedure used in construction the frame and house.

342
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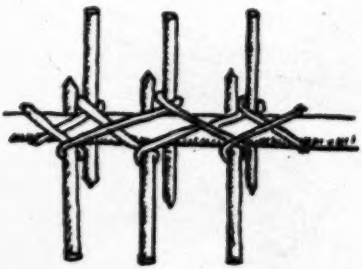
192

1. Two nǫ̃ndí kwatí (b) (subsidiary central posts) are first set. The central posts (nǫ̃ndí kwat) stand at each end of the enclosed part of the house.
2. Tafí tompí (c) (side posts) are set.
3. Akí fayí (d) (plate) set.
4. A staging of log lashed from the tafí tompí (c) (side posts) to the akí fayí (d) (plate) and lengthwise logs lashed on this. (For the house tamberan, a very elaborate staging is built-- subsidiary rafters are lashed to a temporary ridgepole up two-thirds way to the nǫ̃ndí kwatí (b) (subdisiary central posts).)
5. Akí towí (f) (ridgepole) lifted up and lashed. The main ridgepole extends only over the main room (akawí). The smaller ridgepole extension (yi tow) extends over the porch.
6. Yavemí (h) (rafters) set and attached. Those on the porch end of the house are slanted forward toward the peak. (see figure below)

342
335 Method for binding rafters to ridgepole

[284]



Kwaa nia, a room in which carved wooden images (ewaliwaa) are stored is made of cross rafters bound to the porch rafters. The room extends from the partition at the central post about 8 feet out, has a palm spathe floor and partition of uprights laced with maretta leaves. The outside cross beam is supported by split liana cord to the yi tow (ridgepole extension). The room is open on the end facing into the house.

7. Akí jirí (e) (stringer) set and attached.

8. Akí warunkw (k)(cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap) fastened.

9. Yi towí (g) (binder) attached.

10. Roofing. Palm spathes (ndofó) are most commonly used for roofing. Ndofokw fiiu is preferred but less common and usually used for house temporans
342 The leaves (4) are stacked one on top of another, butts and points alternating direction, folded in the middle over the palm spathe slat so that the new bundle slightly overlaps the previous bundle. The leaves are sewn with an
[412] [283] overhand back stitch-- the needle a sharpened hollow stick, the thread split liana. The slat to which the bundles are attached is made from a split cross palm trunk, about five feet long and one half inch square.

342 193 [284] kwawi yiju are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for abé ma (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, sikwoyi ma, in the ground and lashing them to abé fayi (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niama, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nio (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the outside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (abi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (mowporirié) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nio room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [351 352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

Division of Labor

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226
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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asf). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadong represents low gong; gadang represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwo ïsf

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

nawrdnjo

gadang gadong gading

533 <u>533</u>

gadang gadang gajong gadong gading gading

gadang gadang gadong gadong gading gading

o a o a i i

<u>fovi tomito</u>

gading, gadang, gading, gadang, gading

<u>nuvivaf</u>

gadanga, gadanga gadonga, gadonga

gading, gadang, gading, gadong

gading gadang gading gadang gading gadang

<u>nano</u>

gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gading, gading, gading

gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gading, gading, gading

gadang, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadong, gadong

Songs, exhortations

539 Wail sung to mourn a death

533 hogwiosaiwÃ©ÃŸÃ©ivevagÃ©t ahÃ© Who is looking for him?

764 amba ge ha sowahÃ© He is gone to the land of the dead.

afahw mata mÃ© ye yan hÃ© Father come and get him.

Wail sung to mourn a death

swi hahÃ©hÃ© Mother come

mohwa ahÃ© nahÃ© Give me sago

hogwi anhanahÃ© Give me meat

aiÃ© hawahÃ© I am hungry

789 Casting a spell (yamba mwaiiio) is used to protect gardens from pigs

[192] and theft, to prevent rain, thunder, lightening, to quell the wind, etc. , and for healing purposes.

789 Exhortation to mwasalai to quell the wind. If all the snakes are killed, tied

539 up and put in a hold, the wind cannot blow.

533 wafanÃ©rÃ© sowige Kill the snake (a certain kind in each case)

nayawus sowige " " "

hoffus sowige " " "

kis hofÃ© sowige " " "

veyhof sowige " " "

apunhÃ©rÃ©ahwaiwÃ© Fasten him

nohÃ© favitin iwÃ© Tie him up

her wagwÃ© Put him in the hollow of a tree.

Magical verse to cure a boil

755 539 533

wəlé kwiyé nə fəsə	Growth on breadfruit go away
məwri nə fəsə	Breast go away
yətəké nə fəsə	Leg go away
təbəc nə fəsə	Tobacco go away
krík nə fəsə	Penis go away
mənáé né nə fəsə	Testicles go away
həfəké né nə fəsə	Shoulder go away
wəyi né nə fəsə	Water go away

533 192 Songs are not only sung in chorus (həwəlíin), but also with a leader and chorus (həwíəwət).

Totems

614 Listed below are the three sibs and a collection of some of the totems of each of them.

Wanyi	a pig; gouria pigeon, cassowary, duck, some small birds ; liana; grass; crocodile; a shield; and variety of yam with black leaves .
Tug	a dog; sago grub; vegetable food; sago palm; areca nut ; hornbill, cockatoo; red snake; water fowl, white egret, and several small birds.
Meyamakwo	bird of paradise; all fish, but especially the saw fish and other large fish, shadows, taro, a variety of yam with white leaves; large fish hawk, large opossum, vagina. Kumbendém, a snake which causes thunder by talking angrily; Angeykwari, the brother of Kumbendém, lives in a large stone. Angéndimi, the sons of Kumbendém, and Ngwadgwi, the wife.

Ethnophysiology

826
827 The heart (nesuk) is the seat of life. It controls the breath which comes through the nose or the mouth. If a man's heart is injured, he dies. It is located where the ribs join the sternum in the little soft spot just under the breastbone. It is visible by day in the faint pulsating seen at this point. At night the nesuk moves up to the small depression just below the Adam's apple . It sleeps while the organism does. A person must not be awakened suddenly lest the nesuk have enough time to return to the daytime position. It is supposed to wake itself first; then the person opens his eyes. The nesuk is small in a child and proportionately larger as the man or woman grows. It is strong in a strong man and weak in a weak one. Birds, snakes, and other animals as well as ghosts also [825] [715] have nesuk.

Food goes in at the mouth, down the neck, and into the stomach where it stays for a while. At the time of defecation, it goes down the intestines and out the anus. Water goes directly to the bladder where it stops until time for urination, when it goes down and out the penis. Sperm is said to be produced in the bladder. The testicles are thought to have no function. Lungs are hung up on either side of the stomach but have no connection with the stomach.

Eyes have a small rope but it is not connected with anything. Neither are the holes in nose or ears connected with anything . The holes in the ears just stop.

The veins and arteries (nenaws) are to make the skin strong. They are unconnected and unrelated with the other vital organs. Blood is everywhere inside the skin. The kidneys are to make the back strong, as is the heart which is also for breath.

192 [826] [262] [614] **marinoku** the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another oib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.

nambeyá ears

nborowang neck

masuk heart

wofu lungs

kumbu stomach

sungu intestines

nangorusuku kidneys

nogu bladder

erá penis

nandá testicles

sumá suf anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the **siafkofí** (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family.

[753] Boils are not caused by poison.

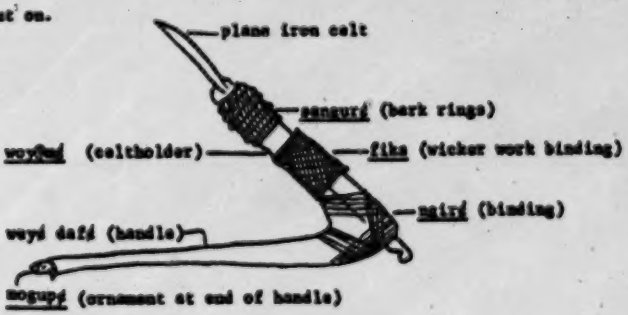
Tools

412
192

Adze (wuya)

To make an adze, the celt holder (wuyind) is shaped and split at the end. Preferred wood is wundi (pidgin, kwila), but other wood is used. The handle has also been shaped and is made from any wood. A section is cut out, usually from a small tree where a small branch joins the larger or the main trunk, and is concaved to fit the slightly convex celt holder. A straight handle is preferred, but a slightly curved one is not disliked. The angle between the face and handle varies from about 50° to 70°. The iron celt (formerly stone) is slipped into the split in the celt holder. Bark rings (sangurd) which have been dried are slipped on from the top and forced down, holding the celt firmly in place. The wicker work is then woven into a sleeve and the handle is slipped into this. Hoops from prepared liana bark are also used to attach the handle to the celtholder. The hoop is measured to the collar of the celtholder by tying it in a half knot which is pulled tight. This is slipped off and the ends are tucked on either side of the loop until a twisted loop is formed four or five strands thick. The twists are laid carefully side by side, which causes the loop to thicken and therefore a lessening of the inner circumference so that the loop will jam when driven to the shoulder. When the handle has been attached, a final binding is put on.

[284]



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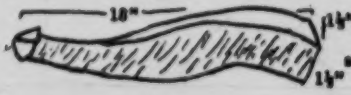
192

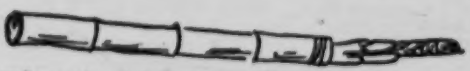
The handles for (adzes) wolye, especially those used to break up sago, are buried in the mud for a period of about two years. They become very hard and tough and have a high black polish. A stick (*ndwdndnd*) is also made this way and used in place of the stone blade for crushing sago pith. The cutting point is sharpened by pecking with a pig's tusk scraper into a cup shaped point. The wood is extremely hard after burying so it is shaped before putting it into the water.

412
192

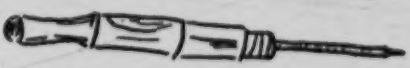
hammer (abombo) -- made from heavy hard wood



coltholder (worind)-- made with bamboo holder, plane iron colt

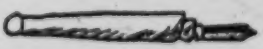


chipper (yonkwo)-- made with bamboo handle, iron rod with wedge chisel point. Handle about four feet long.

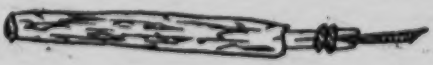


scraper (asi) -- bamboo handle, celt stone, about three and a half feet long.

chipper (yonkwo)-- bamboo or wooden handle, plane iron chipper, attached by split liana cord (fiki) hoops, about three feet long.



chipper (yonkwo)-- made with wooden handle, attached by hoops.



Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the mbiid tree is peeled off in short stripe (one to two feet long). These stripe are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 814 [245] [177] [178] Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, késéfé and nowí, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant the nowí trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it was brought to the Kwoma through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

Paints

386 192 In addition to the berries\used to dye twines, paints are made by various clays. Black paint, wñnd (kwild- pidgin) is made by burning wñnd wood. The charcoal is heavy and resinous, and when scraped with a stone is mixed with the sap of ŋŋgwiyewd . Other colors are made by mixing clay with water. They are nowí kevé (black clay) ; ŋkwé nowí (red clay); nkwándewí nowí (yellow clay) ; nogune (white clay).

532 386 [413] Swailowas (carved wooden figures representing nerawáí used at the yam cult ceremonies) are painted with a small brush made from the frayed skin of a betel pepper fastened to a small stick. The black paint is applied all over the figure and dried in the sun. The other clay colors are applied over the black.

Hunting

223 Cassowary hunting

Cassowaries (apasanka) are surrounded by dogs in daylight. The hunter uses a spear and seeks the vital spot under the ribs for the kill. It is useless to spear them in the back or chest, for such a stab does not kill and a wounded cassowary may turn on a man and "deal him a terrific blow" with its foot. If the cassowayy is sitting, the hunter builds a fence and advances under cover of darkness to spear the bird.

Large cassowaries (7-8' high at head) may have five young; medium sized birds may have three young, and small ones may have 2 young.

Upon sighting a cassowary with young, a boy hides behind a tree close to the path. He allows the mother to pass and then gathers up the (three) chicks--the size of a large fowl, in his arms, ties their legs and necks with rope, and carries them off. If the mother gives chase, the boy clambers up a tree with his burden.

Pig hunting

224 Pig hunting is regarded as a grown man's job. It is dangerous at times because wild pigs attack men. A man might go out for two or three days in the bush toward Ambunti where there are known to be many pigs. The actual hunting is done at night. One method is to build a sago frond blind (bannis) across a track. An opened sago log is placed on the other side to attract pigs. The hunter crouches behind the blind to wait. When an animal comes, the hunter rises slowly and thrusts the spear hard behind the right shoulder.

When a spear is used in hunting pig it is grasped near the middle of the shaft in the right hand (with palm toward body). The hunter assumes a crouching posture with his body weight resting on his right leg, almost sitting on his right heel. The left leg is extended in the direction of the

224 [481] spear for balance. The hunter approaches prey in this semi-sitting position by shifting weight to his left leg and then settling back again on the right. When the prey is within striking distance, he rises with weight on the right leg, draws back the spear at a level with his eye, and plunges it downward at an angle, following through with the weight of his body onto his left leg.

Another method used in pig hunting is to catch the pigs in pitfalls and spear them after they are caught. The pitfall is about four feet in diameter, three feet deep, covered with twigs and leaves, and dug near a sago swamp.

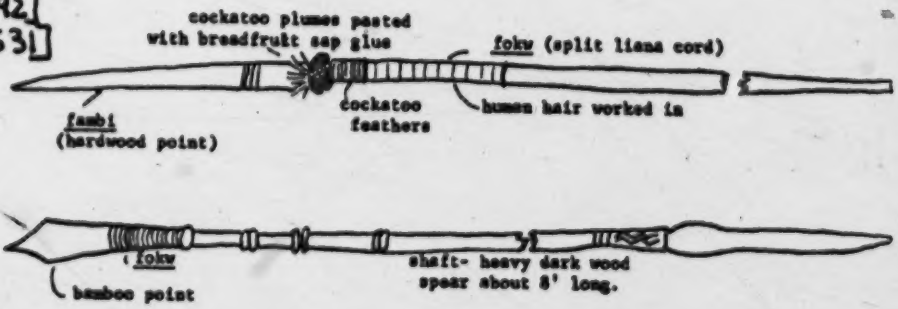
Spears

411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411 322 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. Those made from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[824] [192] [53]



Bow and arrow

411
192

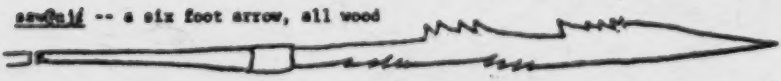
The bow (aŋ̃ubə)is tightened by placing the lower point on the ground, while the left hand grasps the top, and the right hand the middle The left knee is then brought to bear against the bow and the fokw (split liana cord) slackens. The arrow is held against the fokw (in the right hand) between thumb and forefinger of the index finger. The palm of the left hand pushes out against the bow. The thumb circles the bow; the index finger arches over the arrow so that the latter rests in the crotch between the thumb and index finger. As the bowstring is drawn taut, the bow is raised until the arrow is just below the level of the eye. The left arm is straightened as the string is drawn back with the right.

Arrows are made from either wood or bamboo shafts. (See figures below).

minjf -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

kwond -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

awũnjf -- a six foot arrow, all wood



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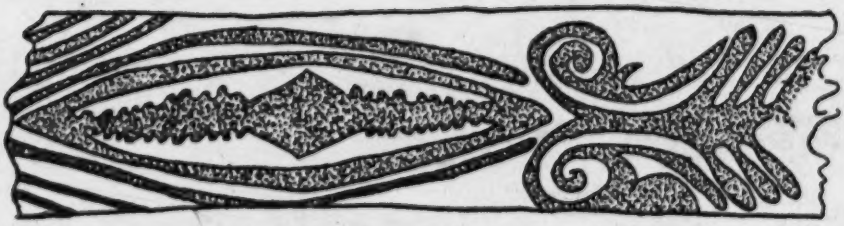
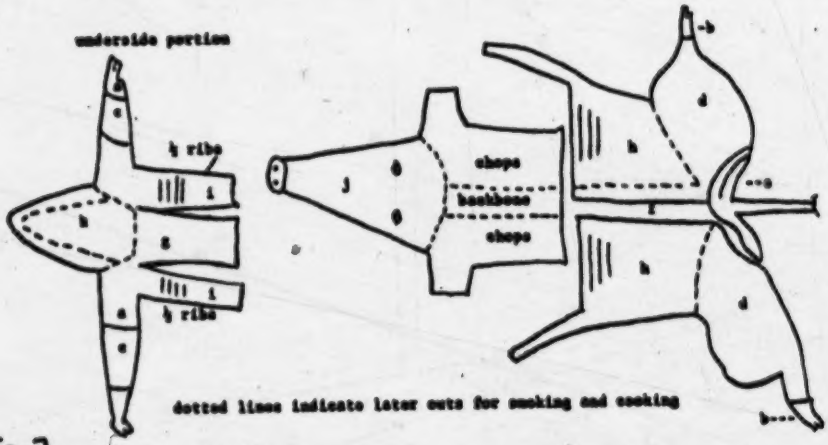


Tracings from spear handles (incised carving)

Butchering a Pig

231
252
[412]

All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig. How it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.



[192]

a. trotters-front (taŋ mbwahərĭ)
b. trotters-hind (ntə́ ŋkwəbərĭ)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (təkŋaŋĭ)
d. 2nd joint of hocklegs (kwəŋŋwəd)
e. tail and tenderloin (kiwə́ ŋdĭd)
f. backbone (nəŋgərĭ)
g. breast (kwəŋ təkwiwərĭ)
h. rear flanks (kəkwəŋĭ)
i. fore ribs (ŋwərĭ)
j. upper jaw and brain case (nəŋkĭ)
k. lower jaw (kwəŋkwə)

231
252
192

Cuts of a Butchered Pig

takimpi	breast, lower jaw, outer end of ribs, and fore legs to shoulder
nasɨkɨ	upper jaw, head, shoulders, front half of back bone, chops
kwajimpi	back half of animal, cut in two along right side of backbone
yikufɨ	womb containing foetus
wofu	liver
nasɨkɨ	heart
kumbo	stomach
sungu	intestines, large and small
herumpɨ	lungs
kwaya	gaul
mbini	shoulder blade
neyɨmunt	neck bone
kinyɨ	tail and tenderloin
hofu	long muscle below backbone
wadi	ribs in kwajimpi portion
kɨndikɨ	lower portion of hind leg
kwajɨmpɨ	second joint of back leg

231
252

Butchering procedure

1. All legs cut through at second joint, skin remaining
2. Ribs chopped on either side of breast bone
3. Breast bone cut around sides and belly and flapped forward over head
4. Belly slit to anus
5. Vitals removed and put in palm spathe; gaul is cut out and thrown away
6. Ribs chopped in three equal sections on either side of back bone-- two breaks on each side

231
252

7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

231
602
593
192

Division of parts to relatives

kwajump	mother's brother
takŋhafɨ	father's sister
takimpi & suku tokwiyɨ	sister
masfkɨ, amoŋ	father's brothers
yatɨ naŋnkdrɨ	brothers
manŋŋrɨ	wife and children
hokusaif	wife and children
meyi	wife and children
entrails	wife and children

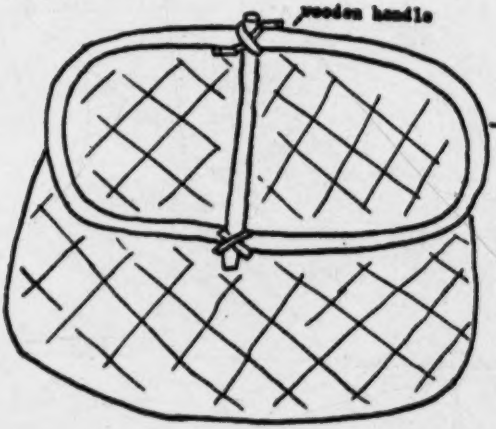
251 [252] Pig flesh is preserved by boiling it first with yams, bananas and spinach. The broth is eaten and the pieces of meat removed from the cooking pan and smoked. A platform of green boughs is made, the height varying from two to four feet depending on the amount of flesh to be smoked. A fire is made under the platform and keep burning continually for three or four days. The flesh is then put in <u>mavivavi</u>, a bamboo cage, where it hung over the ordinary cooking fire so that its smoke reaches the flesh as much as possible.

Fishing

226 [462] Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (maya) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

Fish Net (maya)

227 [192]



415 [192]

Basket (hompd)

Made from palm spathe, sewn with afokwas needle and fokw, split liana cord, awl fashion.
Use to carry fish and other dry food.

227 Fishline is made of split fibers of the root of the mbagi tree.
283 These fibers are tied together end to end to make a fine strong line
(the size of a heavy sewing thread). The hook is made of a double sago
224 needle. A grub is threaded over this so that the prongs are held close
together and parallel to the line. When the fish takes the bait the prongs
open out and down and toggle. Fishing is done when the water is high
in the holes in the swamp.

Sago Plots

245, 423 Sago plots are owned either individually or by brothers or other close relatives in undivided shares. These plots are scattered widely without reference to nearness to the sib, except that there is usually one plot [428] at some point near the house in case of a sudden shortage. These plots are inherited patrilineally by the son or older brother's son.

The division of the plots depends on the exigencies of the situation. If two brothers quarrel about the sago in an undivided section, their father or some older man whose decision they respect will divide the [476] plot. On the other hand, if two people are friends or close relatives, and their plots are adjoining, they may combine plots and work them together.

Mar and Ovivap together work about a half dozen plots. Their grandfathers and fathers owned them in common--their grandfathers marked them out.

Gardening-- planting of yams

244
241 In preparation for the planting of yams, the land is cleared, the
[313] tops of large trees are cut off and the small trees are chopped down entirely. The small trees are allowed to lie on the ground for a couple of months, or until they are thoroughly dried. The refuse is then collected and burned. The ground is broken with a digging stick and the planter puts in the yams.

[311] Because of the hilly terrain, small terraces about a foot square are built. If the slope is very steep a small buttress is made with pegs stuck in the ground and cross sticks thrown behind them for a sort of retaining wall. If the slope is gentle, the terrace is made by simply leveling out the earth. The breaking of the ground is done with a pointed stick which is forced in the ground and then pried up hill while the ground is forced out and down. This prying is repeated until the terrace
244 is formed and the ground is softened. The seeds are planted butt end down and the head up at right angles to the level ground, and covered so that the stem is just below the surface.

After the yams have begun to come up, stringers are put up for the vines. Split liana stringers are suspended from the branches of the cut-off trees and pegged to the ground beside each yam hill. (See figure) Care is taken so that one stringer is not pegged above another depriving it of rain and sunlight. This is done for all yam plants, the vines twining around the stringers.

244

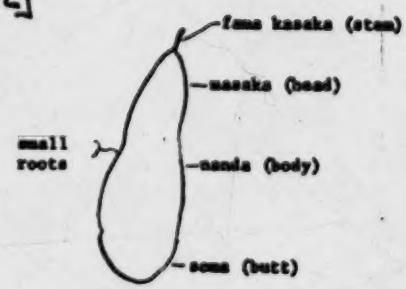
[284]

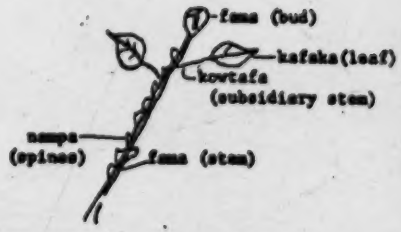
Split liana stringers

Split liana stringers and vines as attached to tree stumps

Names for descriptive parts of yams

[192]





244
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614

Listed below are some of the varieties of yams and a description of them.

afosampa kow-- a totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf is dark green and large.

hangwa-- The fruit is long and dark, covered with fine roots. The leaf is light green or white. There are needles on the vine.

hayamakwa-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The leaf is light green or white, the vine very spiny.

hofu nanyi (snake)--The fruit is very long and thin. The leaf is long, narrow and dark green.

hasaya nanyi (a bird)-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf dark green, and the vine spineless.

hayahafa-- The fruit is long and covered with roots. It resembles the variety afosampa.

mandowa-- The fruit is long and light colored with fewer roots than the hangwa yam. There are needles on the vine; the leaf is dark green.

mandowa kow-- A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is dark skinned, with some roots; the leaf large and dark green.

mbutuwi kow-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is large, has no roots and is dark. The leaf is spineless, dark green.

mbagaosk-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is rounded and dark, with roots near the head near the stem but not below; the leaf is dark green.

nanya-- The fruit is round and lumpy; the leaf long and narrow. There are no needles on the vine.

ngayatafa-- The fruit has no roots except around the leaf of the fruit near the stem; the leaf is green and the vine spiny.

nogwako-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit has no roots, the leaf is white.

wasimpira (pig's tooth)--A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is large and flat. The leaf is dark green; there are no spines on the vine.

woya-- A variety of wild yam with long fruit and a small leaf.

Other vegetables

244 [192] Mbiroka, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house . The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[192] Waru, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Mayon , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 192 252 [462] Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted. There are several varieties grown: mbwiya, eaten raw or cooked; ngayamwo, eaten raw or cooked; fayambiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasiffi, eaten raw or cooked; afojokwo, eaten cooked only; yavofa, eaten raw or cooked; ngarafaya, eaten raw or cooked.

249 [245] Betel nut, kwasa, and coconut are planted by either men or women. Betel peper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Varieties of Taro

244
192
614

afiyengwat-- A totem of the Tug sib.

karamu-- A totem of the Tug sib. The leaf is green with dark green squired; the stalk dark green.

managa oaka-- The leaf is dark green on top while the underside is a slightly bluish light green. The stem is light green.

nawakamayi-- A totem of the Nayamakwo sib. The leaf is large, dark green with light green splotches. The stalk is mahogany red.

The head of a taro is called masaka and the body ong . A young shoot is called yeyi.

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Menus

252 Informant: Gwiyap:

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup soup (kow fowf)

Informant: Gwiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: Hay

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, shwf)

Informant: Awa

nilingf (breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yentfkf (lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bongwf (dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 Informant: Hay

264 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago

115 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

262 noon-- a little pigeon meat

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

1 cup yam soup

5:00 p.m.- 2 boiled sago

6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Her

7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

3 cups soup (meat)

night-- 6 boiled sago

262
192 Soups and other foods

foyokw ndonkw (pork soup) - foyŋ (pork), mbonyŋ (taro), lofu (banana), mŋgise (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbirŋkŋ (spinach).

foyokw ndonkw-sŋwŋ (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), foyŋ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbirŋkŋ (spinach), mŋgiseŋ (leaf greens), sŋwŋ (coconut).

yuaiyŋ sŋos kuvutu (thick vegetable soup) -hinyŋ (a kind of vegetable), mbirŋkŋ (spinach), mŋgiseŋ (leaf greens), ovŋ (sago grubs), kwinyŋ (pork).

afoŋŋapŋ ndonkw (cassowary soup) -mbirŋkŋ (spinach), sŋwŋ (coconut), mŋgiseŋ (leaf greens), mbonyŋ (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] afondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is
[439] merely salted and eaten with sago.

Sago-- preparation for cooking

245 [462] The trunk of a sago palm is cut shoulder high. The wedge is taken out in the direction toward which it is wished the tree to fall. Both men and women cut the trees.

The felled log is then cut into sections, and the outer surface (xylem) is peeled back. A section ten feet long is enough to provide a day's work and about a three day's supply of sago.

252 [462] A woman sits on the peeled bark and chops the log between her feet with a special adze-like tool with a blunt hardwood colt in such a way that a half inch section of pith is scraped off and crushed with each blow. This crushed pith is then piled onto the upper end of the washing trough (see figure [462] below). The man helping pulls the pith down the trough until it is filled except for a space about two feet long from the strainer. Three or four dippers of water are then poured into the trough above the pith.

The pith is pulled up the trough, a double handful at a time, allowing the water to run down the trough and to be absorbed by the pith. If the water were first added at the bottom, near the strainer, it would run through without being absorbed into the pith.

The water-saturated pith is then pulled down by the handful and squeezed like a sponge. The handful of dry pith is then put back at the top of the trough, a new handful squeezed, put at the top, etc., until all has been squeezed. The strainer is then shaken back and forth and rubbed with the hand to force the water and sediment through it. The remaining pith is drawn back. Water is added again to the remaining pith, the squeezing repeated, the pith strained, and any remaining pith thrown out onto the ground.

The water and sediment run into the decanter which is placed so that the farther end is slightly lower than the nearer end. When the water begins to run over, a non-splasher is put into the trough about one third

252 of the distance from the strainer to keep the new unprecipitated liquid from running over and to prevent the bottom part from being stirred up. The sago has precipitated, excess water that has not yet gone through the strainer might be scooped from the top leaving the mass of sago slightly drier. The mass of sago is wrapped in leaves and carried home.

252
415
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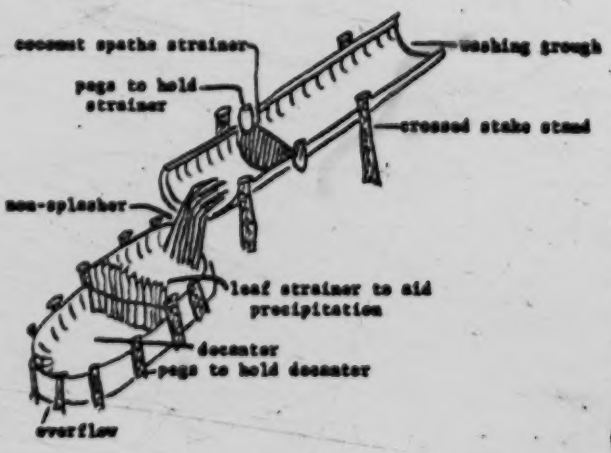
Sago Washing Trough



coconut shell dipper

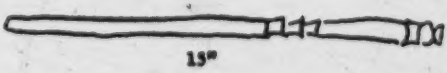
Preparation of Boiled Sago

252 [192] To make boiled sago, water is heated in a pot over the fire with a half dozen seasoning leaves (yiffahfid) simmering in it (if the boiled sago is to be particularly tasty). A large lump of sago is then put in the bottom of another pot supported on the ground by a hoop of thin wood (the pots are round-bottomed). When the water boils, the leaves are skimmed off and put aside. The water is dipped into the other pot with a coconut shell dipper until the pot containing the sago is filled. It is stirred with the two "chop sticks" held in one hand. (See figures below). The water unites immediately with the sago and makes a thick gruel which becomes rubbery when it cools. This is stirred and tested until it has cooled sufficiently to congeal. The sticks are then held in each hand and rotated around each other and pulled out, dipped, rotated, and pulled out, about

ladle (nagwiafwa)

252 415 192 531

chop sticks (warffiwa)



252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (shesambage, a rough dull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do [516] this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, [857] child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (ngivi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [354] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

262 of a pancake. Next it is placed on the palm spathe, on top of the first cake, cooked side down, and another handful is put on the pot, the palm spathe, etc. until the lump is finished. Then the process of frying the other side is begun. Water in a coconut shell or pot is sprinkled over the top of the last cake until it is damp. Then it is put back on the fire the damp side down, and the next cake is sprinkled while the first one cooks. Each cake is cooked about a minute then stacked on a leaf. When they all are cooked, the pile of cakes is wrapped in the leaf and put away until time for eating, or eaten immediately.

[415] [192] A piece of betel spathe (tase nambwa) is used to scrape the stirrer (nanmi), the chop sticks (wuffi), and the pan in order to clean them.

Preparation and cooking of yams

252 Yams are prepared for boiling by cutting off the skinswith a cane knife. The yams are cut into chunks, the size of medium potatoes, and placed in a clay pot (about three quart size) to which water is added. They are boiled until they are soft, removed from the pot with yam sticks and placed on freshly picked banana leaves. A small amount of salt (wis) is put on the leaf as well.

[263]
[192]

Salt (wis)

263 Salt is made by burning dried sago bark (punkd). The ashes are
192 eaten. (It tastes like medicated salt.). Sost (pidgin) is trade salt,
[437] much preferred to the homemade variety.

Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab. There are numbrous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngola plant (which produces motá, the red berried 1' - 2' cobbuhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape. These leaf rings vary in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen about the house. They are called songuesala.

[824] [192] [262] [192]

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.

Other containers

322
415
[192]
[824]

To make a lime gourd (waff), the stem of a green gourd is cut; the seeds are chipped out with a bamboo sliver, and shaken out with some of the meat. The gourd is then stuffed with leaves of a bush taro (kwasfmbonkf) and filled with water. It is wrapped with breadfruit leaves and cooked for about fifteen minutes. Then it is removed, emptied, and scraped inside and out. Next it is put in the sun to dry. (If the taro leaves are not put inside, the gourd will turn black.)

415
192
[386]

Gourd pot (nafrfmof)

This particular pot is used for storing the sap of kwar, a hardwood tree, used as a base for black body paint (kayi). A similar cradle is made for a long gourd.

323
531
192 Incised decorations on clay pots

wheif (usually on top rim of pot)

sabin

wheyeheef

miri (eyes)
sumeenii (nose)
kwinif (mouth)

Tobacco

276 973 Long, long ago, Sukugaratí shot Sokwaydgurí and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagaratí made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

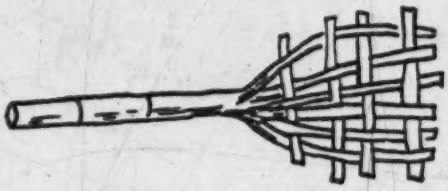
276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdangara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (giey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

276 562 183 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

249 412 [92] Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hinĭ mŭsŭltawĭ)



Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawŋaŋ) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 Shells , yasi (small cowrie shells) and sasmangárí (larger ones), obtained
[583] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[439] function as money.
[436]

The figure below , an ornament called nŋ nasárí (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net bag.

[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (amángurí), shell ornaments (wanyiwí) ,
yasi , sasmangárí and lofu waff (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia.
The long tail feathers of the bird of paradise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mano.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo ŋoku) is attached
237

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] meefwi miaid-- ornamental comb

[581]

front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikí) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fuld) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

301 Mɛ̃ɛ̃beli is a four row knitted ornament made with yasi shells.
286 The band increases in worth as further projections decorated with shells
237 are added to it. These projections are worn pointing up.

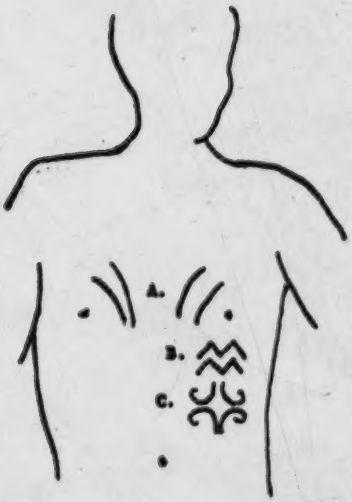
Mɛ̃ɛ̃beyi is an ornament worn suspended from the neck, made from a net base and covered with yasi shells. It resembles a necktie. The
[435] value of this ornament is about 2 shillings.

Some examples of cicitrisation around a woman's navel

304
562
531

Cicatrization symbolic of manhood

304
531
562
561



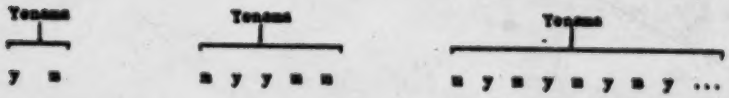
A. nákwa

B. wánǐ

C. kwayǐ nhankǐ

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mimí survivé (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

775 825 Spirit beliefs. Pigs, birds, dogs, opossum, mosquitoes, or anything that walks, flies and breathes, are believed to have ghosts (gamba): Gamba have hearts (masuk) the same as living men and animals, but in the dead the masuk is located in the throat as in a sleeping man. Here it keeps on beating.

Gamba go about in this way with all the organs of the human being, but do not eat food.

When a man is out hunting pig at night he may see a ghost. The gamba [763] are cowardly by nature. If they meet a strong man they run away; it is only people who are about to die who are surrounded by them. Men who die violently, as in an intertribal fight, see no gamba before they are killed.

Songfwen - a myth.

539 Long, long ago when our great, great grandfathers were not even thought of, all the women were in control of the marsalai. They had a house tamberan built in the top of a tall tree where they would climb up and hold the rongwini and nokwi ceremonies while the men stayed home and worked hard cooking the food. Then there came a little man with light skin who was no more than a foot tall and carried a saw. His name was Songfwen which is now the name of an insect that makes a sawing noise. The men talked to Songfwen and gave him some raw (fresh) pig and a ripe banana. In return for this the little man burrowed under the bark of the sugwi tree, being careful not to disturb its outward appearance. He sawed and sawed at the wood until just a pencil width was remaining to support the tree. When the night of the women's ceremony came, all the women were up in the tree beating the gongs and blowing the sacred flutes. One of the men now went down to the water and made magic to bring wind. Then at the little man's suggestion they all lined up at the foot of the tree with their spears waiting. As the wind came up the tree began to sway. Some of the women were alarmed and looked over the edge of the platform, but the others quelled their fears, "The tree will not fall; there is nothing to fear." Any they went back to their merrymaking, but the tree kept swaying. Its arc became longer and longer and finally with a crash it fell to the ground scattering all the women. The men fell on them and killed them all. They took all the sacred paraphernalia and built a house tamberan on the ground and put in it all they had collected.

They kept this secret from all the young women who were left, and made them cook the food while they made the ceremony. Even since then the men have kept the marsalai secret ffom the women to pay them back for time when matters were reversed.

Appendix 1 GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

Key to vocabulary

104
194
192

Vowels

ɨ = u in but (ɨ =ʌ)

ə = a in but (ə =ʌ)

a = a in father

o = o in note

e = a in mate

u = u in rule

i = ee in meet

Consonants

f and b are bilabial

mb and nd are nasalised consonants

192

Section II
VOCABULARY

afakɨ	now, today	afo kwasɨ mbɨbɨ	hair on the arms
afɨ kafɨ	soon, presently	afokwɨ	father or paternal uncle. The term refers to afi, awuri, and afo yakɨ If one is asked who his afokwɨ is, he will answer with the name of his afi. It is also used as andɨ afokw, meaning "I am of the older generation".
[601] afɨ yakɨ	father's older brother		
afiyangwat	variety of taro		
afo	a generic term for birds, butterflies, and bats	afokwɨ	old man
afo fɔyɨ	small bat	afo ma	cockatoo
afojokwo	variety of bananas	afoma	white
afo jokwɨ	fowl	afo mbayɨ	birds' eggs
afo kimbi	large bat, "flying fox"	afo mbwasɨ	gouria pigeon
afo kiyɨ	cicada		
afo kwasɨ	large fruit bat		

192 afo ŋgriyeyd earrings

afo ŋgro a small bird

afo ŋyumd rock pigeon

afo ŋyumeyd large fish hawk or eagle

afoeaŋw chisel made from pig's thigh bone

afo wǫ̃ubd- large cassowary. A girl calls a man's penis afo wǫ̃ubd if she wants to have intercourse with him.

afoeampa variety of yam

afo eambd ruhwd a butterfly

afo eenyd nest of the bush fowl

afo sifd small cassowary

afo weajd large black duck

afo wǫ̃ed a bird's nest

afo wǫ̃yd egret

afo yemd duck

afo weyi "bird canoe", airplane

afwa greetings!

[601] egar (akdrd, a) new

ajd maternal grandparents (those who are addressed as leka or kumwa)

aka house, dwelling

aka feyd the enclosed part of a house

aka jifd the side of a house

akama house, home. Often used to refer to one's own hamlet or village

aka ma the front part of a house

aka ŋgworŋd rat

akard new, another

akd tewd ridge pole

aka yia rear of a house, porch

akǫ̃ wǫ̃n 4" black lizard

akwd cocu to swallow

amd bamboo

amdrgurd clam shell ring

amdrukwd house fly

amaruka wana fly trap

amd yemd large bamboo with nodes knocked out. Used to carry water.

ambd before, completed, done. Denoting completed action.

amiya bring it quickly, come quickly, go quickly

amwa father's younger brother

anamdd big

and me, to me

andrecwŋ to agree, to speak

and wasi yuhitd to play

and jokdwd taboo, prohibit

andaba bow

192

ondá	I
ondá yu yawá	I dislike
ao	clay pot'
ao ɓawato	to cook (hiyato)
ao wará	a bilassed stoooopss
aposaaka	cassowary
arafá	large knife
asá nasagará	shells used for ornaments and money
asá	dog;scraper
asá fu	dog's tooth headband
ato	eat
[601] atokwá	wife's parents, parent-in-law
awiaŋkú	a kind of soup
awá	wild sugar plant
awambaga	a small palm
awo	mother
ayandá	moon
ayaa	navel
ca whoyá wanda aŋkú	masturbate (o). Phrase used to scold children.
cihio aŋw aŋará	the same as this; as big as theirs
afeyá	hornbill
afi	father, ceremonial
ajahawa	hungry
ajo	to have intercourse
ajo hawá	to be hungry
aki (agi)	bone dagger
aŋji	my, mine
ará	penis
ará wandá aŋkú	masturbate(o). Phrase used to scold children.
asaahwá	grass spider
até	this or that (demonstrative)
ayi	canoe paddle
fafa	stone
fafa afawa	white stone
fambi	hardwood point of a spear
fawá	leaf, young shoot
fawa kasaka	stem of a yam
fawdito	to wrap in leaves for roasting
feyambi	areca palm, areca nut
feyambiyaf	variety of banana
ffkito	to break fire wood
ffnder	one
ffará jará	three
ffrina	thou (dual accusative)
ffrita	they, they two
ffreti	their (dual genitive)
ffrito	to draw a design
ffrá tawá	relation between two families(stop as one)
fi	blood, sap, milk

192

fijo	to fight, spear, kill	handé yayé	young man
fihé	wicker work	hanga yongo	to be a little better (if sick)
fojé kayi	sunset	hangé yato	to fly
fokwé	string or cord for lashing, vine used for lashing	hangwa	variety of yam
fora	sago needle fish hook	harafé	big
foyé	pig	hardné tatp	help, assist
foyé kuiw	flies	hato	to give; to be sick; die
foyé utu	to boil	hawonkwa	variey of yam
foyimbé	pig's tusk	hawésik	let's go!
foyokw	bull roarers	hayéni	a tree
foyokwé	soup	hecuwé	to look at, look for
fu	tooth	hi	name, fire
fulé	arm band	hi jafé	firewood
futo	to bring forth, come out	hi ka tuhato	to burn, make a fire
fuyi	white shell ring worn as an ornament	hikéeato	to be wrong, err
fwoje	one	hilékd	to steal
fwoje	to break ground with a digging stick	hindangara	cigarette
fwuyé	cheek	hin	tobacco
garuhw	fruit tree	hinyé	a kind
girumba	tree	hiswé	big, large (marked out)
hafé fihé	arm band	hiso	to mark, mark out
hafénd	shoulder joint	hiyato	to cook, boil
hafé uhalé	poor, thin, "bone nutin"	hofama	variety of yam
hahwato	to sweep	hofato	to open
hamba	small knife	hofojimbifé	small tree snake
hamba hijo	to practice phlebotomy	hofokiyéf	large tree snake

192

hofohwõe	2' water snake
hofu	snake
hohwé hohwa	ceremony
hohwa hõrõto	to scratch one's skin
hohwa yato, hohwé yato	to scratch
hombe leyato	to be ashamed
hompa	palm spathe
hongo ruhwé	arm pit
hongwé	afternoon
hongwéé	to sneeze, begin to be sick
hongwato	to loosen, untie
hoyé yihafé	man child, son
huhwiyé	meat
humboto (humbutu)	to beat a gong
i	tomorrow
ijo (iju)	go
je	vagina
jejo	to scratch, pinch
jeyé	chair, bed
ji	down below
jimbifi	sap of a tree
jio iju	to walk about, go calling
kafére	three and four(in counting)
kafwé	black magic
kafwa sahé-	bad, no good
kamé eywé	to menstruate
kambé	swamp grass
kamwa fi	menstrual blood
karíkandé	small
kasaka	stem (of taro)
katé	that (demonstrative)
kasamafa	blue dye
kayé nimbére	personal name (feminine)
kõhõté ijo	to chase
kõhukaroyaf	2" white bush lizard
kõréto	to cut, scratch, shave
kõréto	to tie
kõsõndéfé	tree, the berries of which are used for dye
kõtéto	to buy
kõwato	to plant (yams and bananas)
kõyato	to weep, wail
kafé	good (applied particularly to people)
kayé fi	good
kas ijo	to dry up (sore), to peel (vegetable)
kayahafa	variety of yam same as afosampa
kayafé, kõyafé	ornament
kayahé	house for storing yams and taro
kayé hafé	black, blue, green
kayé ngambé	black feather

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kijé	you two (dual gen.)	kwar	a hard-wood tree
kijéné	you two (dual acc.)	kwðéd	betel pepper
kiji	you two (dual gen.)	kwaa	a magic leaf
kikiyé	tiny	kwasikó	bushland, jungle
kin	pig's tusk scraper	kweyé	tail feathers of a cassowary
kin iju	to sharpen, whittle, engrave	kwejémbé	thigh
kinyé	tail feathers, tail	kweyé	good, well, hard (adv.)
kirdee	to cut or bruise	kwinjé fofweyé	breath
kis kis	side posts of a house	kwinjé safi	lips
kiyé	flesh of pig or cassowary	kwo	net bag
kiyato, kiydto	to carry	kwo mas	behind
kord kurd	small marsupial	kwo wasfié	mountain
kordaba	man's house, sib	kwoné	you (pl. acc.)/ ó" arrow
kurowé	saw fish	kwo na ma	whose, what, what is
kow	variety of yam	kwofé	stinking, rotten
kowimi	¼" rod cuts	kworé	boil, ulcer
kowð kukowð	to weld	kwoté	you (pl. nom.)
kowtafa	subsidiary stem of a yam	kwotato, kwotdto	to cut in a sewing manner
kumbo	stomach, belly	kwoti	your (pl. gen.)
kukiya	animal food	ma	man, husband
kumbo joyé	orphan	mafawé	first, in front
kumbojeyémi/ð o	thin, poor	magagositit	design cut through bark of a tree - Property marks
kum ombðé	palm	ma heyé	burial platform
[60] kumwo	younger brother	magwiðwé	ladle
kuriké	stingless honey bee	ma kayémbi	forehead
kurdto	to carve, bend		
kwar ongriya	afternoon ceremony		
kwaé hato	to cut up meat		

192 ma kiyafi jiju payment to deceased wife's maye family

makdfi long hair

maabd skin

maaboyd ear

maaboyd hawk

maaa rat trap

maaga oaka variety of taro

maadd testicles

maadd oimbd pubic hair

maadowa variety of yam

[601] maagdfd mother's brother

maak a swamp grown tree

maagd rawd mfkd kidneys

maagwiaa a tree

maagdrdkdmpd an edible lizard

maakdrd back bone

maagala comb ornament

maao bird of paradise

maard kafd little black mosquito

maro maawd- brain, soft bone on top of baby's head

Marailai ghost, spirit

maafkd head, front

maafkd aga grey hair

maao before, previously

maoyd miajd comb

maya fish net

mayaka strong, large, old

mi fiago shadow

mdrimkd wooden trumpet

mfi white sago grub

mfi crocodile

mfnd you (sing. nom.)

mfngd tree

mfti you (sing. nom.)

mfti your (sing. nom.)

mbambd shell ring arm band

mband mband nearby

mbango word pig skin shield

mbas tinea; small lizards

mbasambaga a rough leaf about 1' square, used as outer wrapping for boiled sago.

mbawakdyata to return to one's house

mbayd ngayd side

mbe egg

mbeyajo to be crazy, insane

mbi point

mbirikd spinach

mbiyakw 1' lizard

mbom mouth

mbombo hammer

mbomkd taro

mbora wangd moak

mbos small lizard

mboyai a tree

192 mbonyi old

mbǫ belly

mbu ground, earth

mbukdawd to refuse

mbukw a certain leaf

mbumboye something

mbutukgwafo 2' ground snake

mbutwi variety of yam

mbuǫǫ nothing, no, not

mbwiye variety of banana

me kwabd bush country to south, sago swamp

me mbd yowd hole in gong

[601] men mother's brother

mendeyd brother (woman speaking)

menjo, menjówd to hear, understand

merd a tree (Ficus)

mesaka a tree

mesalaf a tree

me ǫǫkd heart, fruit

mesdrimbd gong beater

[601] meye rib bone

meyow water melon

miji a sago grub

mikwdndd snake

mind wife, woman

[601] mind yikafd female child, daughter

minjdfeakiyd 6" edible black bush lizard

niajd futa to be sick

niyi eyes

niyi mbonjd eyebrow

niyi nambd eyelids

nogo nipple, breast, milk

nokd ǫdmbd urine

noka sperm

nokafi milk

nokwd nambd light brown skin, white skin

nokwi the cicatrization on a woman's belly

nombo bamboo beheading knife

nombd asd comb

nongri yangwd rubbish

norinjd a white sago grub used to bait hooks

nowenyego variety of banana

nowd ǫǫkd large tree with fine grained wood. Tambons use it for canoe making.

nowi sister

nuyi large fish

nuye " "

nugriyeyd bamboo cage

nwanjd court of older men who decide on crimes and sorcery.

nwanjd whata to talk

192

aa	imperative particle
aanda	body of yam or taro
aambá (baraf)	creek
aangs	small roots or spines of a yam
aangwá	something
aarámboyi	friend, blood brother
[601] aarawá	brother's sister's wife
aawa i	go!
aawakú	large white ground snake
[601] aawá yakú	father's older brother's wife
aayáwfe	water snake
aayáwá aŋkú	red, light brown
aayámbi	year
[601] aŋfá	dry, rife
aŋgáica	to hold in hand
aŋkárá, aŋkará	yellow
aŋkáriyawá	to be well
aŋkubá	feathers, hair
aŋkuká kwat	central post in a house
aaŋkayŋkwar	2nd black house lizard--inedible
aŋkagaagwaá	small black bush mosquito
aŋkawá	to howl (dog)
aŋkwaká	moon
abagaak	variety of yam
adangi yaakwá	small bug which supposedly kills a man if it gets in his ear
adŋfárá	first two units in counting
adŋfárá	four
adŋfárá kará	three
adŋká	here, at this spot
adŋabali	four row knitted ornament
adŋagará	a piece, bit, part
adŋagato	to cut up
adŋtá	this
adampá	short
adawáka	rat
adawar	a plant
aayawá	earthquake
aayá	yam
aayi	wife's sister's child
agambá	ghost; ornament, markings on a pot
agambárungaanyá	small tree bat
agarafaya	variety of banana
agawá	pith
agayawa	variety of banana
agayana	lizard snare
Agayá Agayá	original inhabitants of Kwoma
agayatafa	variety of yam
agayá	sago stump
agiai	fried sago fritters
agŋroto	to shave face

192

ngØrd ngØsd	an ornamental betel stick
ngØrisiju	to peel, part of process of scraping sago pith
ngØsd	tally which records the amount of bride price; lime spatula
ngØyd	fried sago fritters; a small bush lizard
ngiayd	toy used to imitate sound of gongs
ngola	a plant
ngowd	bone of "flying fox" used for needle
ngoro	long
ngowd yØkis	orange bodied mosquito
ngowomi, ngowimi	large orange ants
ngumbatawomi	cross beam
ngumbu	sedge
ngumbwiyo	sweet potato "tapioc"
ngungwinyd	marrow
ngwantomayd	spider
ngweyd	long bamboo pole used to hang runners on yam plants
ngworo	high, long
ngwoto	to fill up
ngwØtd fahØto	to empty
ngwimbihofo	2' ground snake
ngwusi	tortoise, turtle
ngwuyung	sago needle
[601] nirjoku	daughter's husband
nonumokd	large clam shell
nokwd-	sago
nombonjo	broken
nijd nØngd	evening
nijongd	morning
niji	night, dark-
njimbi	comb ornament
nje	banana leaf paper
nogwuko	variety of yam
nogwisd	Australian
nokwa	vegetable food
nokwa songo	long, ribbed leaf
nokwangora	hot water
nokwffi	many
nokumokd	large clam shell suspended from neck-lace
nokwingord	boiled sago pith
nokwd nØwd	paw paw
nokwa	raised scars which are a symbol of manhood
nokwis	white man
nombo	road
nombonjo	broken
nond	us (pl. acc.)
nosafd	ground
notd	we (pl. nom.)
noti	our (pl. gen.
nowd	ground, earth; tree, the berries of which are used for dye

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sumbuy@rdk	day before yesterday
syinyswd	earth quake
t.mnaup	digging stick
oayimbi	domesticated betel nut
ofw@ld	later
ofwoydyahdt	to come sometime later
okmmalaga	lizard snare
okd	a boil
okdrmnd	sweat
omdnd@odd	far away, distant
omo	food, meat
omok@rd	window
otsto	to do, work
otowd ak	to cook
owd	an edible insect, sago grub
owds@td	fern, sago shoot
r@nd	him
r@td	he
r@ti	his
rokwiydto	to empty
sa	an explative to call attention
safd	skin
sahanowa	red dye
sahd sowdkwsto	to fall down (a person)
sambo kafwa	sever relations between families
sahwd	to fall down (an object)
sns@njd	6' all-wood arrow
snswd	large edible grasshopper
sns@nd	base on which shells are sewed for ornaments
sawuto	to sing; to teach or to scold
s@td s@dto	to sizzle, dry up on fire
s@nbayd	ornament suspended from neck
s@nakd	following
sdnbayd	base on which shells are sewed for ornaments
sdwsnato	to fetch (water)
sangurd	bark rings
se swa	form of greeting
secswd	to place, put
sembi	hair, short feathers
senyd (often pronounced sen)	form of greeting
s@nd	black magic
s@td	she, it
s@ti	her, its(gen.)
s@wd	coconut
s@wd fo	coconut milk
s@wd fiju	to break a coconut
s@wd najd	red
s@wd onoyutu	to take out the meat of coconuts

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ei	ants
eicé	we two, we
ein	variety of banana
eokéreukéré	2" lizard
eokwato	to come up (wind or plants)
eoma	butt of yam or taro
eombo	lacking, empty, emptied
eongawen	cicada
eowangéhokwé eiew	to whistle
eowé,	wind
eufuruhw	18" black lizard
eufu	hole
eufétombi	"lap lap" (pidgin)
eugériyowé	6" black bush lizard
eugilwas	beings thought by women to make noises of flutes, gongs, etc. at ceremonies
eugwiyawé	to dream
eugwiyé	ceremony; hant eugwiyé, age-grade ceremony; yeuéminjé, yam cult ceremony
eugilówas	marselai, or wooden figures representing them
eumagwiyi	upper lip
eumba eumba	without expecting pay
eumo	buttocks, rear, back of anything
eumo eufé	anus
eumwo eumwo	without
eumwonjé	nose
eunga	intestines
eungé woonj (eunga wooj)	sorcery court
euwafa	co-wife
euwutu	to roast
tafé	arm; handle; limb of a tree
tafé hométo	to hiccough
tafé mangéwé	back of hand
tafémé	finger; fifth unit in counting
tafémbis	fingernail
tafémbonkwé	elbow
tafé miyi	wrist joint
tafé se	upper arm
tafé wofa	palm of hand
takimpi	chin
takwé weyémé hato	to yawn
tarokweyé	tongue
tarato	to chew
tawé	stop, remain, live
tõfé	trough for washing sago pith
tõgéré	bit, piece, section, portion, remainder
tõkimbésibé	beard
tõmimé	shoulder
teajiew	howl, bark

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togrowd	to tie a knot
tombolwiew	to carry on the shoulder
tompo	short
tosdto	to dance
ufdriad	two; sometimes, "they two"
ufdrisimbd	a few
ugum@rd	a large eel
ugu sdwd	to chew betel
u handd wandd	down
uk@mbus	1" black lizard
uku	water
ukuma	2" edible black bush lizard
uku nyeyi	high water
ukwa	sickness; phlegm
umdniaf	small opossum
uwato	to shout
umanjo	large opossum
uwd	husk of betel nut
uwiya kwo	womb
wafd	lime gourd
wafd dakd	hole in top of lime gourd
wafiyokw	2'-3' ground snake
wagdndagdt	inter - tribal court
wajd	breadfruit
wandd	an herb
wangeyef	the rim of a fish net
wanyiyd	shell ornament
waru	pumpkin
wasifi	variety of banana
wasimpira	variety of yam
waterdsokwato	to wake and rise
wato	sleep
wayd	rain
wayufa	6' tree snake
w@nd	to paddle; black paint
w@o	salt
w@oato	to greet
w@xiy hawato	to bake lime
w@jdto	to set a post
wdndnkwd	spoon roughly made from coconut shell--no handle; raises scars which are a symbol of manhood
wisdgayd	Cerman
wasard	small nut-like betel which grows wild
wayw	canoe
wokd	drum (kundu)
word	a plank shield
woyd bokwd	the ringing of an ax
woydnd	colt holder
woydto	to fill up
woydhiyd	grass
woye	wild yam
woye	adze
woyico	to vomit
wuz@fiyd	chop sticks

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wurúmbeyá	wooden sleeping slab
wua	salt
ya mongwo	middle of the night
yantʃká	lunch
yar	on a level
yarifáká	day after tomorrow
yasi	shell used for ornaments and for money
yatá mandrá	shin bone or shin
yatá má	toe
yatámberanj	calf of leg
yatámbiá	toe nail
yatámbonku ngurá	knee cap
yatá minjá	lone foot (also proper name)
yatámiyi	ankle
yatá wofa	sole of foot
yato	marry, come, bring
yifámbáká	seasoning leaves
yayamá	rafters
yayofa	variety of banana
yÖnáká	generic name for insects, applied chiefly to mosquitoes, but not to flies
yÖráká	yesterday
ya iou	to carry
yakamá	to pull down, to cut down
yambáru	ax
yamá kwat	back central post in house
yandmanjá sugwiyá	yam cult ceremony
yandsafá	tobacco pouch; tree from which tobacco pouch is made
yará	cross rafter
yasogwat	to lift up
yayi	paternal grandparent; young shoot on tree or plant
yayiow	to go down
yiá	they (pl. nom.)
yiai	their (pl. gen.)
yiou	to sit down, to put or place, to be situated
yikafá	child
yikafa	son, ceremonial address
yiná	them (pl. acc.), the
yinyá	then
yi tow	ridge pole extension
yiyi	their
yo	top, up
yofa	banana
yokwiná	razor
yoma	a kind of palm
yompa	spear
youkwa	long handled chisel

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yoodtə	to sprinkle
yotə	to throw a spear
yowi kanyd	tin
yowi	work
yowutu	to have intercourse (of animals)
yu yowi	to dislike

Common Phrases

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an iju fundar tándɨ niyi	I am going for one night
an yo oddɨd kuo an sandɨ́ɨ yagɨt	I'work make later'. I will come.
an yikafandɨ mokwujijɨ	I show, teach my child
an yikafandɨ wajuwɨ	I scold my child
andɨ itea hawa	I am hungry
an wan inyɨ kafwɨ hagijo	I am 'sorry too much'
an mandɨ hac iju	I will look at you (think of you)
afokɨ ca tandɨ ngaji rɨwatɨ	Don't wake him; he sleeps
ovij	What are you doing that for?
nɨ ya yɨ	Bring something
nɨ yayɨ yayi	Carry it away
igapanɵ	my child
igapɵ kiyɵfahɵ	my good child
igapɵ hawɨɵ	my child is dead
hayahɵ	he is dead

198 "banis"	roof
104 "cuscus"	opossum
"drink house"	tavern
"fashion belong me all the same you"	my customs are the same as yours
"fashion of monkis"	a childish custom
"fight the garment"	beat the slit gongs
"finish timer"	one who has completed a years work on a plantation at the coast
"finished timers"	former plantation workers
"food belong kanaka"	native food
"gayaman along mi ol saim"	lied to me
"gouria"	pigeon
"hard work too much"	very hard work
"he no got cross now"	he is not angry now
"house sick"	hospital
"I think"	I think so
"hai hai"	dining
"kiap"	Australian patrol officer
"klambu"	mosquito net
"lap lap"	wrap around shirt
"lapun"	old man
"lapun meri"	old woman
"lik lik in broke in"	she only breaks little twigs
"liku bilong meri"	it was the girls' idea
"limbom"	sago bark
"lulual"	chief appointed by the Australians
"maretta"	thatching
"marked"	noticed
"missin"	missionaries
"monki"	child
"monki nutin"	child with no status
"nats nats"	mosquitoes
"no got"	it is not true
"papa true bilong them"	their real father
"pushed"	had sexual intercourse with
"roused"	driven out
"sac sac"	gruel made from sago palm flour
"savvy talks"	one who understands pidgin English
"singsing"	ceremony
"something nothing"	inconsequential
"talk place"	speak Kwoma
"talk straight"	coherently
"tambu"	shell money
"tumbat"	gong
"yus, broke im nose"	break his nose

Appendix 2

551 Meaning of Personal Names

Asenampo	dog's fur
Aun	a leaf
Fit	a kind of hawk
Kis and Kar	mountains of Yasi
Kwiya	a fish
Mar	the digging stick of Karambakoco, the marsalai responsible for earthquakes
Marok	a hawk
Mas	a kind of red yam
May	milk ribs
Takawur	small fish (omakara)
War and Way	small fish
Wof	a marsalai, the son of Kiramabakoco
Wogahoke	the ringing of an axe
Yat	a marsalai dwelling in swamp

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Appendix 3

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621
551
613
162

INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF KUMBIMA HAMLET

Note: The people of Kumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWAKJ	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Ambe	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIM	4	Wasahof
ANGEMAR	1	Wasahof
ASAHAMPA	adult	Other.
Ave	15	Mangwiyow
Aya	16	Wasahof
Bora	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chimuwa	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAWAMOI	36	Wasahof
Davi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Fauba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKOTAY	35	Wasahof
Gega	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIfAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huvena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAP	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayemaka	7	Wasahof
KEMARI	adult	Other
KIS	28	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALUMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiye	15	Mangwiyow
KWONAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWONAYI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

	Name	Age	Lineage
115			
621	KWOS	8	Wasahof
162	LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
	Mana	12	Mangwiyow
551	MANO	24	Mangwiyow
613	MAR	18	Mangwiyow
	MAROK	25	Mangwiyow
	Mbwiabwi	adult	Mangwiyow
	MERIK	5	Mangwiyow
	MES	18	Wasahof
	MEY	12	Mangwiyow
	MORTSI	Old man of Mongwon - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
	MUNDIK	young adult	Other
	Nemaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nembomai.
	NAMBOMAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
	Nawa	adult	Wasahof
	NAWARAMEN	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
	Ngwiya	adult	Wasahof
	NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
	ROB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
	Pemba	17	Mangwiyow
	PWISAMBI	adult	Other
	SOF	adult	Other
	SOWINAMBI	adult	Other. Cicatriser
	SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
	Sunga	adult	Mangwiyow
	SUW	3	Mangwiyow
	TAKAMUR	38	Mangwiyow
	Toka	6	Mangwiyow
	Uka	24	Mangwiyow
	WAR	34	Mangwiyow
	WARAMUS	50	Wasahof
	WAY	46	Mangwiyow
	WENYAMEKAJ	old man	Other
	WINGAWI	adult	Other
	WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
	WIYAMGAMC	adult	Other. Cicatriser.
	WOF	43	Mangwiyow
	Yama	adult	Mangwiyow
	YAT	32	Mangwiyow
	Yawa	15	Wasahof
	Yawaka	5	Wasahof
	Yimbo	18 mos.	Mangwiyow

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[For information on the Kwoma Yam Cult, sometimes referred to as a male secret society, see category 794.]

2: Whiting

OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

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[For additional information about informants, see category 116, pp. 140-170.]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in.

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information.

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance.

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This

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FOREWORD

THE problems of diffusion, or the horizontal transmission of culture, are widely known and have been well studied. The problems of socialization, or the transmission of culture from one generation to the next, have scarcely been isolated as legitimate or necessary objects of scientific research. The pioneer work of Sapir, Mead, Radin, Underhill, Hallowell, and Dyk, among many others, has brought the problem of socialization to the fore in the field of anthropology and given it the characteristic label of culture and personality. Some of these workers, especially Sapir, Mead, and Radin, have profited by contact with the Freudian stream of ideas concerning individual development. A knowledge of the relativity of culture has set the framework for problems of culture and personality in the widest sense; Freudian researches in our own society have suggested hypotheses to be tested on the data of primitive people. Mr. Whiting, like his forebears, has been heavily influenced by both of these intellectual movements and has utilized the problem setting which they propose.

In seeking aid from Freudian psychology, students of culture and personality have profited greatly. In taking over some of Freud's views and hypotheses, however, they have been exposed to a characteristic defect of the Freudian position. I am not referring to the defects usually attributed to Freud since I do not think he overemphasizes sex, nor yet that the term "unconscious" is meaningless. The defect I refer to is that there is no hypothesis in Freud's theory to explain learning. This limits the usefulness of Freud's work for anthropologists.

If the culture of a group is, from the standpoint of any one generation, an arbitrary set of patterns, and if these patterns are socially transmitted, some principles must be evolved on the basis of which this transmission can take place. The most promising hypothesis seems to be that put forward by modern learning theory. This theory must not be

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confused with the associationistic principles of conditioning which were derived from the Pavlovian experiments or with the earliest attempt to formulate a behavioristic theory by Watson. Pavlov and Watson have both made their essential contributions, but so also have Thorndike, Hull, and many others; the more recent systemization of Hull seems to bring the theory within the range of usefulness by social scientists who are concerned with human learning.

Sumner offered the dictum that the folkways and mores of the group are the habits of the individual. This statement ought to have been more helpful than it has actually proved. The difficulty seems to have been that Sumner had no conception of the laws of habit, and that, therefore, nothing could be predicted from his assertion. Linton has likewise affirmed that a culture is a set of habits, but this assertion merely raises the question, What is a habit? If one asks that, one comes directly to the need for the learning theory—for a systematic statement of how responses are evoked, how they are affixed to stimuli, how habits disappear, and what kinds of rewards are useful in building habits. The dictum that culture is a set of rewarded habits seems more useful. It promises to import into anthropology those principles from learning theory which may be helpful in determining the origins, transmission, survival, and disappearance of group habit.

Mr. Whiting's book is an exploratory research in this field. The first part of the book provides a description of Kwoma culture as it is brought to bear on children during their growth from infancy to adulthood. The data selected make the children seem real and lively. In the second part of the book an analysis of the behavior of the children in terms of learning theory is presented. Mr. Whiting has applied learning principles as they now exist and has made some significant innovations. The best, among the latter, are his discussion of how motivation is provided to get Kwoma children to learn, how the children are guided in what to learn, and how they are rewarded for having learned. Whiting finds that secondary as well as primary rewards and punishments play

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a great rôle in Kwoma teaching. While human learning must occur everywhere according to the same general principles, the details of the process probably differ from society to society. The responses rewarded vary endlessly, the stimuli to which these responses are pinioned are likewise different, and there must be as many systems of secondary reward and punishment as there are cultures. The work of anthropologists in this field will undoubtedly be of value to students of learning and teaching in our own society. [2] •

JOHN DOLLARD

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PREFACE

THIS monograph has two purposes: first, to present the data gathered on Kwoma culture, and, second, to present a theory of the process of socialization. In accordance with this dual purpose, the book has been divided into two parts, the first descriptive, the second theoretical. In the descriptive part, after an introductory chapter in which the setting of the study is presented, an attempt has been made to describe the culture as it unfolds itself to an individual born into Kwoma society. The cultures of infancy, of the period of weaning, of childhood, of adolescence, and finally of adulthood are described. The data in each of these chapters have been organized according to the drives[1] involved. Social habits related to hunger, elimination, sex, and pain have been described in that order. Since many customs are associated with several of these drives, this organization could not be strictly adhered to. Those habits motivated by acquired drives, such as fear, anger, the wish to help, and the desire for prestige, have been described where it seemed most appropriate. The second part opens with a chapter in which the various techniques of teaching observed at Kwoma are elucidated and defined in terms of learning theory. This is followed by a chapter which presents the results of an inquiry into the manner in which Kwoma children are taught supernatural beliefs. This inquiry is made in terms of learning theory, teaching techniques, and the conditions of the culture, the society, and the environment which exist at Kwoma.

The idea for this research was suggested by Professor John Dollard. As a result of attending his seminars, it became clear to me that, although culture was assumed by anthropologists and sociologists to be transmitted by a social rather than a genetic process, there was no adequate theory

[1] For the use of the concepts of *drive* and *acquired drive*, see chap. vii, pp. 173-174.

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• 121 of this process. Furthermore, a survey of the anthropological literature indicated that with a few notable exceptions there were very few empirical data on primitive child training, although since this project was instituted considerable additional material has appeared.

The interest in child training and in pre-adult culture is relatively new in anthropology. Until the last fifteen years there were only scattered and casual references to primitive childhood in the ethnographic literature. Most of these reports merely gave a description of ceremonies at birth and naming and of initiation rites. Sometimes a description of the play group, or of children's games, and vague comments on how parents treated their children were also included. Infrequently fieldworkers like Kidd, Junod, and Milne[2] presented more detailed observations of the behavior of children in their monographs. Miller and Hambly[3] assembled the available data in comparative works on primitive education, which suffered from the paucity of good material.

The influence of Freud was responsible for awakening the interest of a number of anthropologists in the problem of child training. Malinowski[4] and later Richards[5] used data on primitive childhood to criticize certain aspects of Freud's theory and to verify others. Recently Kardiner[6] has used primitive data gathered by Linton to revise the implicit instinctivism of Freud and to verify his general theory of personality development. The pioneer in the gathering of data on primitive childhood, and one who has probably had the greatest influence on the later fieldworkers who have become interested in this problem, is Margaret Mead.[7] Her work was

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[2] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood* (London, 1906); H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (Neuchatel, 1912); Mrs. L. Milne, *The Home of an Eastern Clan* (Oxford, 1924).

[3] N. Miller, *The Child in Primitive Society* (New York, 1928); W. D. Hambly, *Origins of Education among Primitive Peoples* (London, 1926).

[4] B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Primitive Society* (London, 1927).

[5] Audrey Richards, *Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe* (London, 1932).

[6] Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939).

[7] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (New York, 1928); *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York, 1930); *Sex and Temperament in Three Savage Societies* (New York, 1935).

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also in part instigated by Freud's theories, and in part by the cultural relativism of Boas. She demonstrated unequivocally that personality and temperament are determined by child rearing, and vary from society to society. Other fieldworkers, notably Kluckhohn,[8] Du Bois,[9] and Gorer[10] have given further documentation to this point of view and in addition have made contributions of their own to the theory of the relationship between child training and personality development in primitive societies. Finally Erikson,[11] a practicing psychoanalyst, has turned his attention to this problem and has reported on fieldwork which he did among the Sioux.

Following Malinowski's functional approach to primitive education[12] a number of his students have given excellent descriptive accounts of primitive education. Outstanding among these have been Firth[13] and Evans-Pritchard.[14] In addition Fortes,[15] Hogbin,[16] Wedgewood,[17] and Raum[18] have written special accounts of primitive education from a functional point of view.[19]

Since but few of these fieldworkers had concerned them-

[8] C. Kluckhohn, "Theoretical Bases for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals," *Man*, 89, 1939; Paper read before Monday Night Group, New Haven, 1940.

[9] C. Du Bois, Papers read at Eastern Sociological meetings, 1940, and Yale Anthropology Club, 1940.

[10] G. Gorer, *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938).

[11] E. H. Erikson, "Observations on Sioux Education," *The Journal of Psychology*, VII (1937), 101–156.

[12] B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages* (New York, 1929).

[13] R. Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (New York, 1936).

[14] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande* (London, 1937).

[15] M. Fortes, "Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland," *International Institute of African Languages and Cultures*, Memorandum XVII, 1938.

[16] I. Hogbin, "Education at Ontong Java, Solomon Islands," *American Anthropologist*, XXXIII (1931), no. 4, pp. 601–615.

[17] C. H. Wedgewood, "The Life of Children in Manam," *Oceania*, IX (September, 1938), no. 1.

[18] O. F. Raum, *Chaga Childhood* (London, 1940).

[19] This brief survey of the main trends of fieldwork on primitive childhood makes no pretense of completeness. For the most complete bibliography on the subject see J. Gillin, "Personality in Preliterate Societies," *American Sociological Review*, IV (1939), 681–702.

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121 selves with the problem of the transmission of culture as a process, or had published their reports when this study was projected, it was determined to make a field study of the problem rather than a cross-cultural inquiry based upon the literature.

A preliminary field trip with Professor George P. Murdock to the Tenino Indians of Oregon demonstrated the feasibility of the project and provided valuable ethnographic experience. This work, however, indicated the desirability of choosing a tribe which was not "broken down" by contact with the whites. It proved difficult to study how Indians brought up their children when most of them were away at the government school learning the three R's.

On my return from this field trip, I found that Mr. Stephen W. Reed was also anxious to make a study of a primitive society. Together we picked New Guinea as an area which would best suit our requirements. The ethnographic literature concerning the island showed that the tribes were small and homogenous, government weakly developed, castes and classes lacking, and economic specialization slight. It seemed, therefore, that the criterion of simplicity would here be fulfilled. There was also a strange series of rites of passage, which, it appeared, would provide a contrast to our own culture. Finally, since New Guinea is one of the world's last frontiers—much of it, indeed, is still unexplored—we hoped to find a tribe which was little affected by contact with Europeans. Fortunately for us, Professor Richard Thurnwald was in New Haven at the time, and with his advice we were able to narrow our field to the Sepik River district of the Mandated Territory.

121 122 114 Since work with Professor Dollard indicated that the hypotheses developed by Freud were outstanding among the theories of socialization and since it seemed probable that the psychoanalytic method of interviewing might be useful in the field, I began a training analysis during the following winter. I worked under Mr. Earl Zinn for five months before leaving for the field.

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CHAPTER VII

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

THE previous chapters have stressed the particular customs which Kwoma society chooses to transmit to its children, the categories of persons who teach them, and the stage in the life cycle of the individual to which these customs apply. The purpose has been to present the data on these aspects of Kwoma life so that they might be useful for comparative or historical purposes.

The present chapter is devoted primarily to an inquiry into the nature of the transmission of culture and to a psychological analysis of the manner in which this transmission takes place. Although Kwoma data are employed in this analysis and the statements are made in terms of these data, the purpose is to develop hypotheses concerning the process of socialization which have significance not alone for the Kwoma but for all cultures. It is obvious that such hypotheses, validated by only a single society, cannot be considered more than tentative. Since the data with which to test these hypotheses in other societies have not yet been reported in the anthropological literature, they are presented in this form, primarily in the hope that they may be sufficiently suggestive to be tested by those future fieldworkers who become interested in a theory of the transmission of culture.

Were the transmission of culture a genetic process, it would be expedient to turn to the biologist for a basic theory of socialization. Anthropologists have demonstrated, however, that the behavior of peoples in various societies is not instinctive but cultural; it is a matter of habits. Since a habit is something which is learned, it is evident that a theory of learning must form the basis for an understanding of the process of socialization.

The theory of learning developed by psychologists has been demonstrated to apply both to animals and to men in Western society. It may be assumed that this theory also

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applies to the behavior of the members of other human societies. Such an assumption follows from the more general hypothesis of the basic psychological unity of mankind, an hypothesis which has been supported by anthropological evidence. Although it may be assumed that the basic mechanisms of learning apply to the Kwoma, it remains to be demonstrated how the Kwoma take advantage of these mechanisms to indoctrinate and train the oncoming generation; from this evidence some hypotheses concerning socialization may be developed.

Learning does not take place in a vacuum, but only when certain necessary conditions are present. In social learning these conditions are determined by the society, the culture, and the natural environment, whereas in the laboratory the conditions have been determined by the experimenters who have artificially and systematically varied them. Psychologists have built mazes of different shapes, decided where and when to provide food or electric shock, and carefully controlled the degree of hunger of the experimental animal by withholding food from it. With human subjects they have similarly varied the conditions. They have used fear of authority and the wish for approval as motives and employed praise or money as rewards whenever the problem investigated demanded it. It has been expedient for the psychologists to control the conditions in this way, for by so doing they have been able to discover many of the dynamics of learning. From the point of view of the social scientist concerned with the problem of socialization, however, psychologists have accomplished only part of the task, for the conditions under which social learning takes place are determined by the necessities of social living and by the regulations of the existing culture. The conditions of social learning are for the social scientist to study, not to manipulate.

Before examining the social and cultural conditions of learning, it will be helpful to present a summary of the findings of the psychologists which are most relevant to the present problem. Reinforcement, the most basic of learning principles, can best be presented in the following paradigm. This

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statement of the essential conditions for habit formation has been adapted from the theories of Pavlov, Thorndike, and Hull by Miller and Dollard.[1] Since this adaptation has been developed for use in the field of social learning, it precisely fulfills the requirements of this chapter. In order to learn, an animal must be motivated, he must act, he must perceive the cues that are present during his action, and he must gain satisfaction. In outline form the Miller-Dollard paradigm may be presented thus: There must be a

A. *Drive* or drives of sufficient intensity to produce a
B. *Response* or series of responses made in the presence of
C. *Cues* which stimulate the animal's receptors until a[2]
D. *Reward* reduces the intensity of the drive.

Whenever the above conditions occur, the bond which connects the drives and cues to the response is strengthened. That is, when the organism again experiences the same drive and the same cues, it will have a greater tendency to make the same response. In the early stages of learning the increment in the strength of the habit is large, but after the conditions represented in the paradigm have been frequently repeated, and the habit well established, the increments become progressively smaller. Each time the conditions expressed in the paradigm are repeated and the habit thereby strengthened, reinforcement may be said to have occurred.[3]

The drives which are of greatest importance in the process of socialization are: hunger, thirst, sex, colon distention, bladder distention, heat, cold, fatigue, and pain.[4] Each of these drives may vary in intensity, and this variation is a function of the interaction between the organism and the environment.

[1] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. ii.

[2] Cues are also present during and after the reward, but these are not relevant to the formation of the habit in question.

[3] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. ii; E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. 4; C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

[4] For a recent statement of socially relevant drives see H. A. Murray, *Explorations in Personality* (New York, 1938), pp. 67–89.

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121 The intensity of the hunger drive depends both upon metabolic processes within the organism and upon the amount and kind of food provided by the environment. The hunger becomes more intense as the number of hours of food deprivation increases. It becomes strong more quickly when the expenditure of energy increases the rate of metabolism. Its intensity is an inverse function of the amount of food previously ingested and depends in a complex manner upon the physiological needs of the organism and how adequately they have been satisfied by the types of food available. In a similar way the other drives vary in intensity according to processes which take place within the organism and according to factors in the external environment which need not be detailed here.[5]

Acquired drives, as well as the above-listed basic ones, motivate behavior and belong in category A of the Miller-Dollard paradigm. Although these acquired drives are most frequently found to be the immediate impelling force for social habits, their intensity and even their very existence depend upon a continued relationship with basic drives.[6] It is not necessary here to describe the manner in which acquired drives come into being, but simply to state that whereas basic drives depend upon the relationship between the organism and the environment, acquired drives depend, in addition, upon the past experience of the organism. In other words, acquired drives must themselves be learned. Fear,[7] anger,[8] the wish for prestige, the desire for money, the

[113] [5] The best evidence for the factors which govern the intensity of drives has been adduced by the physiologists; for hunger see W. B. Cannon, *The Wisdom of the Body* (New York, 1932); for a general statement see C. P. Richter, "Animal Behavior and Internal Drives," *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, II (1927), no. 3, pp. 307-343; for experimental evidence on drives see P. T. Young, *Motivation in Behavior* (New York, 1936).

[113] [6] For a detailed account of acquired drives see N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

[113] [7] See S. Freud, *The Problem of Anxiety* (New York, 1936); E. Zinn, "Anxiety, Clinically Viewed," and O. H. Mowrer, "Anxiety, Some Social and Psychological Implications," *Papers Presented before the Monday Night Group* (1939-40), pp. 116-144, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.

[113] [8] See John Dollard, *et al.*, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven,

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wish for words of praise, the craving for affection, and the various conditioned disgusts and appetites are examples of acquired drives.

The second essential of learning is that a response shall be made. Responses may be gross muscular, such as walking, running, throwing a spear; glandular, such as the secretion of gastric juices; verbal, such as issuing a command; or ideational, such as thinking, fantasying, or planning. In fact, any activity of the organism falls in the category of a response.

Cues, the third essential for learning, are those stimuli which act as guides in the performance of any response. They tell the organism when, where, and how to act. They may originate from objects outside the organism, such as patterns of light, sound, smell, taste, and touch, or they may arise within the organism, as in the case of feelings of hunger, thirst, bladder and colon distentions, stomach cramps, and stimuli arising from the movement of muscles.[9] A cue is thus any stimulus which is appreciated by an organism and which acts as a guide in the learning or performance of a habit.

Reward, the final essential condition for the formation of a habit, may be defined as an event which reduces the intensity of a drive. The ingestion of food reduces the hunger drive; drinking reduces thirst; sexual orgasm reduces the sex drive; defecation and urination reduce colon and bladder distentions; escape from heat, cold, fatigue, and pain effect the reduction of the heat, cold, fatigue, and pain drives.[10]

Since there are acquired drives, there are also corresponding acquired rewards. In so far as one is motivated to strive for social goals, he gains satisfaction from achieving them. Safety, high status, the destruction of enemies, the gaining

1939); N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

[9] Both drives and cues are stimuli. When the intensity of a stimulus is its most important function, it may be spoken of as a drive, when it functions primarily as a guide, it may be referred to as a cue.

[10] The response which is most closely correlated in time with a reward is called a goal response.

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret

121 883 836 love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219–245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept of free trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33–54, 134–152.

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121 tried them.[18] For various reasons this accumulation of adap-
861 tive habits is passed on to the child. He does not simply learn to get along in the world; he is socialized. Thus an essential set of conditions for social learning is the behavior of the socializing agents. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of these conditions and their relation to social learning.

Before the analysis of teaching techniques is undertaken, several terms which are to be used should be defined. The terms "teacher" and "pupil" will be employed in a special sense, the former to mean anyone who attempts to change the habit structure of another person, the latter, any person whose habit structure is being so changed. Although Kwoma parents most frequently play the rôle of teacher, with their children as pupils, the teacher-pupil relation is not by any means restricted to them. Co-mothers, siblings, *paternal uncles* and *aunts*, and other relatives frequently play the rôle of teacher as well. The concept of teacher will also be extended in this context even to an adult who tries to influence the behavior of another adult. Although such behavior may be considered an act of aggression or coöperation, as the case may be, it is also a teacher-pupil relationship if a habit of the pupil is thereby strengthened or weakened.

A second set of terms will be used for responses, which will be characterized as "right," "not right," "wrong," and "not wrong." A right response is a specific act which the teacher wishes the pupil to make, whereas not right responses are all those acts which are incompatible with the right response under the given conditions. Similarly, a wrong response is a specific act which the teacher wishes the pupil not to make, and not wrong responses are all those acts which are incompatible with the wrong response under the given circumstances. These concepts may be illustrated from the cases which will be reported in detail below. When Wof punished Buka for failing to gather firewood, "getting firewood" was the right response, while playing, sleeping, eating, gossiping,

[113] [18] See A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution* (New York, 1929); W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), chap. v.

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or any other response which Buka might make when she should be getting firewood can be described as not right responses. When Mes warned Kwos not to play with a cartridge, "playing with the cartridge" was the wrong response, while doing anything else would be the not wrong responses. Teachers normally describe the specific act, whether it be right or wrong, and refer to the not right or not wrong responses as the negative of the specific act. Sometimes they exemplify the not right or not wrong, by stating a specific act in the negative category. For example, in the above cases Wof may have specified playing as one of the not right acts which Buka did, or Mes might have specified joining the play group as a not wrong response. Teachers normally try to make their pupils learn to make a right response or to make a not wrong response. The other two categories, not right and wrong, denote behavior which the teacher wishes to prevent, but which he can prevent only by teaching the pupil an incompatible habit, i.e., right or not wrong, respectively. This will be illustrated in the cases to be analyzed below.

In socializing their pupils, Kwoma teachers use various techniques, all of which make practical use of the paradigm of learning presented above.[16] Some of these techniques stress motivation, some the response, some the cues, and some the rewards, but the whole process is implicit in all of them. Kwoma teachers use different techniques for different situations; the kind of habit to be taught, the age and maturity of the pupil, and the kin relationship between teacher and pupil are some of the factors that determine which technique shall be used. The following presentation does not purport to be a complete list of the methods of teaching employed at Kwoma nor a full account of the situations in which they are used, but is rather an analysis and description of the more important ones observed.[17]

[16] Since pupils in our society learn by the same mechanisms as do Kwoma pupils, it is not surprising that many of the techniques of teaching in the two societies are similar. In fact, the following techniques will seem quite obvious to anyone who has been either a parent or a teacher.

[17] The following theory of teaching techniques was not worked out before the data were gathered. For this reason the cases analyzed below were not

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121 Unless the essentials for learning are already provided by the interaction of the environment and the pupil, they must be supplied by the teacher. In other words, when such conditions are not already present, the teacher, in order to change the habit structure of the pupil in the desired manner, must provide *motivation*, *guidance*, and *reward*. Each of the various teaching techniques employed at Kwoma may be classed under one or another of these three categories. The following table presents this classification:

1. Providing motivation
   a. punishing
   b. scolding
   c. threatening
   d. warning
   e. inciting
2. Providing guidance
   a. leading
   b. instructing
   c. demonstrating
3. Providing reward
   a. giving
   b. helping
   c. praising

A Kwoma teacher must often provide motivation in order to make his pupils learn the habits which he wishes to teach them. He employs five techniques for doing so: punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting.

Punishment is not infrequently employed by a Kwoma teacher when other methods fail to correct the behavior of a pupil or when his behavior is particularly annoying to the teacher. A teacher punishes a child after he has made a wrong, or a not right response. The mode of punishment is usually either a blow on the back with the fist or a blow on the legs with a stick. The following cases will serve to illustrate its use.

Wof left early one morning with his second wife, Chinuwa, to work in his garden. Since his first wife, Kaya, had previ-

[128] carefully followed up, and observations with which to test the predictions arising from the analysis were frequently not made. The rather complete record of daily events which was kept did, however, provide data to check some of them.

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ously sprained her ankle and was incapacitated, he told his adopted daughter, Buka, to replenish the supply of firewood, which was very low. When he returned late that afternoon, he discovered that Buka had not obeyed his command and that there was not even enough wood to cook the afternoon meal. He, therefore, called to Buka and, telling her that she was lazy and disobedient for not getting the wood, struck her several times on the back. Buka cowered and ran away crying. Wof continued for some time to scold her in a loud and angry voice. Since I observed her a few days thereafter going by my house with her net bag filled with firewood, the punishment was presumably effective.

In order not to make the error of taking the effect of punishment on the habit structure of a pupil for granted, it is expedient to analyze the above case in detail in accordance with the paradigm of learning. It can be seen from such an analysis that the drive was that of pain from a blow on the back; the responses were running away, and crying; the cues were the sight of Wof, his words of criticism for not having obeyed his command to get firewood, and the memory of his command; the reward was escape from the pain of the blow. From this analysis it is evident that the habit which was reinforced was that of running away and crying when the cues described above were present. Wof, presumably, did not wish to teach her this habit but rather that of getting the firewood when he told her to. Although the punishment evidently did have this effect, it has not yet been shown how this came about. It is necessary to introduce the principle of anticipation to explain it.

By the principle of anticipation[18] any response which is attached by reward to the last of a temporal series of cues tends to occur earlier in the series. Thus when Wof again commands Buka to get firewood she will have a tendency to run away, to cry, and to make various visceral responses induced by pain. In other words she will have anxiety.[19] If she

[18] C. L. Hull, "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena," *Psychol. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1931), 487–506.

[19] Freud defines anxiety as the anticipation of pain. See S. Freud, *The*

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[121 861] were to run away or cry under these circumstances, she would be doing something other than getting firewood. In other words she would be making not right responses as implied by Wof's statement of the reason for the punishment at the time of its occurrence. To run away and cry would therefore tend to raise her anxiety rather than to reduce it. Similarly, if she played, went to sleep, ate, or made any response other than getting firewood, her anxiety would not be reduced, for all such acts have been implicitly defined by her father as "not getting firewood responses." The only way in which she can reduce her anxiety is to get the firewood. When she does this and only when she does this, the real effect of punishment as a teaching technique becomes clear. The drive is anxiety; the response is getting firewood; the cue is her father's command; and the reward is the reduction of anxiety. It is thus that Wof's punishment was not in vain and did accomplish the effect that he desired.

The following case also illustrates the use of punishment by a Kwoma teacher. One afternoon, when several Rumbima children and adolescents were playing in front of my house, the ball which they were kicking bounded into the bushes. Gwiyap, an adolescent, commanded Ham, a child, to fetch it, and when he refused kicked him in the buttocks. Ham ran away crying. Several days later the situation was repeated, and this time Ham ran away as soon as Gwiyap issued the command. Weeks later I observed Ham obediently fetch the ball, at first only after he was ordered to and later on his own initiative.

In the above case the drive was the pain from Gwiyap's kick; the response was running away and crying; the cues were the ball in the bushes, the sight of Gwiyap, and the sound of his commands; the reward was escape from the pain

[113] *Problem of Anxiety* (New York, 1936). O. H. Mowrer has developed this thesis and urged that anxiety is a learned response based upon an anticipatory response to pain. See O. H. Mowrer, "A Stimulus Response Analysis of Anxiety," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 553–565. Miller has shown that the acquired drive value of anxiety is based upon the response-produced stimuli of an antedating pain reaction. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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of being kicked. From the principle of reinforcement it could be predicted that Ham would learn to run away when these cues were again present. Observation bore this out. It could further be predicted that he was also reinforced on this occasion, the reward being escape from anxiety. However, just as Wof presumably did not wish to teach Buka to run away, so Gwiyap wanted to teach Ham to fetch the ball for him rather than to escape. That he was successful in doing so remains to be explained. It has been shown in a previous chapter that Kwoma children spend most of their time playing with other children, an activity which is apparently rewarding to them and hence one which comes to have the value of an acquired reward. Exclusion from playing with one's fellows should thus have an acquired drive value. There is no evidence that Ham was exceptional in these respects. Therefore each time that he ran away, although by so doing he achieved the reward of the reduction of pain or anxiety, he was thrown into another situation of discomfort. The acquired drive to play with his fellows was aroused. This placed him in a conflict situation:[20] to play aroused the fear of being kicked; not to play aroused the discomfort arising from being excluded from the game. Ham finally solved this dilemma by obeying Gwiyap's command. On this occasion, if the above analysis is correct, the drives were the fear of being kicked and the wish to play with his fellows; the response was fetching the ball; the cues were the ball in the bushes and Gwiyap's command; and the rewards were escape from being kicked and joining in the ball game. Thus Gwiyap's kick finally did have the desired effect, but only after time had elapsed and after a rather complicated series of psychological events had occurred to Ham.

This analysis suggests that another factor may have been operating in the case of Wof and Buka. She might have learned not only to run away from Wof, but to stay away from him. Unless some relative were willing to care for her,

[20] For a discussion of the factors governing conflict see N. E. Miller and J. S. Brown, "Conflict, an Analysis of Approach and Avoidance" (in preparation).

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• 121 861 however, she would be in the same dilemma as the one in which Ham was placed, the negative side being much more serious, since it would be impossible for a girl of Buka's age to live alone in the Kwoma environment. Thus it is apparent that the primary effect of physical punishment is to make a pupil run away,[21] but that the strong acquired reward value which teachers have for the pupil, as a result of his dependence on them, and the fear of being alone, bind him to the teacher until he learns the habit which the teacher has wished to instill in him.

In the cases analyzed above the teacher was bigger than the pupil. When teacher and pupil are of the same size or when the pupil is bigger than the teacher, the response to punishment is often counterattack rather than running away.[22] The case of Fit and Mey illustrates this. Fit struck Mey for teasing him, and Mey grabbed a burning brand from the fire and began belaboring Fit with it. In this case Mey's drives were pain from Fit's blow, anger at Fit,[23] and the fear of being hit again; the response was attacking him with a firebrand; the cues were the sight of someone his own size and the feeling of the blow; and the rewards were reduction of the pain from Fit's blow, the reduction of the fear of being hit again, and the reduction of anger. Thus Mey was

[21] In the middle and upper classes of American society, pupils are not usually permitted to run away from punishment. They are either held by the parent or punished more severely if they attempt to escape. The usual response which is reinforced is the promise "I won't do it again." Furthermore, doing wrong in secret is more severely punished in the United States than at Kwoma. The American technique should be more effective in teaching the correct response, but, at the same time, it should produce more anxiety in the pupil than does the Kwoma technique. A correlation of the extent to which parents in various societies permit children to escape punishment and do wrong in secret, and the degree to which the society produces neurotic adults might be fruitful.

[22] When such a situation arises between adults, it is normally the reputation of the teacher and the pupil as fighters and the size of the group which supports each of them, rather than their physical size, which determines whether the pupil counterattacks or runs away.

[23] The conditions at Kwoma are such that anger as a response to pain is frequently reinforced, particularly with respect to younger siblings. See chap. iv, pp. 57–62.

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing as his would-be teacher wished.

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right response, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have behaved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is inherent in such objects, because they have been punished for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the power to evoke feelings of fear.

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "infant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used in many contexts in which children are barred from doing what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the motivational power of this concept.

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sago briquettes, she asked Mey to pass her the two sticks which Kwoma housewives use to stir and ladle the thick gruel. Mey brought her two old sticks which she had long since discarded rather than the desired ones. She made Mey take the wrong ones back and get the right ones and began scolding him for his inattention and stupidity. Mey stood looking sullen and sheepish, and heard out her tirade. In this case the drive was anxiety evoked by the scolding; the response was looking sullen and sheepish and listening; the cues included being told to get stirring sticks and the memory of having brought his mother the wrong ones; the reward was reduction of fear (after she stopped scolding him). Thus listening and not talking back, rather than running away, was the response reinforced in this case.[24] The right response, of paying attention when spoken to, would be learned by Mey when on the next occasion he was asked to do something by his mother, did it correctly, and was not scolded for it.

Threatening is the third technique of motivating pupils employed by Kwoma teachers. A threat, like scolding, activates the acquired drive of fear in the pupil, but it differs from scolding in that it precedes the wrong or not right response. A threat is an "if . . . then" statement—"if you do such and such, then I will scold or beat you." Threats are used by Kwoma teachers in situations where they foresee that the pupil is likely to make a wrong response, either because the pupil is beginning to make such a response or because the teacher's knowledge of the pupil's habits suggests that he may do so. Kwoma teachers employ the technique of threatening as widely as scolding although perhaps not as frequently, since it is usually more difficult to predict a wrong response than it is to observe one.

Threats, like scolding, depend for their motivational power upon the acquired drive of fear. The phrase most commonly employed by the Kwoma teacher when threatening a pupil is *anafa fiju*, "I will beat you." *Fiju* is the term employed for all types of physical violence and injury. It has

[24] Unfortunately I observed no case of a child being specifically scolded or punished for talking back, but informants stated that this did occur.

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121 861 [192] [196] the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[23]

121 626 602 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] [23] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[26] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[27]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[26] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[27] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

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121 Warnings are extensively used by Kwoma teachers. A
861 Kwoma pupil in the course of his life is normally warned about all the dangers which inhere in the natural and social environment.

The following case exemplifies how a child is taught to avoid danger by means of the technique of warning. I had removed the shot from some twelve-gauge cartridges which had spoiled and lit the powder in them for the amusement of the natives. The powder exploded with a harmless puff. Kwos, seeing me do this, decided to try it himself. Mes, his older brother, saw him and warned him not to. He said that cartridges were dangerous and could kill people. Not heeding the warning, Kwos tried to light one. The cartridge did not explode at first so Kwos looked into it to see what the matter was. At that moment the powder exploded directly into his face, burning it so badly as to close one of his eyes. In this case the drive was pain from the explosion and burn; the response was withdrawal from the cartridge, and a visceral pain response; the cues were the cartridge and the words of warning which Mes issued; the reward was reduction in the pain of the explosion.[28]

It should be noted that stopping playing with the cartridge accorded with the instructions in Mes' warning. The effect of this experience on Kwos should have been to reinforce both heeding a warning and not playing with cartridges. There is evidence that exactly this did occur. Kwos did not play with cartridges again, and he heeded a warning not to walk around alone. Although he could barely see out of one eye, he came from his house to mine to get salve. His father came later and warned him not to return home alone lest he get lost. Kwos, heeding this warning, waited until his sister came and led him home.

Kwos' teachers were not satisfied with the lesson he learned from the explosion but scolded him in addition. Waramus, his father, told me in the presence of Kwos, "He will go

[28] The pain of the burn persisted much longer and reinforced whatever successful attempts were made to ease it, asking me for salve and applying it to his face being one of them.

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blind; he will never be able to see again; but it serves him right for not heeding his brother's warning." Kis, one of his *paternal uncles*, said to him, "You little feces-eater, that's what you get for not heeding your brother." The habit of heeding a warning thereby gained additional reinforcement as a result of the application of the technique of scolding.

The following case is one in which the warning concerned pain from another person rather than from an event in the natural environment, and in which the warning had been issued some time before the pain was experienced. Ham had been warned by his parents not to walk around in other people's houses. He had been told that, when visiting, he should sit down and remain seated, and that, if he did not do so, the owner of the house would be very cross with him. One day Ham started wandering about the porch of Wof's house. Wof shouted at him to sit down and then scolded him severely.[29] He accused the boy of trying to steal sorcery material and implied that only thieves walk around in other people's houses.

In this case the drive was fear aroused by Wof's scolding; the response was sitting down; the cues were the memory of the warning and the sight of another person's house; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since the response reinforced in the parental warning corresponded with the instructions issued, that is, sitting down and not walking around, it would be expected that Ham's tendency to heed a warning was increased by this experience. Unfortunately, since I have no record of a warning issued to Ham after this experience, this prediction cannot be tested. About an hour after the experience, however, Ham obeyed with alacrity a command from his mother to pass sago fritters to his father. His alacrity may have been in part due to his recent experience, since both a warning and a command have the common element of instructions.

The only technique of motivating pupils used by Kwoma

[29] Wof was, of course, also a teacher in this case, and he used the technique of scolding. For the present purposes, Ham's parents will be taken as the teachers, using warning as a technique.

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121 86 teachers which does not depend upon pain or fear is that of inciting. This consists of presenting to the pupil the verbal symbols which have been associated with reward along with instructions as to how to achieve such reward. The following 262 177 case will serve as an illustration. At a coöperative work feast given by Nambomai, my Yambon houseboy, one of the foods prepared was stewed apricots. Gwiyap took it upon himself to teach some of the adults present to eat this food, which was hitherto unknown to them. To do this he said: "It is good. It tastes like ripe bananas." Afolawanj, an old man who was somewhat of a clown, was thus tempted to try some, but he had no sooner taken a mouthful than he spit it out, and refused to eat any more.

In the above case the drive was the appetite evoked by Gwiyap's statement that the stewed fruit tasted like ripe bananas; the response was eating; the cues were Gwiyap's instructions to eat and the sight, smell, and taste of the fruit; the reward was absent. Since there was no reward in this sequence it could be predicted that learning would not take place. The fact that Afolawanj did not again try the fruit is evidence that this was indeed the case. It could also be predicted that Afolawanj would have a decreased tendency to follow Gwiyap's instructions,[30] but I do not know whether or not this was true.

War's attempt to incite Mes and Mar provides a more dramatic instance of the use of this technique. When the Hongwam were planning a head-hunting raid on the Sowal, War, who was the prime mover in the affair, spent a whole evening at the house tamberan inciting Mar and Mes to go on the raid. He described to them all the advantages that they would gain from taking a head—that all the girls would want to marry them, that they could become members of *Nokwi*, that they would gain high prestige so that their words would be listened to at the court meetings, that their

[13] [30] This follows from the principle of extinction. When a response is not followed by a reward, the connection between this response and the preceding cues is reduced in strength. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. v; N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iii.

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relatives would be eager to help them in coöperative tasks, etc. He suggested to Mes that he take my shotgun along (he was acting as my shoot boy at the time) because with it he could be certain to kill someone and take his head. Mes asked me for the gun and was very disappointed when I refused. Mar, on the other hand, had seen several river natives hanged for participating in a head-hunting raid and had been so moved by the sight that he was afraid to go. He reacted to War's incitement by weeping and telling me that he guessed he could never be a man. Since traveling conditions prevented the raid from taking place, the correct response could not be made. A few days later a recruiter came to the tribe, and both Mar and Mes "signed on" for a three-year contract to work on a plantation.

Although the reaction of Mes and Mar indicates that War's incitement successfully induced motivation by evoking a complex of acquired drives and appetites based upon sex, hunger, fatigue, and prestige, his teaching was blocked because the correct response could not be made. Since both Mar and Mes said that they were going to work for the whites in order to gain prestige, so as to win an attractive wife, and in order to earn money to buy many wives, "signing on" may have been, in part at least, a substitute for going on the raid.[31]

Kwoma teachers do not always have to motivate their pupils in order to inculcate right responses, for this is frequently done for them either by others or by the natural environment. In such cases their task is to guide the pupil so that he makes the right response and to provide the proper cues.[32] Furthermore, even when the teacher himself motivates the pupil, the problem of guiding him still remains, and Kwoma teachers seldom simply motivate a pupil and

[31] Although it happens that the aim of the teacher was accomplished in neither of the above cases, this does not imply that the technique of inciting is not an effective means of teaching.

[32] Since responses and cues are so closely attached to one another in a habit, it has been deemed expedient to treat these two aspects of learning under a single heading, even though teachers may at times stress the cues and at times the responses.

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permit him to discover the reward by free trial and error. There are three techniques of guidance: leading, instructing, and demonstrating.

The most primitive technique by which a teacher can make his pupil perform the correct response is by leading. To do this the teacher physically limits the random responses of the pupil so that he makes the right response more quickly, or so that he is prevented from making wrong responses. Such guidance is used by the Kwoma primarily when the pupil has not yet learned to talk and therefore cannot follow instructions. The following case illustrates the use of leading. Njan, while lying in his mother's lap one afternoon, began to cry and struggle. His mother lifted him up to her breast, and, holding his head with one hand, directed her nipple into his mouth with the other. Njan began to nurse. Had his mother not directed his head, he would probably eventually have found her nipple as the result of random movements and satisfied his hunger. The mother, by holding his head, prevented him from making errors and thus forced him to make the right response more quickly. Informants stated that mothers taught their children to defecate in the latrine by leading them there and holding them in the proper position. These are the only situations observed in which Kwoma teachers employ the technique of leading, though there may well be others.

Verbal guidance or instruction is probably the most widely used of all teaching techniques. As indicated in the preceding analysis of punishment, scolding, threats, warnings, and inciting, instructions normally form a part of these techniques. In other words, teachers usually motivate and guide at the same time. On rare occasions, however, when the pupil is already motivated by some other agency, a teacher need simply help the pupil to make the right response, or not to make the wrong response, by instructing him.

The following case illustrates the use of instructions as a teaching technique. Fit was trying to light the fire in my cook house one afternoon. A strong wind was blowing, and the matches kept going out. Mar, who was watching him,

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told him to try lighting the fire on the leeward side. Fit followed the suggestion and was successful. Fit was already motivated to light the fire and was striving to do so. If left to himself he would probably eventually have succeeded, perhaps by hitting upon the response which Mar suggested, perhaps by discovering some other solution to the problem. Mar entered the situation as teacher by giving instructions which, when Fit followed them, achieved the desired goal.

Although the above analysis indicates the function of instruction as a teaching technique and the way in which it operates in a gross way, it does not explain why a pupil follows instructions. In other words, how did Fit know how to react to Mar's words, and why did he react at all? The answer to the first question depends upon verbal symbols and how a pupil learns their meanings. Although this is a most important part of the process of socialization, it lies beyond the scope of this inquiry. An answer to the second question—why does the pupil react to instructions at all?—can, however, be suggested. As has been observed above, instructions normally form a part of each of the teaching techniques which stress motivation. Therefore, since most teaching techniques result eventually in the learning of a rewarding habit, following instructions becomes a strongly reinforced habit. Words of instruction thereby come to have an acquired drive value.

Just as instructing depends upon the pupil's knowledge of language, so demonstrating, the third technique of guiding, depends upon the ability of the pupil to imitate. Miller and Dollard[33] have shown that conditions in our society are such that a child is more frequently rewarded and less frequently suffers pain if he behaves like certain people with whom he comes in contact, particularly his parents and older siblings, than if he makes responses which differ from theirs, and that therefore, by the principle of reinforcement, children learn to imitate. These investigators have also assumed that the conditions which lead children in our society to learn

[33] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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to imitate are present in all societies, and in a chapter on diffusion have presented evidence which supports this assumption. The Kwoma are no exception to this rule. Most of the right and not wrong responses in Kwoma culture apply to all persons, and with respect to these responses a child will be rewarded for imitating anyone. Furthermore, although those responses which are right for only certain categories of persons—particularly those which depend upon the sex, age, or prestige position of the pupil—are both punished and not rewarded if the pupil imitates a person in another category than himself, he is rewarded if he imitates a person in his own category. Thus in the majority of cases a Kwoma is rewarded, and in only a minority of cases is he punished or not rewarded, for imitating. Since Miller and Dollard have presented imitation as a process of socialization in detail, it will not be further discussed here. It stands with teaching as one of the most important mechanisms by which culture is transmitted.

A Kwoma teacher takes advantage of the fact that his pupils have all learned to imitate, when he employs demonstrating as a technique of guidance. In using this technique the teacher gets the attention of the pupil, performs the right response, and then the pupil imitates him. Afok and Fokotay employed this technique when they were teaching Mes and Mar to play the sacred flutes. The two teachers would first play a piece while the pupils watched and listened. Then the two pupils would take the flutes and attempt to imitate them. The teachers would repeat their performance, and the pupils would try again.[84] This example reveals that this technique is similar to instruction, the difference being that the cues are the correct responses made by the teacher rather than his verbal representation of them.

Commanding, as a teaching technique, may be classed either as primarily motivating or as primarily guiding. A command consists of an implicit threat and explicit instruc-

[84] Afok and Fokotay did not depend entirely upon imitation but issued many instructions, scolded the pupils after errors and praised them after a correct performance.

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tions. Since both threats and instructions have been analyzed, it is not necessary to discuss commanding in detail, but it should be stated that it is an extremely important method of teaching.

Providing rewards, the third general category of teaching techniques, is also employed by the Kwoma. It consists of providing a reward after a pupil has made a right response. A teacher may use this technique after he has motivated and guided the pupil, or he may use it when either the motivation or the guidance or both have been supplied by some other agency. The general category of rewarding may be subdivided into helping, giving, and praising.

Kwoma teachers take advantage of the fact that a pupil can satisfy but few of his drives, either basic or acquired, without the aid of another person or persons.[33] Being helped is thus in many cases the *sine qua non* for achieving a reward. Teachers may, therefore, employ helping as a means of rewarding the right response of a pupil. They use this technique primarily to teach the pupil coöperative habits. In other words, teachers most frequently help a pupil after the pupil has helped them. The technique of helping is thus one of the important methods of transmitting that part of the culture which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity.[34]

Giving is closely allied to helping as a technique of reward, being used in the same coöperative context. If a teacher gives a pupil something, it is significant as a reward because the teacher has done the work of producing or otherwise obtaining the gift, and thus relieves the pupil of the necessity of doing the same himself. Gifts in Kwoma are of food, tools, or shell money. Barter and exchange are a form of reciprocal

[33] Malinowski has shown that all cultural habits are an integral part of institutions which imply the cooperative efforts of an organized group of persons for the satisfaction of a need. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), no. 6, pp. 932–54.

[34] Hull has suggested a psychological basis for this in the principle of reciprocal reinforcement. C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. ix, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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• 12.1
86.1 gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play
43.1 simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

[47.6] The work bee is a good example of how both helping and
[46.1] giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing.
[57.4] When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[37]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

12.1 If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the
86.1 teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[37] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialization since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialization continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialization as is the initial learning of them.

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pressing work of their own to do; the reward was getting the log to the house tamberan plot. Yat's helpers thus taught him to give a feast by helping him.

Not giving and not helping are also techniques which are frequently used to arouse motivation. Kwoma teachers may punish a pupil by refusing to help him or give to him, after he has made a wrong response, or they may threaten him by promising not to help him or not to give to him if he should make a wrong response. The threat of breaking relationship is effective, not only because it implies aggression, but also because it implies withdrawal of support. Thus War's threat that he would break relationship with Gwiyap if he did not stop taking sago from Payap's plot, implied withdrawal of help and was effective in changing Gwiyap's behavior for this reason as well as because it implicitly threatened the kinds of aggression which kinship restrictions inhibit.

Praising is the third technique of rewarding used by Kwoma teachers. It is an acquired reward on the verbal level. As with other rewards, it may be employed either in conjunction with motivation and guidance or alone. A Kwoma teacher most frequently employs this technique when a pupil has performed an unexpectedly "good" response rather than merely a right one. Kwoma pupils are thus reinforced for excelling, for doing better than others, and this may explain in part why Kwoma individuals strive for superiority and prestige.

One of the phrases frequently employed in praising is *handombas*, "good." This word gains its power to reinforce habits by being frequently used in rewarding contexts. A Kwoma will pat his stomach after a good meal and say "*handombas*," or he will say it when he is greeting a friend, or he will use it to refer to someone or something that he likes. He also uses it to describe tasty food, good workmanship, or someone whom he regards highly. As a result, *handombas* comes to have a relaxing or acquired reward value,[10] and thus has the effect of reinforcing preceding habits when-

[10] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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ever a teacher applies it to a pupil. Since, moreover, a Kwoma teacher seldom punishes, scolds, or threatens a pupil at the same time that he praises him, *handombas* becomes a cue, reducing whatever anxiety may be present, and thus acquires further rewarding value.

A second phrase, *harafa ma malaka*, is applied to men of high prestige who have many privileges that the ordinary person does not enjoy. It comes to mean, therefore, the right to go to the *Nokwi* ceremonies, to have many wives, to have many helpers at work bees, to be deferred to at court meetings, and to be so formidable that no one dare threaten or attack you. When a teacher applies this phrase to a pupil, it symbolizes an advance toward the attainment of these goals and is therefore rewarding. Furthermore, if a pupil is called *harafa ma malaka*, he is never called *karaganda yikafa*, "little child," at the same time, as these are antithetical concepts. Since the latter phrase is used to scold pupils, the former symbolizes non-scolding and thus gains further reward value.

Praising may be exemplified by the following case. Yat speared two pigs in one afternoon, a remarkable feat since a man will often hunt for weeks without success. When he returned to the hamlet, he joined a group of men who were sitting in the house tamberan and told them of his accomplishment. The men praised him for his prowess, referring to his act as *handombas* and to him as a *harafa ma malaka*. Thus Yat was rewarded by these words of praise for whatever hunting technique led to his success.

In conclusion, the following summary of the results of the preceding analyses may be made. The assumption that learning principles apply to the process of culture transmission at Kwoma has led to an organization of the data observed, so that some of the factors which permit, and some of the forces which compel, a Kwoma individual to learn his culture have been isolated and defined. Furthermore, the application of learning theory has brought certain essential details of the process of socialization into sharper relief than might otherwise have been the case. It is evident, also, from the above

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analysis, that Kwoma teachers have a practical knowledge of the way in which people learn, and use certain teaching techniques which are adapted on the one hand to the principles of learning and on the other to the culture and the necessity of transmitting it. Some of the techniques of teaching which the Kwoma employ stress motivation, others guidance, and still others reward, but all of them are in some way adjusted to the fact that learning only takes place when a person is motivated by a drive to make a response in the presence of cues and gains a reward for so doing. It was further shown that punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting were used by Kwoma teachers to motivate their pupils; leading, instructing, and demonstrating to guide them; and giving, helping, and praising to reward them.

In accordance with the hypothesis of the basic psychological unity of mankind, learning principles should apply to the process of culture transmission in all societies. Furthermore, since every society is faced with the problem of training the members of the oncoming generation, certain teaching techniques should be present in all cultures, and, certain conditions of social life being present in all societies, some of the techniques observed at Kwoma should be found in other cultures as well. Divergent historical processes and differing environmental conditions, however, may have produced techniques which are unique to a particular culture or to a certain area, may account for the absence of certain techniques in one culture which are found in others, and may have resulted in variations in the use of, and the emphasis placed upon, these techniques from culture to culture. When the data with which to test the above hypotheses have been gathered, it will be possible to construct a general theory of the process of socialization.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE INCULCATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS

121 869 THE manner in which supernatural beliefs and practices are transmitted to the oncoming generation is one of the most puzzling problems which a student of socialization has to solve. When a teacher wishes to transmit customs which accord with natural and social laws, he has the support of the environment, which supplies both motivation and reward to validate his teaching efforts. When, however, the teacher's task is to transmit habits which do not accord with these laws, his task should be more difficult. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe and analyze the way in which supernatural beliefs are transmitted at Kwoma and to suggest some hypotheses concerning their transmission in other societies.

A number of factors are responsible for the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. Perhaps the most basic of these is the technique of warning described in the previous chapter. Generalization from real dangers, imitation, the operation of chance, and finally social punishments also play an important part in the process. These factors will be discussed and exemplified in the following pages.

An analysis of the cases in which supernatural beliefs and practices are transmitted at Kwoma indicates that teachers rely in large part upon the technique of warning to inculcate this aspect of the culture. This technique was defined, analyzed, and exemplified in the last chapter. It was shown that a warning consists of a specification of the danger and its source, and of instructions for escape from, or avoidance of, the danger. It was shown that Kwoma pupils learn to heed warnings because when they ignore them they experience pain both from the source specified in the warning and from the teacher who punishes them.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

Marsalai are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[a] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[a] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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had previously experienced for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9-30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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lowed him. Mey's behavior can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear caused both by my whistling and by the sight of Mar starting to run while he remained; the response was running after Mar; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Had not Mar run away first, Mey might have discovered some other means of reducing his fear, but by imitating Mar he learned to avoid ghosts in the same manner as his older *brother*. Kwoma pupils in a similar manner learn to avoid *marsalai*, to protect themselves from the dangers of sorcery, and to escape the dangers associated with blood. Thus imitation is an important mechanism for the transmission of supernatural beliefs and practices.

Chance as a factor in maintaining supernatural beliefs has long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists.[9] The data from Kwoma tend to support this theory. Storms occur so frequently that it would be extraordinary if one did not occasionally occur after a person has disturbed the dwelling place of a *marsalai*, and this would help to prevent the extinction of the habit of heeding. The following case illustrates this point. Yat had cleared a garden site near a large rock thought to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. When the time came to burn the dried brush and branches, a necessary step in the process of gardening, he expressed some anxiety lest this might anger the *marsalai* which lived in the rock, but nevertheless went ahead with his burning. That night there was a bad storm with a high wind, and Yat took this as proof of his belief that he had indeed angered the supernatural being. Wof, Gwiyap, and Mar all explained the storm in the same way. The next time that there was a bad storm, I said to Gwiyap: "Yat didn't disturb a *marsalai* today. How do you account for the storm?" Gwiyap replied: "Maybe Yat didn't, but someone else did. Probably it was one of those stupid people from Wanyi."

Chance also operates to support warnings about ghosts. Marok and Kar stayed visiting in a part of the tribe some distance from their home until after dark, thus not heeding

[9] See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1928), vol. II, chap. xxi.

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the warning about walking abroad during the night. On the way home they heard a strange noise, took it to be a ghost, stopped in their tracks, and yelled for help. War and others, who were gossiping in the house tamberan, heard their cries and shouted back instructions to make a dash for the house tamberan. They did this and thus escaped what they believed was imminent danger. The chance occurrence of a strange noise had operated on this occasion to strengthen the fear of walking abroad at night.

An episode which involved Wof illustrates how chance can strengthen sorcery beliefs. He came home one day to find that someone had tampered with his store of sago flour. Believing that someone had taken flour in order to sorcerize him, he asked his first wife if she knew who could have done it. She replied that she had seen his second wife in that part of the room and that it was undoubtedly she who had stolen the food in order to sorcerize him. When Wof accused the younger woman, she denied it. The next day Wof came to my house and asked me if I had any medicine against sorcery, for he felt sick. He said that his head and stomach ached and he knew that someone was trying to sorcerize him. Whether Wof's illness was an attack of malaria, psychological depression resulting from repressed anger at his wives, or some other psychic or physical disturbance, it strengthened his belief in the efficacy of sorcery. He probably guarded his food stores more carefully thereafter.[10]

Chance can operate to reinforce the habit of heeding a warning about blood. Children who let blood from their penises do grow up; after phlebotomy has been practiced pains eventually disappear; and women who menstruate and men who let blood from themselves remain healthy. The following case also illustrates how chance may operate to support the belief in blood contamination. Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma our regular shoot boy left and we appointed Mes to take his place. Previously he had helped around our house and had eaten whatever pigeon meat was

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[10] It was, indeed, not long after this that he scolded Ham for walking about his porch and accused him of being a thief of sorcery material.

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left over from our table. When he became shoot boy the question arose as to whether he could still eat this meat since he killed it himself. Gwiyap was of the opinion that since he killed the birds with a gun rather than with a spear or arrow his blood would not be transferred and it would be perfectly safe to eat the meat. Yat, his *paternal uncle*, disagreed with this opinion, and held that it would be dangerous. Gwiyap then argued that the former shoot boy had eaten birds that he had shot without getting sick. Yat countered that, although he did not get sick, he had missed many shots and that this was probably due to his having eaten his own kill. Mes decided to heed his *uncle's* warning and ate no more pigeon meat. It happened that Mes was a very good shot and missed extremely few birds. He explained his accuracy as proof of the wisdom of heeding his *uncle's* warning.

Certain forces operate against heeding unrealistic warnings in Kwoma society. One of the most important of these is the fatigue drive. This drive exerts a constant pressure on the pupil not to run away from ghosts, not to bother to avoid the dwelling place of *marsalai*, to be careless about his food leavings, and not to go to the trouble of gathering nettles to scrape his penis to renew his blood. In other words his fears of the supernatural must be strong enough to overcome his indolence. Furthermore, the avoidance of supernatural dangers is frequently incompatible with the satisfaction of some other drive. When Yat discovered that he had cleared his garden too near a *marsalai's* dwelling place, his fear of disturbing the *marsalai* was opposed by his need to raise vegetables in a convenient place in order to satisfy his hunger. Similarly, when a pupil scrapes his penis or practices phlebotomy to let out bad blood these acts are opposed by the pain which they cause; when he does not eat a pig he has killed or yams he has planted, these renunciations are opposed by his hunger for these foods. Likewise a pupil's avoidance of ghosts and fear of sorcery often force him to give up satisfactions which he might otherwise attain.

In contrast to realistic warnings, when a pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning, the pain, except by chance, does

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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121 pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning he will be injured
869 just as surely as, and perhaps even more severely than, if he
178 ignored a realistic warning. Why they wish to prevent the child from being injured is a complex problem, involving identification, loss of help and support, and sanctions against negligence. The important question is why, if parents make their children heed unrealistic warnings in order to prevent them from being injured, does this habit not extinguish when they observe a child experience no harmful consequences when he disregards a supernatural danger? The following case of the extinction of a supernatural belief indicates that this is a real as well as a logical possibility.

121 Mar and Gwiyap had both been warned not to eat sago
869 flour washed by a female lest it make them sick. Before they
178 started to work as our houseboys they had heeded this warn-
252 ing and each had worked with one of his *sisters* in the process
262 of extracting sago flour. They had washed the pith while the *sister* crushed it. When they began to work for us, however, we demanded their services in the mornings, when they would otherwise have gone to the swamp to replenish the household flour supply. Awa and Kwiya, the *sisters* who had hitherto worked with them, had no other available *brothers*, and therefore formed a team of their own. They took turns washing and crushing and, of course, produced flour washed by a female. Mar and Gwiyap were somewhat hesitant about trying this flour, but they were faced with the dilemma of either going without flour, which had been a staple in their diet since weaning, or ceasing to work for us, which would have meant losing frequent gifts of trade goods as well as some prestige. They chose to risk disregarding the warnings about the food and hoped that the flour would not be like other bad food they had eaten and which had made them sick. Their parents scolded them for this behavior and warned them again. Since no other painful consequences resulted from their first attempt, they decided to try it again, and, for the remaining six months of our stay, they and the rest of their household ate this supposedly harmful food. After the first few occasions their parents stopped scolding and warning them.

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Thus, not only can the supernatural fears of pupils extinguish, but so also can the fears of the teachers become reduced in the same way, so that they no longer maintain these beliefs by sanctioning them.

The fact that Kwoma children can learn not to heed, and Kwoma parents to stop issuing and sanctioning unrealistic warnings, raises a serious question. Why does this not occur more frequently? Why, in the course of time, have not all these supernatural beliefs disappeared as a result of this process? The answer to this is suggested by one of the basic postulates of the functional theory of anthropology. Parents continue to issue unrealistic warnings and to sanction them because they form an integral part of one or more systems of beliefs, customs, and organized activities which, as a whole, satisfy a social need.[14]

The belief in *marsalai* forms a large part of the charter[15] of the yam cult.[16] *Marsalai* are believed to be present whenever this cult holds a ceremonial meeting and to bless those who participate. In playing the instruments of the cult, the members are producing a representation of the voices of these beings. After a ceremony, no man who has attended may have intercourse with his wife, because the powerful and dangerous influence of the cult *marsalai* still clings to him, and might injure her. Thus, were the belief in these monsters to disappear, the Kwoma would be forced either to provide a new *raison d'être* for their cult ceremonies or to give them up altogether. It is not necessary here to present a detailed account of the functions of the cult, but a few of them may be mentioned to show how important this institution is in Kwoma society. The most direct function of the cult seems

[14] See B. Malinowski, "The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology," *Reale Academia D'Italia*, XVIII (1940), 22.

[15] Every institution consists in part of the traditional purposes and reasons for its existence which are believed by the members of the personnel. Malinowski has called this the charter. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 952-954.

[16] The personnel, norms, and material apparatus of this institution can be gathered from the descriptive chapters. The charter and functions are stressed here because of their importance in this context.

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796 182 • 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions [554] are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can become members of the highest stage. [562] The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings toward women. [786] It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

121 182 796 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger expressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of social control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the possessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing. In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed person, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus, exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to extinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
[202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at which accusations are made and denied and evidence is presented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who have no better theory of disease and no more effective methods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the supposed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

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 121 • 177 178 [123]

and providing a new means of earning it, had set the stage for the extinction of a supernatural belief.

In sum, a number of factors seem to be responsible for the inculcation and maintenance of supernatural beliefs and practices. Kwoma teachers, having repeatedly warned their pupils concerning real dangers, are enabled to use this technique to teach their pupils to avoid dangers which do not exist. To make these unrealistic warnings more forceful, they describe the supernatural dangers as being similar to the real dangers from which their pupils have experienced pain. Imitation also plays as important a rôle as in the transmission of the other aspects of the culture. Despite all these forces which lead a Kwoma pupil to respect supernatural dangers, the effort and deprivation frequently involved in carrying out magico-religious rituals tend to make him omit them. Since such omissions would soon lead to the extinction of these habits, the sanctions of society, as implemented by punishments from his teachers, provide the ultimate force which prevents the pupil from discovering that these dangers do not really exist and do not have to be avoided. Finally, the teachers themselves continue to inculcate these beliefs because they are integral parts of institutions which as a whole are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic and acquired drives of the constituent members of Kwoma society. 121 869

[p. 222 is blank]

Preface

128 This manuscript consists of the journal I kept while doing field work
114 on a tribe which eventually came to be known as the Kwoma. It covers the
121 period between September 1936 - May 1937. The late Professor Stephen Reed,
then a fellow graduate student, accompanied me up the Sepik River to Kwoma
territory where we worked together for 4½ months. At this time he left be-
cause his thesis problem required a comparison of the Kwoma with a more
128 acculturated New Guinea peoples, whereas I was interested in an intensive
study of socialization among the Kwoma. Most of the diary is my journal
with only slight editing to clarify shorthand and some of the pidgin English
expressions. Some of these, however, have been left in, and a glossary provided
as a key to understanding them. Some of the native terms are also left in the
text. They are, however, usually defined in context, but if not, they should
appear in the glossary of native terms. (Refer to pages 228-244.)

Although most of the journal is mine, in several instances Mr. Reed, or Tip, as he is referred to in the journal, took a turn. It will be noticed that their understanding of the social culture of the Kwoma is quite confused. At the beginning of the journal, we are at first under the impression that "Waskuk and Bangus" are either moieties of some tribe or neighboring tribes. It eventually dawned on us that they are divisions imposed upon the Kwoma by the British patrol officers. (Where they got the terms I was never able to find out, but they in fact had no reference to any structural reality of the Kwoma culture, except perhaps that Waskuk was translated with Bangus; and Waskuk, by the way, is the name which appears on Australian maps, and is also the name used by Margaret Mead who had previously visited the Kwoma). In addition to the journal, the case histories of two of my close friends and assistants have been appended.

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selves with the problem of the transmission of culture as a process, or had published their reports when this study was projected, it was determined to make a field study of the problem rather than a cross-cultural inquiry based upon the literature.

A preliminary field trip with Professor George P. Murdock to the Tenino Indians of Oregon demonstrated the feasibility of the project and provided valuable ethnographic experience. This work, however, indicated the desirability of choosing a tribe which was not "broken down" by contact with the whites. It proved difficult to study how Indians brought up their children when most of them were away at the government school learning the three R's.

On my return from this field trip, I found that Mr. Stephen W. Reed was also anxious to make a study of a primitive society. Together we picked New Guinea as an area which would best suit our requirements. The ethnographic literature concerning the island showed that the tribes were small and homogenous, government weakly developed, castes and classes lacking, and economic specialization slight. It seemed, therefore, that the criterion of simplicity would here be fulfilled. There was also a strange series of rites of passage, which, it appeared, would provide a contrast to our own culture. Finally, since New Guinea is one of the world's last frontiers—much of it, indeed, is still unexplored—we hoped to find a tribe which was little affected by contact with Europeans. Fortunately for us, Professor Richard Thurnwald was in New Haven at the time, and with his advice we were able to narrow our field to the Sepik River district of the Mandated Territory.

Since work with Professor Dollard indicated that the hypotheses developed by Freud were outstanding among the theories of socialization and since it seemed probable that the psychoanalytic method of interviewing might be useful in the field, I began a training analysis during the following winter. I worked under Mr. Earl Zinn for five months before leaving for the field.

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114 made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet
[133] to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was
[124] for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

• 122 The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty.
124 Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

128 On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

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•122

Coöperative work group constructing the house of the ethnographers. The roofing material is split limbom palm spathes. The construction is that used by the Kwoma in making bush houses, permanent dwellings having an enclosed room and sewn shingles. See Chapter VI, pages 129–130.

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however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination-- mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

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Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in.

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information.

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance.

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants 621
—Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin 613
English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the 124
exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the 123 •
Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to 829
indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the his- 648
tory of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being 175
white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first 829
conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rum- 829
bima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the 123
spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes 114
on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had fre-. quently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer. [625]

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829 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
• 123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[28] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried
[721] out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[28] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[20] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[20] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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CHAPTER II

INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [575] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn • [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

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857 868 241 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 [252] Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [462] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they are poorly constructed and rarely used. [223] A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. [224] Mes, an adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. [125] He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [411] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way.

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away.

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding.

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared.

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861 123 children in the hamlet, saw me doing this, stole some shells, and tried to do it himself. His older brother, Mes, saw him and told him that shells were dangerous and that he had better not fool with them. Kwos paid no heed. He tried to light the shell, but it did not go off and he looked to see what the trouble was. At that moment the powder exploded, seriously burning one side of his face and closing one eye. Mes scolded him severely: "I told you not to play with those shells. Why didn't you heed me?" His father also scolded him: "You will probably go blind, but it is your own fault. Why didn't you heed your brother? He told you not to play with the shells." No one in the hamlet expressed sympathy for Kwos's injury; everyone blamed him.

861 The number of punishments that a Kwoma receives from other persons increases markedly in childhood. He is frequently beaten and scolded by his parents and other persons of their generation. They order him to do household chores and scold him for being lax about them. They shout at son or daughter, nephew or niece, to stop yelling and rushing around the house when they are resting or trying to carry on a conversation. They scold the child for snooping into cult secrets, for not helping a *brother* who needs aid, or for damaging the household property. One afternoon Ham was wandering about under the porch of Wof, his *paternal uncle*. The latter, irritable because of an argument that he was having with his wife, roared at Ham to sit down. Ham dropped as though he were shot, and Wof began scolding him severely. He accused Ham of being a little thief and of trying to steal something. Ham began to cry and as soon as he dared got up and ran home. The incidents of Wof beating his daughter for not getting the firewood, and that of Kwiya scolding Mey for not passing the proper mixing sticks, have already been reported.

861 602 A child is kicked and beaten, scolded and teased, by his older siblings even more than by his parents. Older siblings imitate their parents, commanding, scolding, and punishing their younger *brothers* and *sisters*. Older *sisters* punish a boy if they see him with an erection, a girl if she sits immodestly.

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826 He is taught that growth depends upon the renewal of blood,
856 and that food produces blood, which promotes growth as long as it is fresh. When blood has been in the system for a time, however, it begins to grow stale and finally rotten, and then growth ceases until the bad blood is removed from the body. It is furthermore believed that the best method of removing this bad blood from the system is through the penis.[20] As might be expected, children with a strong wish to grow up and with a method which they are told will accomplish it, take this means even though it is painful. Boys frequently go into the bushes and scrape their penises with nettle leaves so that the blood may flow out. For some reason that I could not discover, perhaps because penis scraping was associated with masturbation, boys performed this act only in private and were ashamed if they were discovered. One day Gwiyap, seeing that Mey had left his net bag lying in my house, opened it and pulled out a bundle of nettles. When Mey came in, I asked him about the bundle. He became very embarrassed and said, "Oh, just something of mine." When Gwiyap began to tease him about it, he ran from the house.

It would perhaps be more appropriate to describe this complex in terms of the fear of not growing up rather than in terms of the wish to grow up. The following cases suggest that this is probably the way in which Kwoma boys think of it. Fit asked me if I had performed this rite when I was a child, and when I answered that I had not, his mouth dropped
• [123] in amazement. "How did you grow up, then?" he asked. Gwiyap, who was also present, settled the matter by explaining to Fit that white men are different from Kwoma. On another occasion Ham asked me the same question and was equally amazed at my answer. Apparently Fit had told him what I had said, and Ham had asked me to make sure that Fit was not teasing him.

[767] [20] This belief concerns health as well as growth, and, as has already been shown, phlebotomy is practiced in the case of sickness, in order to "let out the bad blood."

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CHAPTER V

ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumbima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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882 839 [123] intimate relationship with my other informants. This, together with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could determine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse suspicion. [795] The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161-162.

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] [838] [839] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 834 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *genema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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159 754 • [129] ing on his bark slab bed. He seemed unable to talk and could only groan inarticulately. We took his temperature and found that it was normal. When we asked him where the pain was, he shook his head, refusing to answer. Wof then diagnosed the sickness as the result of sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies, he dies, that's all." This elicited a groan from Mar. We told him that we had some very strong medicine which would counteract sorcery, at which he lifted his head and looked at us with a doglike expression and then took the Eno's salts which we gave him. We suggested that he go home, for the bush house was damp and lonely, but he groaned and shook his head at this suggestion, indicating that he could not make it. Wof then gathered some nettle leaves, formed them into a cone, into which he muttered a prayer, and then rubbed them over Mar's chest and belly. This made Mar gasp and come out of his lethargy enough to mumble that he believed Waramus was sorcerizing him for courting Aya. We finally raised him to his feet. Leaning heavily on us, he swayed and staggered but was able to walk. As the trip progressed, he seemed to become stronger and for the last part of the journey walked unaided, but when we arrived at his home he fell groaning on his bed, where he stayed for two days without speaking. Wof meanwhile approached Waramus, who denied that he had sorcerized Mar, but said that he still did not want him to court his daughter.

Mar did not leave his house for over a week, gradually recovering his voice and his strength. He believed that Waramus had sorcerized him but had stopped after being accused by Wof, and that this had saved his life. Waramus denied Wof's accusation, and as far as I was able to determine his denial was truthful. The case would have progressed in much the same way, however, whether he had done so or not. Thus it is evident that sorcery functions as an explanation for sickness and that accusations are made against persons who are feared, and finally that the actual performance of black magic is not pertinent.[11]

[787] [11] The fact that Mar had a nightmare in which his father's ghost attempted to take his soul suggests that his sickness may have been due to

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761 take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer
754 will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the
[648] next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was
[764] hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited
[123] voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[38] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

602 The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear
764 of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the
[765] corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[38] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't 609 156 578 123

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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609 578 166 123 you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined 685 by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are 692 made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable 683 settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing 684 sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seduc- 626 ing a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near Var's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[52] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[52] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

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relatives would be eager to help them in coöperative tasks, etc. He suggested to Mes that he take my shotgun along (he was acting as my shoot boy at the time) because with it he could be certain to kill someone and take his head. Mes asked me for the gun and was very disappointed when I refused. Mar, on the other hand, had seen several river natives hanged for participating in a head-hunting raid and had been so moved by the sight that he was afraid to go. He reacted to War's incitement by weeping and telling me that he guessed he could never be a man. Since traveling conditions prevented the raid from taking place, the correct response could not be made. A few days later a recruiter came to the tribe, and both Mar and Mes "signed on" for a three-year contract to work on a plantation.

Although the reaction of Mes and Mar indicates that War's incitement successfully induced motivation by evoking a complex of acquired drives and appetites based upon sex, hunger, fatigue, and prestige, his teaching was blocked because the correct response could not be made. Since both Mar and Mes said that they were going to work for the whites in order to gain prestige, so as to win an attractive wife, and in order to earn money to buy many wives, "signing on" may have been, in part at least, a substitute for going on the raid.[31]

Kwoma teachers do not always have to motivate their pupils in order to inculcate right responses, for this is frequently done for them either by others or by the natural environment. In such cases their task is to guide the pupil so that he makes the right response and to provide the proper cues.[32] Furthermore, even when the teacher himself motivates the pupil, the problem of guiding him still remains, and Kwoma teachers seldom simply motivate a pupil and

[31] Although it happens that the aim of the teacher was accomplished in neither of the above cases, this does not imply that the technique of inciting is not an effective means of teaching.

[32] Since responses and cues are so closely attached to one another in a habit, it has been deemed expedient to treat these two aspects of learning under a single heading, even though teachers may at times stress the cues and at times the responses.

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Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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had previously experienced for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9–30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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lowed him. Mey's behavior can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear caused both by my whistling and by the sight of Mar starting to run while he remained; the response was running after Mar; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Had not Mar run away first, Mey might have discovered some other means of reducing his fear, but by imitating Mar he learned to avoid ghosts in the same manner as his older *brother*. Kwoma pupils in a similar manner learn to avoid *marsalai*, to protect themselves from the dangers of sorcery, and to escape the dangers associated with blood. Thus imitation is an important mechanism for the transmission of supernatural beliefs and practices.

Chance as a factor in maintaining supernatural beliefs has long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists.[9] The data from Kwoma tend to support this theory. Storms occur so frequently that it would be extraordinary if one did not occasionally occur after a person has disturbed the dwelling place of a *marsalai*, and this would help to prevent the extinction of the habit of heeding. The following case illustrates this point. Yat had cleared a garden site near a large rock thought to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. When the time came to burn the dried brush and branches, a necessary step in the process of gardening, he expressed some anxiety lest this might anger the *marsalai* which lived in the rock, but nevertheless went ahead with his burning. That night there was a bad storm with a high wind, and Yat took this as proof of his belief that he had indeed angered the supernatural being. Wof, Gwiyap, and Mar all explained the storm in the same way. The next time that there was a bad storm, I said to Gwiyap: "Yat didn't disturb a *marsalai* today. How do you account for the storm?" Gwiyap replied: "Maybe Yat didn't, but someone else did. Probably it was one of those stupid people from Wanyi."

Chance also operates to support warnings about ghosts. Marok and Kar stayed visiting in a part of the tribe some distance from their home until after dark, thus not heeding

[9] See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1928), vol. II, chap. xxi.

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

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and providing a new means of earning it, had set the stage for the extinction of a supernatural belief. [123].

In sum, a number of factors seem to be responsible for the inculcation and maintenance of supernatural beliefs and practices. Kwoma teachers, having repeatedly warned their pupils concerning real dangers, are enabled to use this technique to teach their pupils to avoid dangers which do not exist. To make these unrealistic warnings more forceful, they describe the supernatural dangers as being similar to the real dangers from which their pupils have experienced pain. Imitation also plays as important a rôle as in the transmission of the other aspects of the culture. Despite all these forces which lead a Kwoma pupil to respect supernatural dangers, the effort and deprivation frequently involved in carrying out magico-religious rituals tend to make him omit them. Since such omissions would soon lead to the extinction of these habits, the sanctions of society, as implemented by punishments from his teachers, provide the ultimate force which prevents the pupil from discovering that these dangers do not really exist and do not have to be avoided. Finally, the teachers themselves continue to inculcate these beliefs because they are integral parts of institutions which as a whole are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic and acquired drives of the constituent members of Kwoma society. 121 869

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Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk* with a finish/as their spokesman, declared timer
that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably
testing us out to see whether we were "missis" or not, for yesterday con-
struction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were
nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed
an outhouse for us.

342 Hamb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours
with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but
instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back
about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the
south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like
a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of strips bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Hamb is now making a bed. The
uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through
the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these
posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over
this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles
to the slats. Hamb is very proud of his house and considers it quite
superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisop's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[483] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five
of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical
device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their
reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also
they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

123 When the construction of Wisep's and Hamb's houses was finished, the workers lined up for pay. This paying them has been rather annoying to us, and I don't think we have handled it too well. When our house was finished, we told all the workers to come around and we would pay them for it. Many of them lined up, and wishing to please them and to start in their good graces, we were quite generous. We gave them ten axes and ten large knives and various other nick-nacks, such as small cheap paring knives for the children, a few pipes, two or three harmonicas, a few jew's harps, some stick tobacco and some rouge. There was some confusion and wrangling as to how it should be divided, but finally everything was settled. Then we discovered that about ten of the construction gang had been in the bush washing sago when the distribution took place. They kept coming in during the next few days and voicing their complaints. We don't know their faces well enough yet to know whether they are trying to get paid double or not. Also, we didn't know what they deserved--that is, how much work they had actually done on the house. While the whole affair irritated us no small amount, we decided we could not risk being partial, so we gave them several more large knives and axes. That was not the end of the episode, however. When the boys' houses were completed, the workers wanted more pay. We decided that the pay in this second case would be either a paring knife or a lapiap. After we had dealt out this second payment, a half dozen more people stepped up and claimed that they had not been paid for making our house. They had also been many washing sago. We knew this to be true in a couple of cases, so we dealt out some more big knives. I doubt if there was any fraud involved; the irritant was the prolongation of the thing, and the feeling of unsureness on our parts of how to deal with it. Our house boys thought we were overgenerous.

123 There was an interesting occurrence when we were giving out the laplaps. We had just cut the last one that was wanted when up stepped Kumb, a youth of about seven who always went around naked as the others of his age. I couldn't help laughing at this and said, "Oh, come now Kumb, you don't want a laplap". The Washuk joined in the kidding and laughter, and as a result the poor boy was quite put out and began to look very hurt and tears came to his eyes. Whether or not the others would have kidded him without my starting it or not, I don't know. Anyhow, I felt sorry for him and gave him a small piece of cloth.

After the payment was all settled and everyone seemed to be satisfied; I walked down the hill to the stream to bathe. On the way, several of the Washuk "finished timers" spoke to me in a hushed voice as if they were telling me a secret of great importance. They said there was to be a "singsing" the day after tomorrow at Bongus and that we could watch it. I thanked them and am looking forward to the event.

October 13, 1936.

114 Yesterday passed rather uneventfully except that I tried to make a deck chair with a piece of canvas and some saplings bound together. I didn't have enough canvas to finish it, and the part that I did finish was rather rickety. Kumb said it was no good and to throw it away, and I guess he was right. At lunch, I was determined to try the gypsy stove which we had brought with us. Kumb had refused to use it, considering his open fire much better. I transferred some embers from the fire to the stove and tried to kindle them in the stove. Some of the Washuks were 372 watching and took over after my unsuccessful attempts. To make a fire they put a live ember under a little pile of dry chips, and after blowing on it, very shortly have a flame going. For firewood they use a very dry

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Kamb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Kamb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Kar and Kamb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost [123]

346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Bunari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an altar formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It
346 gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
532 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
● 123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the altar. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 and four inches in diameter. They were not ornamented. The usual method
534 of beating the gong was to stand at right angles to it, the right side of the body next to the gong, a beater held in either hand. The gong was pounded near, but on either side of the slit, the beater striking endwise. This method was, however, by no means universal, for sometimes the drummer would stand facing the gong, or sit on it and idly tap with the side of the beater. The most usual and accepted method was the former; the latter the most informal. There were also several intermediate methods.

796 The rhythm consisted of accented beats and unaccented beats in alter-
533 nation. At each gong one of the drummers would pound out the accented, another the unaccented beats. Further, each gong would produce the rhythm of one accented and three unaccented beats. These beats were alternated among the gongs so that the accented beat of one gong would fall on the middle unaccented beat of another gong. Thus -/---/---/--- and ---/---/---/ would result in -/-/-/-/, (total effect). The rhythm of the gongs was more or less followed by the singers and dancers. This rhythm was not the only one employed, and Tip says that even it is not right. That is something we will have to check up on.

796 We stayed there and observed until just before noon. The dancing
123 and singing had been continuous until this time and then the dancers stopped for something to eat. We all went out into the small clearing in front of the house tamberan. In front of us was a line of coconut trees and beyond that a short drop, and then the sago swamp. On our left was a path coming down the mountain, and on the right, jungle growth. In the left
349 hand corner of the clearing and on the further side from where we stood another construction had been built. It was a representation of a ship with a mast, laddered rattlins, and crabclaw sails represented by two

349 [179] coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 262 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 123 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.

[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the [346] [198] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the front court could not see the sacred altar.

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has [197] [191] [291] [177] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.

126 194 We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising. We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɛ, o, u and ɨ. Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š, y, j, l and r. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcv. 126 193 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ha is the imperative particle, sapa expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123 526 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 132 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, pasticularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 764 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 [114] During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 346 778 [123] When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted trumcated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
708 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves. The mask near the front was called asambwarí, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called shimakwa and belonged to Bangua (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawimayí. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½" screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulumi" of Bangua,/ (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wi with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulual and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

● 123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiop" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
123 the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[122] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
859 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done [439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [263] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the [317] mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangus and Waskuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
582 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [191] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus luluai (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his genealogy were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly "savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its [754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up, [123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping ahold of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the [754] "kiop" and have him put in the calabouse. They said the dead man had been poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying [417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably [602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bangus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754
[796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "mouki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk
[123] gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

000
482 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders. We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering. Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves, but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriesi, and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred — not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the [124] [123] [196] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilawas

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
136 is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at this time from the river villages, Yamboon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwem where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon. For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwem youths who fetches water and firewood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish". The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire list-
[753] less and moaning. They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder
755

123 755 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a microphone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed from behind; thus we started back. His dependence on our assistance decreased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off gamba.

754 753 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waramus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waramus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbinam. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 [123] Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness. Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mama, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] [657] here in a few days on his patrol.

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term nareuboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the mouth long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[764] yet know. Later on when one's nareuboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Kongwam. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiop". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwem "bavi-talk" . His came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabenkura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to protect themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Aubunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called sambe and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwem. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's sambe. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwem sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwem in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wanyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangus man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Kar, of Kumbina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangviya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangviya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwe (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [533] [534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

794 The word sugilawas which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named yenengara, minjema, and nokwisugwi which are sugilawas "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in yenengara his first son will be minjema, his second yenengara, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. Nokwisugwi seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for maris, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
● 123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They
were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the
grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden
cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece
is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of
Rumbima sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves
in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling
that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up
the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint
and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less
and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the
anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task.
So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for
Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps
a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing
which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukau. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My "monki", Gwiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

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Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Hamb thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "mus go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dozen times since buying it from Max Hamm when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached Sombundura, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that the pig had come for its morning meal. They showed us what they were [435] paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dozen two foot ropes of ½ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks . In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Hamb and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the woman still stood close by and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

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23 broadside shot at not more than thirty feet. I drew a quick aim and fired - the pig, just ahead of Namb, instead of dropping in its tracks, went bounding off into the bush. This was very bad, for not only would the sale fall through but the pig might go off and die in the bush. So a chase started then that was to last until after noon. John had come up with his .22 with a crowd of men as soon as they had heard us fire. We all began to scour the bush nearby and to get scoured ourselves by creepers, branches and nettles. The men and boys suddenly all had spears and the hunt was on. We who had guns were called all over the district by people who had just seen the pig. John saw it once and had two shots at it, but the .22 didn't kill it.

When we gathered together again at Marok's house, speculation was rife as to what had happened. Namb swore that we both had hit it and that he had seen the holes the bullets had made. Inasmuch as I found the one bullet I was able to fire in the ground under the spot where the pig had stood, I am almost sure that I didn't hit it. Namb's story was believed by [M18] most everyone. Then it appeared that the pig was sugiliwas, and some supernatural agency had come down into it and given it power to run away. Marok seemed very proud of what the pig had done and told us that the pig was his people's (Wanyi) totem . Some said that it was maara, his sugiliwas, that was in the beast and wouldn't let it go until night because it didn't want Marok to sell his pig. We were quite willing to accept any such explanation for the sake of our reputations as marksmen.

The wear and tear on our clothes and bodies during the morning was terrific. John turned his nose into a yam stick in a headlong fall down a muddy slope, and I got a stitch in my side which made my eyes pop from answering false alarms at the house on top of the mountain. A hairless goat might feel at home in these surroundings, but as yet we can't even bleat.

657 123 177

December 13, 1969.[1] While sitting talking with Max, one of the children came in saying the child Suw was very sick. We went down to see him. His mother was sitting just outside the building, and the other girls were in the house. Wer, who was sitting on the hill beside the house, greeted us. Kis and Kar were standing around. Kwonai was there. We took Suw's temperature; it was normal. Then we stood looking at him and discussing the case. Max said, "He certainly looks sick." Our faces were rather long. All of a sudden we heard a sobbing and looked up to see Wer, his head on his knees, and his body shaking with sobs. Suw's mother began to cry a little too. We went and got some medicine, a mixture of dover powders, asperin, and marmite in warm water, then came back and gave it to Suw. He vomited it up immediately and with it some undigested boyna leaves. After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

[1] [i.e., 1936 - analyst]

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
177 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waremus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived, there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leatherneck (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leatherneck took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leatherneck gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwam would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, Nay, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuri; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's nareuboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

114 [123] down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Mow came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Vorey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to bathe, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomorrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver,.44, a shot gun and the.22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

231 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite
123 a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the
114 pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>auxilives</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Hamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

254 Later Yat came up and said that Suw was all right. Someone had
648 admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat
464 and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall came he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yet and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 13, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yet, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see us and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerized along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kum up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Rael, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mes talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals; his elder brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

578 of the house holding a large club, talking in a loud voice as was almost
593 everyone else of a group of about a dozen or so which had gathered. Dew's wife was near the center of the group with a digging stick in her hand. She is a strapping, good-looking young woman, and her eyes were shining with anger. Wof, Way, and Waremus, aside from the principals and the women, were doing most of the talking. Kwal went and sat inside the porch after a while; Dew, still trembling, dropped his weapon after a bit and told his wife to go back to her house. The houses are only about 20 feet apart and facing each other. It was rather difficult to find out what the trouble was, but as near as I could make out, Dew had been away all day and had come back to find his betel nut stolen from the tree near his house. This was the culmination of several thefts, and he suspected his brother, and accused him. His wife was evidently the leader in the accusation, for Kwal grabbed a spear and began belaboring her with the handle of it. At this Dew grabbed up a 1 x 5" slab of "limbon" about 4 feet long and cracked Kwal over the scull, breaking the skin and raising a nasty lump. What happened next I don't know, except as I was coming down the hill, I heard someone howling. The difference seemed to be settled, for everyone began to talk of other things. The two sulked while I stayed there about a half hour but joined a little in the conversation. After I had gone, I heard some more rather loud voices, but nothing happened. Mas, who came
[123] up afterward, said it had been settled. Kwal visited in the evening, and I put iodine on his cut. Gwiyap did not go down. Mas arrived before Mar and I. The people of Tug were also there. The doctor and Wenyamonj and a couple of others sat aside by themselves. Whether the accusation was just or not, I could not tell. I asked if it were usual for brothers to fight, and he replied that it was the custom of the tribe. The words

578 593 lage kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 January 17, 1987. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [775] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gembas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's naremboi came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

000 was well.

529 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wenyebankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
504 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yet and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told [829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar, Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 123 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
439 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinan" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite a lot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwam were
024 friendly; Urambanji and Saserman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwam always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
023 me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I know they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wiespeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 521 648 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned. Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

[123] [121]

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwans would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that, looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

578 754 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of 'making poison' against Wor and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for 'poison.' Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 464 January 23, 1937. Ames came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Nemb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Ames explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urembanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 114 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 202 [534] January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a 'lapun meri' was dying and they were calling her relatives

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and Mar this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they were that they had.

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement compared to the Nokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Ndunkwi of Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

[171] [301] [302]

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Mey who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was beleboring Fit with it. Later Mey came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Mey while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Mey had scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Gwiyap and I were talking about it and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

[522]

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

[123]

838 finger at him. Later I asked Mey if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Marksm (tribe from which Wisep [329] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwom understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Owiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. Mey just came in with 602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). Mey had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told Mey to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This Mey plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not 593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the 595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and Mey said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (Mey had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (Mey told me later that he, Kum,

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on [513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by [252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, [524] and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and Kwos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilewas (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at Hay and at Owiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent Hay for the chop sticks to make the sago.

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice Mey took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. Mey did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaye looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinawa approaching. She came up slowly with a large net bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. Mey came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaye if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinawa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. Mey said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked May if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife.
595 He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and
754 after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to May, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Hamb, went up and greeted Hamb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump May, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I
[854] stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was
[231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kaysndi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

648 464 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 574 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection. [334] [372] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] [361] [252] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Hem came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and May went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for us--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimuwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

439 628 532 534 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a 'tunket' with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Hes and Gwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Ndoway house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 439 114 302 123 457 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird. February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted [435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 [411] [412] The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in; about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the [437] [435] Tangwishamps asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Hamb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Gwiyap and May who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Yas in maus shit nuting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put 787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Gwiyaps sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Gwiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. May, Mar, Gwiyap, Mae, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Hamb appeared and

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Nomb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar , Chinuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got none ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Owiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Enriya, Chinuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chinuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and Mey, and when I was there, my house was mentioned. [123]

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan blessing Yet's gong.
323 Mar was working hombank and cutting grass by the house tamberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yet visited in the afternoon.

323 531 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this afternoon and did card tricks for Eriya and Awa. Their reaction was to 123 201 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and forefinger and bite the lower lip. Chimuwa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Eriyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 578 February 28, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill 578 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

578 been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed
[123] up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not
feel like working.

527 Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what
262 they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to
[754] discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and
[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
[252] they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they
had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and
[415] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold
[252] it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When
the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and
boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with
[123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the
soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he
[123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I
helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me
to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach
was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed
that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngeyemas (a big man of Afokalies)
got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been
poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowinambi's (kinship term) and I will fight
anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground
[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before
the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a
spear.

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Wey, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Awiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing
[648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwo had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awe giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Owiyap. Awe and Kwiya were there. Owiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Owiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Owiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), War, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Weyakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

574
476 April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and
[501] fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about
[252] 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago.
Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and Mar had his family make soup. This
was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciou-
[156] ness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I
[262] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The
first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable
amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked
around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second
course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gourie pigeon
[123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a
[262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly
Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was
like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it
[137] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the
[262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma
culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked.
[521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed,
[276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was
[522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives
and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Harok, Mar and May. A
standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about
"her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Kwiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to
the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women
pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the woman or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

533 Nomb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. Hay and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to Hay and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wanya similar to the poison beatings. 685 [533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawa, Amba, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a watokolai about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

● 123 685 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then Hay repeated the evidence against him. He [648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gamba).

Hay just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, im i no monki belong yu im i big felo man. im i no bilong nuther felo bannis, belong Rumbiman dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child,

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Gwiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "calaboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. Way said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Telangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [578] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house temberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 426 April 13, 1937. Afok and Pokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mas is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mas killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mas realised that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Owiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me-- while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Daw, Yetaminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbima calling with a new gong--do you hear me"; and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
754 cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[543] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Hamb and Hamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house temberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mas, Owiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mas in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Owiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mas and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house temberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwa called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwa's imagination. I told Owiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwia, Kwalump, Ambe, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kronai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Marok's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olataim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind wearing the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

124 against War if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gviyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came

[583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gviyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight

[752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was

123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gviyap

431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca

437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The

276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are

[262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (herape ne mayaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbina were there. The 123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Nas. War was the ring leader. Nas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Umambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Nas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mweni at Sow's.

584 754 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Kalu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true"-- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to tell her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Nas would get Gwuts in exchange. Yatamanj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Nas, Dawa and Afa would get Uka's.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to
come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first
with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he
said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of
his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Daw put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt.
I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose."
When May came back he greated me, saying, "sim" (hello). I did not return
the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and
he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He
said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and
sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Kwos
and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but
showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three
o'clock and called to Kwos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to
send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing
sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there.
I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap
said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they
did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes
and sat down at Mar's. Enlya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others
had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
● 123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they
were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so
I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels.
Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were
eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did
not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause
sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently
anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally
Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis
was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok
will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Umwiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's
elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters
had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up
this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimwa took it, saying it was better so.
Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with
Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatsminj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyep just came in without his "lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopement be postponed. Marsk was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. May came

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kros came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Gwiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Gwiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Gwiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "monki nothing".

593 Since Mguseruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Kumbina because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerized. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted kwyemb na me yeto (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Yenakwot from Kawi Tuk (Yessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mar came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

OOO Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white men and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar want to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "geyaman along ui ol saiw" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Yenshwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Hongwom. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyous who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their ruyn and Afokalis said yes he is ruyn to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but it would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aye. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Owiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aye a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely sawuto meani (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister.
"Big fela more" --they had carried Hay's pig and Masuk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup
to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my leka (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

[754]

241 Kwiye has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Koriasi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aye. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aye; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Koriasi whom he "marked" a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Yewa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik im brok im". If she goes to break sago, she bats a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aye, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had nemoed (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, so he had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 524 Kum was playing this afternoon with May and began tapping him on the leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. May slapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. May paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 819 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyakay; Gwiyap was older than May. May says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as May when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

Revision

Gwiyap just went down and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuakai was older than he, that she was the same age as May who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas May has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because May was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: May was 5, Gwiyap and Kamakan were 4--Mar and Fit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mes is the same age as Mar.

000 May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Fwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was
685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wof's
587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the
684 white men and died there --Awa, also of Sumwo Sumwo married his widow through
578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife
582 of Hayamatamp, Wajumbei, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister-younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wof's house late at night and set fire to it. Wof did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tongwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife had died.

578 Gwiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

● 123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marek and Koopyup came asking for theirs.

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombumdura. Fokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafe; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Gwanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Gwanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa-"nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Gwanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chinawa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.

754 Hay and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tongwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and so were suspected.

Heal and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Heal and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (sugilawas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwem, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mar and Hes had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Hes' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overall.

123 685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left Hay in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Qwiyap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. Hay first accused Kis, but War exonerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Sombundura and had come back after I had returned.

October 25, 1936.

*115 Mar is becoming tired of our continued questioning lately and will sometimes pretend not to hear us when we call him to verify the pronunciation of some word. He is apt to walk out of the room the minute we pause in our questioning. Yesterday we spent half an hour trying to get the Kwoma word for nose, but could not make him understand what we wanted although we tried innumerable methods of trying to obtain the information.

October 29, 1936.

[584] This afternoon Mar went up the hill for a while. When he returned he was quite excited and said he had been looking at a woman whom he might later have for a wife. He was dancing around with a broad grin on his face.

November 15, 1936.

[123] Lately Mar has taken to calling me papa. This happened after we arranged a kinship relation with Gwiyap, Hay and ourselves, but Mar has done this without suggestion from us.

Yesterday there was talk of a fight with Tongwishamp. Most of the Kwoma men were gathered to talk things over, but Mar did not go. We asked him why not and he was quite positive about not wanting to fight.

[114] The other evening Yat was in, and we talked of going to Yesan, a river tribe above Yambon. Gwiyap said he would take us there. We asked Mar if he would like to come, but he said no. When we went to Ambunti, Hay and Gwiyap wanted to go with us, but Mar again said he would stay and take care of our house. Neither did he want to go to Wogu (a tribe across the river we were planning to visit) with us.

November 17, 1936.

115 [584] [123] Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly respected member of the sib, a man of about 50, and noted for sorcery. Aya [582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor, so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

November 21, 1936.

115 578 582 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed. He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

November 29, 1936.

*115 [584] [123] A week or so ago Owiyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 123 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiancee and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where [754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, Mar sent Fit for nettle leaves. These he got and Mar arranged them in a sort of cone, held them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or amortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. Mar then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

*115 123 755

*115 123 [765] After the treatment he sat down again and resumed his moaning. Later Mar sent Fit into the bush for more and larger nettles. When Fit returned with them, Mar noticed him and put his hands up to us to be lifted up. After another rub down, Tip and I put his arms over our shoulders, one standing on either side of him, and started off. As the journey progressed we found he had to be supported less and less. We went slowly, stopping quite frequently to rest. The trip took two hours, and we were exhausted at the end. When we reached home, Mar slumped down on his sago bark bed and resumed his former state. We left him and went to visit again in the evening after Owiyap had come up saying he had had a relapse and wanted us to see him. When we arrived he was in about the same state as when we had first seen him at the bush house. We gave him three cascara pills and left. December 6,1936.

Yesterday Mar was better, but not much. He was lying on his bed and moaning. He had not had a bowel movement; his temperature was still normal. We gave him a dose of 4 teaspoons of epsom and rubbed his face, chest and back with ambrosia, to which he reacted in much the same manner as to the nettles. In the afternoon he was somewhat better. Owiyap reported that his bowels had moved and that he had eaten.

*115 787 This morning Owiyap came in and told us that Mar died during the night but then came alive again. The story he told was that during the night Mar had been visited by the ghost of his older brother who had told him to come to the land of the dead. Mar at this point called out to his mother, "Mother, come! My brother is here and I am going to die." His mother has a large ulcer on her foot and could not come down from the next house where

#115 she sleeps, but began to wail. Nof awoke at this and came with a torch
[787] to awaken us. He shouted at us near our house but we slept through it all. When I went to see Mar in the afternoon he was sitting up and seemed quite cheerful. He still talked very little and used no pidgin. While I was there he crawled out of the house and urinated. This he did on his hand and feet, belly up. I asked him why he did not stand and Owiyap quickly answered that he had a bad knee.

December 7, 1936.

The report today is that Mar is much better. Mar came around, and from him we learned that Mar's older brother was a "big man" before he died. At a ceremony his position was as high as that of Mar.

December 9, 1936.

#115 Yesterday Owiyap came to get me to treat Mar's leg. I went down to
● 123 find Mar asleep and had some trouble in waking him. He had a nasty surface
752 sore on his ankle. I swabbed it out with a solution of percuric potassium iodide and put a bandage with unguentine on it. He howled a good deal during the process but said nothing. Afterwards I fixed a little sore of Owiyap's and although he stood it much better, he squirmed a bit, and Mar laughed at this a little. I stayed for a while and he became more cheerful still saying practically nothing however.

#115 Today during the Mundik[1] episode Mar came hobbling up the hill leaning heavily on a walking stick to see what was going on. He went back after about

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1. Mundik was a young man who killed his wife and, seeking refuge at Wuakuk, was beaten by them and nearly killed for attending a ceremony without having the proper credentials (i.e., kaloids of manhood). They consider him to be insane.

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Gwiyap, Yat, Ham and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbims.

[123] [657]

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had His act as go-between.

[123] The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Gwiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

[436] [583] [123]

[123]

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] [464] [583] [476] [614] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Gwiyap, Hamb, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.
January 26, 1937.

[123] [154] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mes who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Namb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Yamboon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Namb would shoot a'gouris' for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Namb [461] would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [241] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by Gwiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Gwiyap and Mey said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 5, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Gwiyap, Awa, and Ewiya there to finish [787] it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [123] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

*115 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
787 of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
602 He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left them to get
753 it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dewangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and
[754] Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
156 on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said,
[648] "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mowimbwi, Gwanta
584 and Pambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
[123] Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again War if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it
582 was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 157 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent [191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned *115 593 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second 736 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young-- his mother killed in an incident with the Tengwishamps. He was carried *115 553 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His name was given him by the Halus with whom he stayed after the raid. His mother had named him Woyshokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 726 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwan hid in the house except for a few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his 'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then, when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 123 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

*115 put his arm around me repeating, "Oh, master! Greetings!" several times.
● 123 Mar's two sisters and three female children were around, and it may have
[526] been partly to show off to them. Such action fits in with Kwoma culture,
[522] in which embracing is the form of greeting. I asked Gwiyap if one of the little girls were his nine (girl), intending to kid him, but he said, "No," and carefully explained her relationship to him. He was perfectly serious in this. I tried the same thing with May, with the same result; so apparently such kidding is not done in this culture. On the way back, Gwiyap carried the rifle and led the procession although Wof, Mar and Marok, all older than he, were present.

October 21, 1936.

*115 He came in this morning, and we asked him for some words, which he
648 gave us. Then, unbidden, he told us a story of a hanging he had seen several years before (three, according to Haub). Some of the natives of Madeyakwa, a village in the bush behind Avatip, had wounded a police boy in the leg with a spear. The "kiap" had punished them by hanging seven of them and had brought in natives from the surrounding villages to observe this so that it would be an example to them. This is the second time he had volunteered stories of the killing of natives by white men. This time, as before, he told the story animatedly, as if he were telling a very interesting and exciting bit of news.

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Gwiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and May bothhbegan helping around the house, and since Haub is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Gwiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a nambe (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to draw a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Gwiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Gwiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Gwiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Gwiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Gwiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

#115 787 all and he said "yes." He got a bit irritated at me after I had asked him several time but finally he told me of a dream which he had had several nights before and which he had already told to Tip. In this dream he had seen his father with a great many yams, coconuts, bananas, etc. His father was carrying them back to the cemetery to eat. He also had a large cup in which to cook the food. Owiyap was looking on, and the smell of death was very strong, "all the same big fella pek pek" (like a big pile of feces). His father began eating his food and with it the bones of dead men. Then Owiyap remembered another fragment which was about large dogs with hands and feet. They were climbing up coconut trees and throwing down the fruit. Then he saw a lot of dead men--people he did not know, who had died long ago. They were big men just like "you two fella masta", and were going in a sort of procession up to their dwelling place on the top of a mountain. I asked him if there were any women in the dream, but he said no. The people live in a great tree with a hole in the bottom of it.
November 10, 1936.

[123] Last night Owiyap had a dream in which he and Tip and I were walking over to Sasarman. (Tip had actually walked over that way yesterday afternoon). When we arrived, Owiyap warned us that the Sombindura were coming for us with spears to kill us. Tip, however, had his .22. That was all he could remember. At it occurred yesterday, he became irritated when I asked him if there were any more.
November 14, 1936.

#115 123 The day before yesterday, I was fooling around in front of the house with some of the kids. I was pretending to fight with Owiyap. Once when my back was turned, he hit me with the flat of his hand. I turned around quickly and started to chase him--laughing and shouting the while. We scrambled down the mountainside, onto a path which led down the mountain

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
• 123 the mud for footing. Gwiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Gwiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Gwiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Gwiyap must have know his intentions. When Gwiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrised at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, but that he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Hongwum).

November 29, 1936.

*115 883 584 About a week ago Gwiyap and Tip were down at the market place watching the women trading. A girl came up to Gwiyap and talked with him. He then told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a mat bag.

*115 836 • 123 Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had intercourse. He was noncommital, "Me no savvy"; I mentioned that I had, and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
• 123 Neither Gwiyap nor May likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
715 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a "monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

* 115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwem again to sign on boys. Gwiyap
648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.

December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinuwa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.

According to Gwiyap /Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinuwa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbim who can be possessed by spirits.

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
● 123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

578 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap.
*115 Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap's yuka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking our for Uka.

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 * 123 657 The sore on Gwiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Gwiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Feilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a g, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 • 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Owiyap inherited Yatafauf as a naremboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naremboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kawas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for Mey's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunge kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 3, 1937.

838 191 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

*115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Eriya or Awe, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both nwa (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her nawa or nevelaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

*115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

*115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

*115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 787 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down to the water and threw her away. Then Gwiyap, Way, and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Gwiyap's mother's name was Kowabwas, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (gamba yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Nerik, their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a mereslai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water', where they saw a canoe which Gwiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Gwiyap said, "Never mind", and took Gwanta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to Malu. The Malus asked what they were doing their and were told they were hiding from the "kiop" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Gwanta and Gwiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the others behind. They stayed there and Gwanta killed a gouria pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Gwiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

[123]

*115 648 123 829 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in.

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information.

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance.

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

114 made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet
[133] to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was
[124] for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

122 The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty.
124 Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

128 On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] [156] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- • [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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him. As a result, none of my Kwoma friends would speak to me or bid me good-by.

In so far as we were included in the social structure of the Kwoma, we were known as *masta bilong Rumbima*. This meant that we belonged to the Rumbima hamlet of Hongwam subtribe, a natural consequence of the position of our house and the frequency of our contacts with Rumbima people. We were also placed in the kinship structure, being assigned to the Hayamakwo sib, Mangwiyow lineage, and Asanamp family line as younger brothers of Wof. Logically this should have made us *older brothers* to everyone else of the parent generation in the hamlet, but actually we were called *younger brother* by most of them. Those of the first descending generation called us *elder* or *younger uncle*, except Mey, Gwiyap, and Mar who frequently called us *father*. The fact that we were not married, but were apparently older than any unmarried Kwoma should be, made our position in the maturation hierarchy somewhat anomalous. We were sometimes classed as adults and sometimes as adolescents. The latter tendency was accentuated by the fact that we did not know the culture but were learning it.

With this short account of the environment and of the various groups into which the Kwoma divide themselves, with this indication of our chief informants and brief description of our position in Kwoma society, the task of describing the habits which a Kwoma learns as he passes from stage to stage along his life cycle may now be undertaken. The framework presented in this chapter has but limited meaning for the infant, more for the child, and gains full significance only when adulthood is reached. The following chapters are an attempt to present the culture as it unfolds to the maturing individual at Kwoma.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [154] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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he had had sexual experiences, but feared punishment or disapproval if he confessed, so I told him that boys of his age in America had intercourse and cited several examples. He was much interested, and asked if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him that the boys kept it a secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that Americans had a means of preventing pregnancy. He expressed his amazement at this, and the subject was dropped. The next night, however, when we were discussing other matters, he brought up the subject again and mentioned six girls, three of them his *sisters*, with whom he claimed to have had sexual relations. One of them was Awa, Mar's sister. He recounted his experiences with great gusto, but warned me not to tell Mar about them, especially about his affair with Awa.

About two months later Gwiyap appeared with his hair combed and a new laplap around his waist and told me that he had a date that afternoon with Famba, a girl of his own generation and lineage, whom he addressed as *sister*. After playing ball for a while with some of the other boys, he departed. That evening I asked him how he had fared. He answered that his "shitnothing" *brother*, Fit, had followed him to the tryst. He had told him not to come and finally had chased him back with a stick, but when he finally met Famba he had not dared do anything because he was afraid that Fit had sneaked after him and was spying.

Two weeks later while I was sitting with Gwiyap in front of my house, Kwiya came by carrying firewood. She was a girl of about the same age as Gwiyap who lived in the same house and belonged to the same lineage. As she passed he exchanged bawdy remarks with her, as is the custom between *brother* and *sister*. Then he said to me that he thought he would go to America with me when I left because so many girls liked him and asked him to cohabit with them that he would certainly get in trouble if he stayed at Kwoma. He then recounted his sexual experiences. There was Kwiya, the girl who had just passed, and Awa, Mar's sister, both of whom were his household mates. Then there was Famba,

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta. When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing."[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[18] *Sumwe sumwe mowo*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowo sakano*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
• [124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[28]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[764] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[28] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk.

[595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

● 124 [622] [648] [141] [614] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus luluai (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[239] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

124 evidence that it formerly existed; marriage--matrilocal, with gift of shells from boy's family to girl's; residence after marriage--patrilocal; and enough on language to enable us to understand vaguely what the old men are saying as they sit around the fire.

115 [648] Yesterday, a Mr. Eve came to Washuk. He is a surveyor for "Oil Search" Ltd. and has been all through the country between the Sepik and the Dutch border except for one little corner. Most of this country hasn't been traversed by anyone but him, and we spent a most interesting afternoon with him. He has made incidental anthropological notes as he passed through - such as house form, village arrangement and size, clothing, etc. He has all the names of the native villages in this area that he has seen (I guess he had not missed many), and he is going to let us make a rough copy of it this afternoon, and tell us what he knows about the vill ges at the same time. I should say that we were very much in luck to meet such a man. He had a lot to say about Thurnwald and admired his work very much. He said that he didn't get half the credit he deserved for his pioneering work. For instance, Champion and Karius only had to go eight miles (just over the limestone barrier) from the headwaters of the Fly to connect up with Thurnwald's work of years before, but they do not mention this. Another interesting thing that he has run across is a tribe in the interior which has a whistling language. Luckily he has two work boys from this place with him now, and I am going to see if I can get anything from them on their language and their tribe this afternoon while Tip works on the map.

DECEMBER 1. Mr. Eve stayed here three days and lived up to expectation. Tip made a copy of the map and got quite a few notes on the tribes that Eve had visited...enough to give a rough idea of where to go to future field workers. Had we met him before we settled here, I think we could

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred — not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the [124] [123] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to [196] tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilewas

126 which seems to mean 'sacred' is the term for the ghosts of powerful men,
196 for the big masks on the alter at the "singsing", and is a special term of greeting meaning something like 'hail, powerful man' or perhaps more accurately it is a sort of cult shibboleth. Then there is sukwiyawé which is 'to dream' and sukwié which is the term for "singsing" and another term for the sacred masks. Since they translate dreaming into pidgin as "look im tamberuuk(ghosts)," there are seems to be some connection which may throw some interesting light on their theory of dreams. We have already noted that the subject of their dreams is almost universally dead people. Such a bias would have to be allowed for if any Freudian interpretation was attempted....Then there is the term wofu which means 'mother's brother's wife' and 'lungs'. This we can make no sense of except that the lungs are thought to be non-functional appurtenances.

124 This reminds me that a week or so ago, Kar, one of the most intelligent of the "savvy talks", came in and we got from him their knowledge of anatomy. (See Part III, Ethnophysiology)

114 To get back to the present, after we had finished the dictionary, there was a rainy spell. No informants came around, and we did not feel like sloshing around to look them up. Both of us were pretty low. We figured that we hadn't gotten anything worth while, and the chances of our doing so were pretty slim. We felt that the people were so scattered about that it was very difficult to observe anything like village life, let alone anything on our special projects. We even thought of moving to some other place - Yambon, for instance. We were not very serious about this, however, because it would not be worth while to lose what little we already had.

124 The only thing to break the monotony of the rainy days was a great deal of talk one evening down below at Wof's house. He is our nearest neighbor and his house is about forty or fifty yards down the hill. This talk kept
000 up long after they were settled for the night. It turned out the next

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sowbundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

• 124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term naremboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[264] yet know. Later on when one's naremboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwom. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wenyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangus man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Ear, of Rumbina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwa (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [533] [534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

765 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a mass of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to board them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

794 The word sugilawas which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named yenengara, minjama, and nokwisugwi which are sugilawas "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in yenengara his first son will be minjama, his second yenengara, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. Nokwisugwi seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for maris, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, Mey, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's narrowboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwan were
[124] friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwan always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
[123] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wisepeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house temberan to Soubundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the nothing.
diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

● 124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[728] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

761 A man of Duwus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbina gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of nank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite a half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamoay came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamoay beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Sowal Urambanjs of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

● 124 Tefokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent and that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

124 against War if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be removed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Pit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [782] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Hviya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. Hey was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. Hey was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Korissi to give to their sister (Ngusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhuiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Hey's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimawa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Hey's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

000
501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar went to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "gayaman along mi ol sain" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Yanahwot and four others from Yaasan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Hongwom. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their kwra and Afokalis said yes he is kwra to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but it would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had nemoad (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, so she had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 524 Kum was playing this afternoon with May and began tapping him on the leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. May slapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. May paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 819 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyokay; Gwiyap was older than May. May says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as May when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

Revision

Gwiyap just went down and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuakai was older than he, that she was the same age as May who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas May has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because May was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: May was 3, Gwiyap and Kamakan were 4--Mar and Fit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: Mey 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mes is the same age as Mar.

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp [583] tongue. With her lives Yawa who is Mar's fiancee. It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yawa gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Owiyap and Hay.

[156] He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Minjama yam cult ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yamama and Minjama, while he is only a member of the former.

October 24, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He [114] said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Hamb and Wisep, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap."

October 28, 1936.

*115 • 124 [123] Owiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and Hay both began helping around the house, and since Hash is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Owiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gamba (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to draw a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Owiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Owiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Owiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Owiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Owiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply
[797 a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has
191 spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She
391 seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.
177]

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɨ, o, u and ɛ̈ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ər. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvCV.
126 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ha is the imperative particle, saga expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their geneologies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete geneology; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangus and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
582 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [148] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done [439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[237] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred — not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs [124] [123] which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to [196] tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilewas

126 which seems to mean 'sacred' is the term for the ghosts of powerful men,
196 for the big masks on the alter at the "singsing", and is a special term of greeting meaning something like 'hail, powerful man' or perhaps more accurately it is a sort of cult shibboleth. Then there is sukwiyewé which is 'to dream' and sukwié which is the term for "singsing" and another term for the sacred masks. Since they translate dreaming into pidgin as "look in tamberunk(ghosts)," there are seems to be some connection which may throw some interesting light on their theory of dreams. We have already noted that the subject of their dreams is almost universally dead people. Such a bias would have to be allowed for if any Freudian interpretation was attempted....Then there is the term wofu which means 'mother's brother's wife' and 'lungs'. This we can make no sense of except that the lungs are thought to be non-functional appurtenances.

124 This reminds us that a week or so ago, Kar, one of the most intelligent of the "savvy talks", came in and we got from him their knowledge of anatomy. (See Part III, Ethnophysiology)

114 To get back to the present, after we had finished the dictionary, there was a rainy spell. No informants came around, and we did not feel like sloshing around to look them up. Both of us were pretty low. We figured that we hadn't gotten anything worth while, and the chances of our doing so were pretty slim. We felt that the people were so scattered about that it was very difficult to observe anything like village life, let alone anything on our special projects. We even thought of moving to some other place - Yambon, for instance. We were not very serious about this, however, because it would not be worth while to lose what little we already had.

124 The only thing to break the monotony of the rainy days was a great deal of talk one evening down below at Wof's house. He is our nearest neighbor and his house is about forty or fifty yards down the hill. This talk kept
000 up long after they were settled for the night. It turned out the next

794 The word sugilawas which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named yenengara, minjama, and nokwisugwi which are sugilawas "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in yenengara his first son will be minjama, his second yenengara, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. Nokwisugwi seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for maris, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

796 (Again Tip).
December 17th, 1936./ The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong mari", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalis with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalis we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit [534] dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mes, Gwiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mes in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Gwiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mes and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwa called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwa's imagination. I told Gwiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

● 126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafonongwis, Kwalump, Ambe, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kwonai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Merok's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

000 May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wenka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was 685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wog's 587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the 684 white men and died there --Awa, also of Sumwa Sumwa married his widow through 578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife 582 of Nayamatanp, Wajumbai, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister-younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wog's house late at night and set fire to it. Wog did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tongwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife had died.

578 Gwiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaopyup came asking for theirs.

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a nasas from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's nasas. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombundura. Pokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Gwiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Gwanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Gwanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa-"nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Gwiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Gwanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chinawa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Gwiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Owiyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.
+115 Owiyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwem carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Owiyap finally found that another Hongwem had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "kiop" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Kwiya came by carrying firewood and Owiyap yelled something bawdy
+115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Owiyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
+115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Kwiya, Awa, Way's older daughter, Mas' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bona nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mas' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mar about having intercourse with his sister (Awa), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awa in their house. May came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want May to know, for he might tell Mar.

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114 made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet
[133] to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was
[124] for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

122 The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty.
124 Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

• 128 On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

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PREFACE

THIS monograph has two purposes: first, to present the data gathered on Kwoma culture, and, second, to present a theory of the process of socialization. In accordance with this dual purpose, the book has been divided into two parts, the first descriptive, the second theoretical. In the descriptive part, after an introductory chapter in which the setting of the study is presented, an attempt has been made to describe the culture as it unfolds itself to an individual born into Kwoma society. The cultures of infancy, of the period of weaning, of childhood, of adolescence, and finally of adulthood are described. The data in each of these chapters have been organized according to the drives[1] involved. Social habits related to hunger, elimination, sex, and pain have been described in that order. Since many customs are associated with several of these drives, this organization could not be strictly adhered to. Those habits motivated by acquired drives, such as fear, anger, the wish to help, and the desire for prestige, have been described where it seemed most appropriate. The second part opens with a chapter in which the various techniques of teaching observed at Kwoma are elucidated and defined in terms of learning theory. This is followed by a chapter which presents the results of an inquiry into the manner in which Kwoma children are taught supernatural beliefs. This inquiry is made in terms of learning theory, teaching techniques, and the conditions of the culture, the society, and the environment which exist at Kwoma.

The idea for this research was suggested by Professor John Dollard. As a result of attending his seminars, it became clear to me that, although culture was assumed by anthropologists and sociologists to be transmitted by a social rather than a genetic process, there was no adequate theory

[1] For the use of the concepts of *drive* and *acquired drive*, see chap. vii, pp. 173-174.

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ever, that this pioneering attempt to apply learning theory to anthropological data will suggest methods of gaining a better understanding of the process of socialization. 128

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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him. As a result, none of my Kwoma friends would speak to me or bid me good-by.

In so far as we were included in the social structure of the Kwoma, we were known as *masta bilong Rumbima*. This meant that we belonged to the Rumbima hamlet of Hongwam subtribe, a natural consequence of the position of our house and the frequency of our contacts with Rumbima people. We were also placed in the kinship structure, being assigned to the Hayamakwo sib, Mangwiyow lineage, and Asanamp family line as younger brothers of Wof. Logically this should have made us *older brothers* to everyone else of the parent generation in the hamlet, but actually we were called *younger brother* by most of them. Those of the first descending generation called us *elder* or *younger uncle*, except Mey, Gwiyap, and Mar who frequently called us *father*. The fact that we were not married, but were apparently older than any unmarried Kwoma should be, made our position in the maturation hierarchy somewhat anomalous. We were sometimes classed as adults and sometimes as adolescents. The latter tendency was accentuated by the fact that we did not know the culture but were learning it.

With this short account of the environment and of the various groups into which the Kwoma divide themselves, with this indication of our chief informants and brief description of our position in Kwoma society, the task of describing the habits which a Kwoma learns as he passes from stage to stage along his life cycle may now be undertaken. The framework presented in this chapter has but limited meaning for the infant, more for the child, and gains full significance only when adulthood is reached. The following chapters are an attempt to present the culture as it unfolds to the maturing individual at Kwoma.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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CHAPTER VII

THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION

THE previous chapters have stressed the particular customs which Kwoma society chooses to transmit to its children, the categories of persons who teach them, and the stage in the life cycle of the individual to which these customs apply. The purpose has been to present the data on these aspects of Kwoma life so that they might be useful for comparative or historical purposes.

The present chapter is devoted primarily to an inquiry into the nature of the transmission of culture and to a psychological analysis of the manner in which this transmission takes place. Although Kwoma data are employed in this analysis and the statements are made in terms of these data, the purpose is to develop hypotheses concerning the process of socialization which have significance not alone for the Kwoma but for all cultures. It is obvious that such hypotheses, validated by only a single society, cannot be considered more than tentative. Since the data with which to test these hypotheses in other societies have not yet been reported in the anthropological literature, they are presented in this form, primarily in the hope that they may be sufficiently suggestive to be tested by those future fieldworkers who become interested in a theory of the transmission of culture.

Were the transmission of culture a genetic process, it would be expedient to turn to the biologist for a basic theory of socialization. Anthropologists have demonstrated, however, that the behavior of peoples in various societies is not instinctive but cultural; it is a matter of habits. Since a habit is something which is learned, it is evident that a theory of learning must form the basis for an understanding of the process of socialization.

The theory of learning developed by psychologists has been demonstrated to apply both to animals and to men in Western society. It may be assumed that this theory also

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or any other response which Buka might make when she should be getting firewood can be described as not right responses. When Mes warned Kwos not to play with a cartridge, "playing with the cartridge" was the wrong response, while doing anything else would be the not wrong responses. Teachers normally describe the specific act, whether it be right or wrong, and refer to the not right or not wrong responses as the negative of the specific act. Sometimes they exemplify the not right or not wrong, by stating a specific act in the negative category. For example, in the above cases Wof may have specified playing as one of the not right acts which Buka did, or Mes might have specified joining the play group as a not wrong response. Teachers normally try to make their pupils learn to make a right response or to make a not wrong response. The other two categories, not right and wrong, denote behavior which the teacher wishes to prevent, but which he can prevent only by teaching the pupil an incompatible habit, i.e., right or not wrong, respectively. This will be illustrated in the cases to be analyzed below.

In socializing their pupils, Kwoma teachers use various techniques, all of which make practical use of the paradigm of learning presented above.[16] Some of these techniques stress motivation, some the response, some the cues, and some the rewards, but the whole process is implicit in all of them. Kwoma teachers use different techniques for different situations; the kind of habit to be taught, the age and maturity of the pupil, and the kin relationship between teacher and pupil are some of the factors that determine which technique shall be used. The following presentation does not purport to be a complete list of the methods of teaching employed at Kwoma nor a full account of the situations in which they are used, but is rather an analysis and description of the more important ones observed.[17]

[16] Since pupils in our society learn by the same mechanisms as do Kwoma pupils, it is not surprising that many of the techniques of teaching in the two societies are similar. In fact, the following techniques will seem quite obvious to anyone who has been either a parent or a teacher.

[17] The following theory of teaching techniques was not worked out before the data were gathered. For this reason the cases analyzed below were not

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121 861 Unless the essentials for learning are already provided by the interaction of the environment and the pupil, they must be supplied by the teacher. In other words, when such conditions are not already present, the teacher, in order to change the habit structure of the pupil in the desired manner, must provide *motivation*, *guidance*, and *reward*. Each of the various teaching techniques employed at Kwoma may be classed under one or another of these three categories. The following table presents this classification:

1. Providing motivation
   - *a.* punishing
   - *b.* scolding
   - *c.* threatening
   - *d.* warning
   - *e.* inciting
2. Providing guidance
   - *a.* leading
   - *b.* instructing
   - *c.* demonstrating
3. Providing reward
   - *a.* giving
   - *b.* helping
   - *c.* praising

A Kwoma teacher must often provide motivation in order to make his pupils learn the habits which he wishes to teach them. He employs five techniques for doing so: punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting.

Punishment is not infrequently employed by a Kwoma teacher when other methods fail to correct the behavior of a pupil or when his behavior is particularly annoying to the teacher. A teacher punishes a child after he has made a wrong, or a not right response. The mode of punishment is usually either a blow on the back with the fist or a blow on the legs with a stick. The following cases will serve to illustrate its use.

Wof left early one morning with his second wife, Chinuwa, to work in his garden. Since his first wife, Kaya, had previ-

[128] carefully followed up, and observations with which to test the predictions arising from the analysis were frequently not made. The rather complete record of daily events which was kept did, however, provide data to check some of them.

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Preface

128 This manuscript consists of the journal I kept while doing field work
114 on a tribe which eventually came to be known as the Kwoma. It covers the
121 period between September 1936 - May 1937. The late Professor Stephen Reed,
then a fellow graduate student, accompanied me up the Sepik River to Kwoma
territory where we worked together for 4½ months. At this time he left be-
cause his thesis problem required a comparison of the Kwoma with a more
acculturated New Guinea peoples, whereas I was interested in an intensive
128 study of socialization among the Kwoma. Most of the diary is my journal
with only slight editing to clarify shorthand and some of the pidgin English
expressions. Some of these, however, have been left in, and a glossary provided
as a key to understanding them. Some of the native terms are also left in the
text. They are, however, usually defined in context, but if not, they should
appear in the glossary of native terms. (Refer to pages 228-244.)

Although most of the journal is mine, in several instances Mr. Reed, or Tip, as he is referred to in the journal, took a turn. It will be noticed that their understanding of the social culture of the Kwoma is quite confused. At the beginning of the journal, we are at first under the impression that "Waskuk and Bangus" are either moieties of some tribe or neighboring tribes. It eventually dawned on us that they are divisions imposed upon the Kwoma by the British patrol officers. (Where they got the terms I was never able to find out, but they in fact had no reference to any structural reality of the Kwoma culture, except perhaps that Waskuk was translated with Bangus; and Waskuk, by the way, is the name which appears on Australian maps, and is also the name used by Margaret Mead who had previously visited the Kwoma). In addition to the journal, the case histories of two of my close friends and assistants have been appended.

128 These case histories are of their daily life as I saw it, and my interaction with them, rather than a retrospective history. Finally, there are some field notes particularly on material culture hitherto unpublished.

Many people have helped in turning this document into understandable English, particularly Jane Martin, who really has made order out of chaos. Had it not been for her, the manuscript would still be filed in one of my bottom drawers with a memo,"something ought to be done about this sometime."

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They
were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the
grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden
cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece
is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of
Rumbina sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves
in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling
that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up
the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint
and headed for home.

• 128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less
and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the
anthropologist, but to record all of some in this would be too long a task.
So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At these ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for
Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps
a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing
which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

114 February 11, 1936. Since the last installment, there had been a trip to Yambon where the mosquitoes were plentiful and the heat intense: a long forlorn wait at Ambunti for a pinnace to take us down the river for Christmas, but none came; a trip to Tangwishamp where they told me that the next village had murdered Mr. Eve and all his party, which got me pretty scared; a visit from Bob Overall, a recruiter, who bought five boys here and entertained us for three days with tales of his experiences on the river and elsewhere; and a trip to the Yellow river station by Tip, who will write about it later in this document.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarise the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Feilungua range. The Sepik river runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a s, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1520 ft. above sea level.

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

775 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

776 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
[794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

115 752 123 657 The sore on Oviyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Oviyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 133 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarise the culture briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plains which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a x, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing. [132 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

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CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND PERSONNEL

THE Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Peilungua Mountains just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta.[1] This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed from a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast, rolling watershed of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter *S* plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitous; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

The elevation of the Kwoma territory is not sufficient to cause any noticeable variation from the strictly tropical climate of the entire Sepik River Valley. The daily range in temperature, from an average of seventy-one degrees Fahrenheit at dawn to eighty-five in mid-afternoon, closely approximates the norm in the river villages. Humidity is high throughout the year. Some rain falls virtually every day and all-day storms are not uncommon, but the climate and precipitation are so uniform throughout the year that there is no clear-cut division into seasons. Gardens may be planted, cultivated, and harvested at any and all times of the year.

[1] The tribe is situated approximately four degrees and ten minutes south of the equator and one hundred and forty-two degrees and forty minutes east of Greenwich.

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[1] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[2] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[3] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[1] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[2] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[3]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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Chapter I Orientation[1]

131 The Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Pailangua Mountains, just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta. 131 This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is 133 bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed by a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast rolling watershed 133 of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter s, plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitious; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,320 feet above sea level.

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[113] 1 For the following orientation, certain materials are quoted from the published reports on the Kwoma listed below:

"Kwoma Culture," John W.M. Whiting and Stephen W. Reed, Oceania, Vol. IX, No. 2, December 1938, pp. 170-216.
Becoming a Kwoma, John W.M. Whiting, Yale University Press, 1941.

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131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
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[191] of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

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CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND PERSONNEL

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The elevation of the Kwoma territory is not sufficient to cause any noticeable variation from the strictly tropical climate of the entire Sepik River Valley. The daily range in temperature, from an average of seventy-one degrees Fahrenheit at dawn to eighty-five in mid-afternoon, closely approximates the norm in the river villages. Humidity is high throughout the year. Some rain falls virtually every day and all-day storms are not uncommon, but the climate and precipitation are so uniform throughout the year that there is no clear-cut division into seasons. Gardens may be planted, cultivated, and harvested at any and all times of the year.

[1] The tribe is situated approximately four degrees and ten minutes south of the equator and one hundred and forty-two degrees and forty minutes east of Greenwich.

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132 Although there is slight variation in the amount of rainfall within the annual cycle, during the months of December, January, and February the Sepik is in flood. This fact is of such importance to the river people that they divide the year into periods of high and low water. This seasonal periodicity is also noted by the Kwoma, but it is significant to them only in so far as it affects their commerce with the river people.

136 Cassowaries, wildfowl, hornbills, cockatoos, pigeons, and a great many unidentified species of smaller birds abound in the region. The only large mammal is the wild pig. The natives report that there were formerly wallabies in the region but that now there are none. There are several varieties of small tree-climbing marsupials. Many species of bats of different size despoil the fruit trees.

137 The flora of the region is tropical. The trunks of giant trees support a mat of foliage fifty to sixty feet in the air, so dense that the sun scarcely filters through it, except where the natives have cleared a garden or house site. The swamp land is full of sago palms whose thorn-studded spathes make passage difficult. Small stands of areca and coconut palms mark the sites of habitations past and present. Betel pepper vines cling to the pawpaw, breadfruit, and paper mulberry
241 trees which the natives plant near each dwelling. Many varieties of yams, taro, and greens are grown as a first crop in Kwoma gardens; these are followed by a second crop of bananas and plantains of numerous varieties.

142 The Kwoma are short, stocky, negroid people with long heads, dark frizzly hair, medium thick lips, and skin color varying from light to dark brown.[2] The homogeneity in physical type is immediately apparent, although there is one family with two generations of strikingly aberrant members, whose skin is so blond that it sunburns. The so-called Papuan, or Semitic, nose-form occurs at random about as often as the dished type. Noses with straight bridges, however, are the most common.

140 [2] Their average height is five feet four inches, and their cephalic index is in the upper range of mesocephaly (71.7 to 83.6, average 77.4). These figures were taken from twenty adult males.

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the general permissive attitude which a mother exhibits toward her infant suggests that she may also allow it freedom to discover this mode of gratification. On the other hand, the fact that older children are not permitted to masturbate in public might influence the mother to prohibit this type of behavior in her infant as well. The fact that both Kum and Merik, boys who were in the weaning period, fingered their genitals without being punished suggests a permissive attitude toward masturbation as perhaps the more plausible assumption.

Although a mother tries to protect her infant from pain inflicted by the natural environment, frequent experience with suffering is unavoidable. It is practically impossible for her to ward off the clouds of hungry mosquitoes that are continually present. The extreme temperature variations are often unpleasant. In the afternoon, with humidity at a maximum and the temperature around ninety degrees, the heat is stifling. By contrast, a damp foggy morning with the temperature at seventy is uncomfortably cold; I would shiver in a thick sweater while the natives huddled by their fires. Teething is another source of pain which every infant must endure. Yaws and malaria are prevalent diseases at Kwoma. Informants told me that no one ever grows up without contracting the former. Certainly few youths or adults can be seen who do not bear scars of yaws sores. The infant's physiological immaturity makes him for the most part dependent on his mother to help him cope with these natural pains just as he depends on her to feed him.

Crying is selected as the most effective response which a Kwoma infant can make both to pain and to hunger. It constitutes an injunction to the mother to discover the source of the trouble. Her first response is to present the breast. If this fails to quiet him, she tries something else. If she believes that the child is crying because he is too hot, she moves him away from the heat of her body. If she thinks he is cold, she cuddles him. If his crying calls her attention to a mosquito on him, she brushes it off and scratches the bite. If she suspects that sores from yaws are hurting him, she tries to move

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
@ 132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, pasticularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

000
482 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders. We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering. Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves, but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi, and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sunilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

614 [969] along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to 276 the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting is the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9, 1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

How "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its 132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
136 is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at this time from the river villages, Yambon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwam where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon. For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwam youths who fetches water and firewood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish". The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire list-
[753] less and moaning. They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder
755

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice May took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. May did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

• 132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaya looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinuwa approaching. She came up slowly with a large mat bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. May came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaya if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinuwa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. May said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in. 114

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information. 12

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance. 123 124

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This 114 [361] [133]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

made it hard for novices like ourselves to walk from hamlet to hamlet and therefore practically impossible to keep in touch with all daily happenings in the tribe. To visit the gardens which were on the edge of the tribe's territory was for us a day's task. For this reason most of our data were gathered from members of the hamlet in which we lived.[20]

The language barrier presented a considerable difficulty. Luckily, shortly before we arrived, a dozen or so of the younger natives had returned from working on European plantations or in the gold fields and could therefore speak pidgin English. We set about mastering this language and at the end of two months could speak it fluently. Although most of our information was obtained through this medium, we undertook also to learn the native language and by the end of a few months were able to speak it haltingly and understand everyday conversation. By the time I left, seven months after arrival, I was able to carry on an extended conversation, still haltingly, but well enough to exchange ideas and obtain information on the less recondite subjects.

On returning to New Haven I presented an analysis and description of the material gathered at Kwoma as a doctoral dissertation to the faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University. During 1938–39 a fellowship from the Institute of Human Relations enabled me to study stimulus-response psychology under Professor Clark Hull. The knowledge of learning theory gained from him and from Drs. Neal E. Miller and O. H. Mowrer seemed to me crucial for the development of an adequate theory of socialization; consequently as a member of the Institute staff I reanalyzed my data in the light of this theory and am here presenting the results. I have been much helped by suggestions from my colleagues, particularly Professors Dollard, Murdock, and Miller. Since I had little knowledge of learning theory before going into the field, crucial data were frequently not gathered, an unfortunate but unavoidable circumstance. It is hoped, how-

[20] The rôles which we played in the tribe and hamlet will be described in detail in the first chapter, as well as the informants from whom most of our material was gathered.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND PERSONNEL

THE Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Peilungua Mountains just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta.[1] This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed from a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast, rolling watershed of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter *S* plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitous; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

The elevation of the Kwoma territory is not sufficient to cause any noticeable variation from the strictly tropical climate of the entire Sepik River Valley. The daily range in temperature, from an average of seventy-one degrees Fahrenheit at dawn to eighty-five in mid-afternoon, closely approximates the norm in the river villages. Humidity is high throughout the year. Some rain falls virtually every day and all-day storms are not uncommon, but the climate and precipitation are so uniform throughout the year that there is no clear-cut division into seasons. Gardens may be planted, cultivated, and harvested at any and all times of the year.

[1] The tribe is situated approximately four degrees and ten minutes south of the equator and one hundred and forty-two degrees and forty minutes east of Greenwich.

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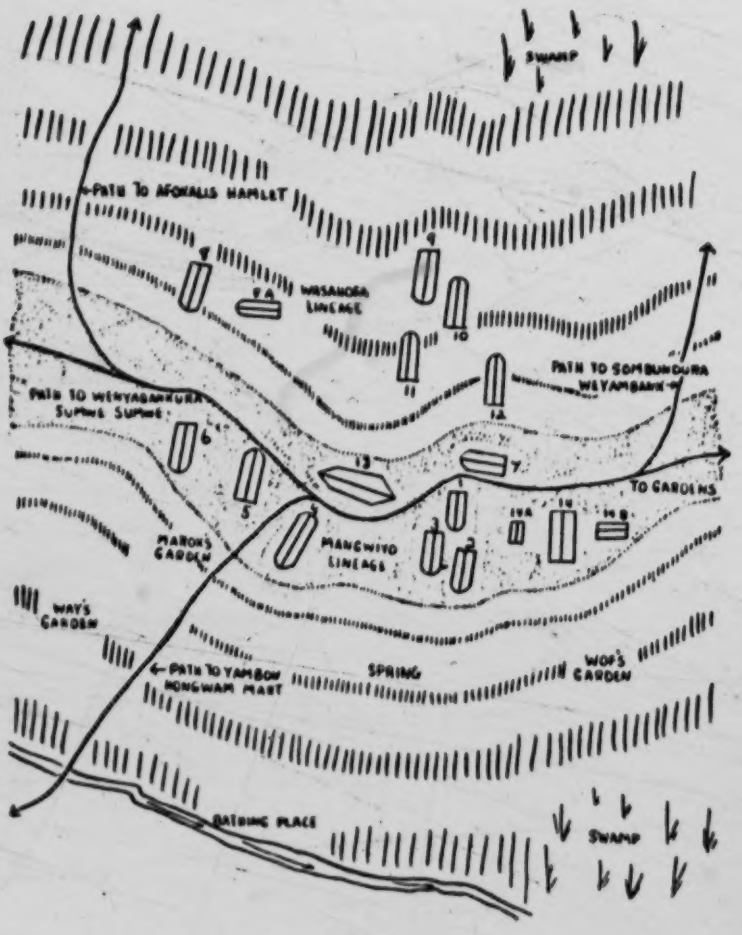

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View of the Sepik River taken from near Rumbima house tamberan. The forested slopes of the Peilungua range upon which the Kwoma dwell may be seen in the right foreground and left center. The sago swamp at the base of this range extends from the left foreground to the right center. The light section which is partially surrounded by this swamp is a mat of grass floating on the lake, the unchoked part of which may be seen beyond. Above and to the right of the lake may be seen glimpses of the Sepik as it winds its way around the spur at the left toward Ambunti. See Chapter I, page 8.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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Chapter I Orientation[1]

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133 bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed by a former
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a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip
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length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitious; in climbing it is
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down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest
point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

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[113] 1 For the following orientation, certain materials are quoted from the published reports on the Kwoma listed below:

"Kwoma Culture," John W.M. Whiting and Stephen W. Reed, Oceania, Vol. IX, No. 2, December 1938, pp. 170-216.
Becoming a Kwoma, John W.M. Whiting, Yale University Press, 1941.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which [133] is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done [439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [347] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

614 [769] along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to 276 the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting id the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9, 1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

Now "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its 132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

114 February 11, 1936. Since the last installment, there had been a trip to Yambon where the mosquitoes were plentiful and the heat intense: a long forlorn wait at Ambunti for a pinnace to take us down the river for Christmas, but none came; a trip to Tangwishamp where they told me that the next village had murdered Mr. Eve and all his party, which got me pretty scared; a visit from Bob Overall, a recruiter, who bought five boys here and entertained us for three days with tales of his experiences on the river and elsewhere; and a trip to the Yellow river station by Tip, who will write about it later in this document.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik river runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a g, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 123 657 The sore on Owiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Owiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Her had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

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000 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by
482 carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags
with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men
carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were
past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the
men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders.
We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know
whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They
always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering.
Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They
will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of
men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen
them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves,
but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy then younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or
five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of
biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel
confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their
violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from
the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did
very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi,
and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at this time from the river villages, Yambon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwem where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

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578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug man of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [576] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinawe and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mes is now our shoot boy, as Namb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mes realized that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Namb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

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the general permissive attitude which a mother exhibits toward her infant suggests that she may also allow it freedom to discover this mode of gratification. On the other hand, the fact that older children are not permitted to masturbate in public might influence the mother to prohibit this type of behavior in her infant as well. The fact that both Kum and Merik, boys who were in the weaning period, fingered their genitals without being punished suggests a permissive attitude toward masturbation as perhaps the more plausible assumption.

Although a mother tries to protect her infant from pain inflicted by the natural environment, frequent experience with suffering is unavoidable. It is practically impossible for her to ward off the clouds of hungry mosquitoes that are continually present. The extreme temperature variations are often unpleasant. In the afternoon, with humidity at a maximum and the temperature around ninety degrees, the heat is stifling. By contrast, a damp foggy morning with the temperature at seventy is uncomfortably cold; I would shiver in a thick sweater while the natives huddled by their fires. Teething is another source of pain which every infant must endure. Yaws and malaria are prevalent diseases at Kwoma. Informants told me that no one ever grows up without contracting the former. Certainly few youths or adults can be seen who do not bear scars of yaws sores. The infant's physiological immaturity makes him for the most part dependent on his mother to help him cope with these natural pains just as he depends on her to feed him.

Crying is selected as the most effective response which a Kwoma infant can make both to pain and to hunger. It constitutes an injunction to the mother to discover the source of the trouble. Her first response is to present the breast. If this fails to quiet him, she tries something else. If she believes that the child is crying because he is too hot, she moves him away from the heat of her body. If she thinks he is cold, she cuddles him. If his crying calls her attention to a mosquito on him, she brushes it off and scratches the bite. If she suspects that sores from yaws are hurting him, she tries to move

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CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND PERSONNEL

THE Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Peilungua Mountains just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta.[1] This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed from a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast, rolling watershed of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter *S* plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitous; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

The elevation of the Kwoma territory is not sufficient to cause any noticeable variation from the strictly tropical climate of the entire Sepik River Valley. The daily range in temperature, from an average of seventy-one degrees Fahrenheit at dawn to eighty-five in mid-afternoon, closely approximates the norm in the river villages. Humidity is high throughout the year. Some rain falls virtually every day and all-day storms are not uncommon, but the climate and precipitation are so uniform throughout the year that there is no clear-cut division into seasons. Gardens may be planted, cultivated, and harvested at any and all times of the year.

[1] The tribe is situated approximately four degrees and ten minutes south of the equator and one hundred and forty-two degrees and forty minutes east of Greenwich.

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[1] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[2] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[3] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[1] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[2] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tanguinjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw[a] up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

[a] A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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View of the Sepik River taken from near Rumbima house tamberan. The forested slopes of the Peilungua range upon which the Kwoma dwell may be seen in the right foreground and left center. The sago swamp at the base of this range extends from the left foreground to the right center. The light section which is partially surrounded by this swamp is a mat of grass floating on the lake, the unchoked part of which may be seen beyond. Above and to the right of the lake may be seen glimpses of the Sepik as it winds its way around the spur at the left toward Ambunti. See Chapter I, page 8.

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114 February 11, 1936. Since the last installment, there had been a trip to Yambon where the mosquitoes were plentiful and the heat intense: a long forlorn wait at Ambunti for a pinnace to take us down the river for Christmas, but none came; a trip to Tangwishamp where they told me that the next village had murdered Mr. Eve and all his party, which got me pretty scared; a visit from Bob Overall, a recruiter, who bought five boys here and entertained us for three days with tales of his experiences on the river and elsewhere; and a trip to the Yellow river station by Tip, who will write about it later in this document.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Feilungua range. The Sepik river runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a S, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[137] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 123 657 The sore on Gwiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. We was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Gwiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

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[Q 168-D]

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 136.

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Mundik just after he had fled to our house for sanctuary after having been beaten and bound for attending the cult meeting associated with the second funeral feast. This ceremony is restricted to those who have received their keloids of manhood. Mundik, being a Yelagu, had not received these. A further reason for his being beaten was that he had killed his wife in a fit of rage and fled to Kwoma, his mother's former home, to escape being killed by his wife's relatives. The Kwoma shunned him and used his breach of cult rules as an excuse for expressing their feelings toward a person they believed to be a homicidal maniac. Had he not loosened the bonds on his ankles and escaped from the house in which he was imprisoned, he may well have been killed before the ceremony ended. See Chapter VI, page 144, and Chapter VIII, page 213.

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Kum, the chief character of the weaning period. See Chapter III.

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Gwiyap, our best informant, wearing a laplap which he had earned working for us as a house boy. See Chapter V.

443 start the business. They bring two or three bundles of small fish each.
439 The bundle is of narrow brown leaves about a foot long and two inches in diameter, and contains between one and two dozen minnows of at least three different species. They walk about looking over the different lumps of sago which the Waskuk women have broken up into pieces roughly six inches square. One "rope" of fish is worth one block of sago at the present rate of exchange. But there is some inspection of the sago on the part of the Yambons and a similar feeling of the fish bundles by the Waskuk. There is little talk during the exchange. A Yambon woman sees some sago that catches her fancy. She taps the woman who stands by it to gain her attention and offers her a "rope" of fish. The Waskuk woman pinches the fish, is satisfied, and hands her a block of sago for it. The Yambon carries the sago to her canoe and comes back with more fish. The Yambons now change their article of trade from fish to the native spinach, and betel nuts. A few ropes of beads are also offered for the little sago that remains. The whole period of actual trade had been about 15 minutes. The few men of Yambon and Waskuk who are present wander about on the edges and take no active part in the exchange. When it is finished, the Waskuk retire toward the forest with their net bags only partly filled by the few fish and vegetables they have received. They all stop in a little pool in the swamp grass to wash the last bits of sago from the bark wrappers.

142 " The contrast between the Yambon and Waskuk women in physique is very clearly seen at this time. It is like looking at paintings by El Greco and Rubens side by side. Yambon women are short, spindly and undernourished looking. Their breasts droop and their malars stand out. Their colour is dark brown. Few of them would look out of place riding a broomstick,

142 for their feces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping, storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[892] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[513] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
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861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in seri-
862 ous danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents
[869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

861 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety.
862 His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being
• 152 pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only 152 subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[115] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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882 602 554 166 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 • 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives." 721 554 593

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit. 721 152

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was 721 593 578

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121 however, she would be in the same dilemma as the one in
861 which Ham was placed, the negative side being much more serious, since it would be impossible for a girl of Buka's age to live alone in the Kwoma environment. Thus it is apparent that the primary effect of physical punishment is to make a pupil run away,[21] but that the strong acquired reward value which teachers have for the pupil, as a result of his dependence on them, and the fear of being alone, bind him to the teacher until he learns the habit which the teacher has wished to instill in him.

In the cases analyzed above the teacher was bigger than the pupil. When teacher and pupil are of the same size or when the pupil is bigger than the teacher, the response to punishment is often counterattack rather than running away.[22] The case of Fit and Mey illustrates this. Fit struck Mey for teasing him, and Mey grabbed a burning brand from the fire and began belaboring Fit with it. In this case Mey's drives were pain from Fit's blow, anger at Fit,[23] and the fear of being hit again; the response was attacking him with a firebrand; the cues were the sight of someone his own size and the feeling of the blow; and the rewards were reduction of the pain from Fit's blow, the reduction of the fear of being hit again, and the reduction of anger. Thus Mey was

[21] In the middle and upper classes of American society, pupils are not usually permitted to run away from punishment. They are either held by the parent or punished more severely if they attempt to escape. The usual response which is reinforced is the promise "I won't do it again." Furthermore, doing wrong in secret is more severely punished in the United States than at Kwoma. The American technique should be more effective in teaching the correct response, but, at the same time, it should produce more anxiety in the pupil than does the Kwoma technique. A correlation of the extent to which parents in various societies permit children to escape punishment and do wrong in secret, and the degree to which the society produces neurotic adults might be fruitful.

[22] When such a situation arises between adults, it is normally the reputation of the teacher and the pupil as fighters and the size of the group which supports each of them, rather than their physical size, which determines whether the pupil counterattacks or runs away.

[23] The conditions at Kwoma are such that anger as a response to pain is frequently reinforced, particularly with respect to younger siblings. See chap. iv, pp. 57–62.

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
179 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

123
593
595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on
[513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by
[252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19.
[482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box
[521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was
[522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and
[524] Kwos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her
[152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts
[522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

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had previously experienced for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9–30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the
cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also
connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only
after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture
is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of
aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy
existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill
them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time.
In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks,
waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder,
lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are
disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
[794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated
are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of
the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and
others we have not.

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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621 592 dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in 154 the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By 584 Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of 595 approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. 586 Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young 364 man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the 191 gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin 595 English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

136 Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year 334 or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who 364 has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has 727 also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one 595 son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

56 Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 754 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and 736 Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his 584 nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

105 About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who 154 is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[36] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a [156] quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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882 advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each
602 gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers*
561 who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during child-
554 hood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and
[794] was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

882 On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain
602 superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with
554 them in physical combat. For the most part his relative posi-
156 tion has already been established by such means during
865 childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

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An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

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The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682]

[28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little-baby. Don't 609 156 578 123

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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609 578 [156] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[26] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[27]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[26] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[27] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Namb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Namb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This was not expected by Namb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Namb had killed a gourie pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked.

[521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marck, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitels.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinuwe, Kwiya, Fumba, Yowe, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seems to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
754 cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Haub and Hamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mas, Gwiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mas in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Gwiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mas and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwa called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwa's imagination. I told Gwiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwia, Kwalump, Ambs, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kwonai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Marok's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp tongue. With her lives Yawe who is Mar's fiancee. [583] It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yawe gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Gwiyap and May.

He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Minjama yam cult ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yenama and Minjama, while he is only a member of the former. [156]

October 24, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Bamb and Wisep, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap." [114]

*115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Mar, Afok , Pokotay, Dawengi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

[123]

April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gwanta and Pamba to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He
157 is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged
persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent
[191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned
*115 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second
593 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young--
736 his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishampa. He was carried
*115 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His
553 name was given him by the Malua with whom he stayed after the raid. His
mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all
726 himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out
in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men
and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the
house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwem hid in the house except for a
few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his
'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down
coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow
Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then,
when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the
bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had
123 gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We
ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

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584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 582 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed [754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re- [158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal* [602] *uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

164 [123] [657] on the knee. Luckily Max Henn, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due here in a few days on his patrol.

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and 572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term naremboy we find [192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't [764] yet know. Later on when one's naremboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different [158] from Hongwam. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik, this fellow by name, 114 627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

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A person is seldom, if ever, convicted of sorcery. I am reasonably certain that there were many fewer occasions on which sorcery was actually practiced than there were cases of sickness and death attributed to this cause. I was unable to discover anyone who would admit to having practiced sorcery, and the Kwoma themselves were unable to convict any sorcerer during my stay, despite their constant efforts to do so. This evidence should not, of course, be taken as proof that men never practice sorcery, but as indicating the probability that they rarely do so. 754

Mar's nervous breakdown illustrates how sorcery works from the point of view of the person sorcerized and how it may be used as an explanation for neurotic anxiety. One evening shortly after Mar began his courtship of Aya we heard him exchanging shouts with someone down the mountainside. Later he came to my house and told me that he had been arguing with Waramus. The latter had discovered that Mar wanted to marry Aya and had shouted: "You stay away from my daughter; you are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry a lazy person like you, and one who is her relative, too?" When Mar had told me this, he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater?" I reassured him. He then bit his underlip, raised his hand, and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, "That damned Waramus! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." I asked, "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" and he replied, "It is too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." 159 • 754

Mar did not carry out his threat, nor did he make any move to see Aya for the next few days. A week later he went with several of his *brothers* and *sisters* and his betrothed to work on their garden. Three days later Fit came running back from the garden and told us that Mar was dying. He said that Mar had had a nightmare the previous night and that his father's ghost had appeared and tried to take his soul away. We took some medicine and went back to the garden with Fit and Wof, who had also been told of Mar's sickness. When we arrived at Mar's bush house, he was moan- [787]

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159 754 [129] ing on his bark slab bed. He seemed unable to talk and could only groan inarticulately. We took his temperature and found that it was normal. When we asked him where the pain was, he shook his head, refusing to answer. Wof then diagnosed the sickness as the result of sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies, he dies, that's all." This elicited a groan from Mar. We told him that we had some very strong medicine which would counteract sorcery, at which he lifted his head and looked at us with a doglike expression and then took the Eno's salts which we gave him. We suggested that he go home, for the bush house was damp and lonely, but he groaned and shook his head at this suggestion, indicating that he could not make it. Wof then gathered some nettle leaves, formed them into a cone, into which he muttered a prayer, and then rubbed them over Mar's chest and belly. This made Mar gasp and come out of his lethargy enough to mumble that he believed Waramus was sorcerizing him for courting Aya. We finally raised him to his feet. Leaning heavily on us, he swayed and staggered but was able to walk. As the trip progressed, he seemed to become stronger and for the last part of the journey walked unaided, but when we arrived at his home he fell groaning on his bed, where he stayed for two days without speaking. Wof meanwhile approached Waramus, who denied that he had sorcerized Mar, but said that he still did not want him to court his daughter.

Mar did not leave his house for over a week, gradually recovering his voice and his strength. He believed that Waramus had sorcerized him but had stopped after being accused by Wof, and that this had saved his life. Waramus denied Wof's accusation, and as far as I was able to determine his denial was truthful. The case would have progressed in much the same way, however, whether he had done so or not. Thus it is evident that sorcery functions as an explanation for sickness and that accusations are made against persons who are feared, and finally that the actual performance of black magic is not pertinent.[33]

[787] [33] The fact that Mar had a nightmare in which his father's ghost attempted to take his soul suggests that his sickness may have been due to

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When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death repeatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus.

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

Appendix 3

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INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF RUMBIMA HAMLET

Note: The people of Rumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWAKJ	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Ambe	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIM	4	Wasahof
ANGEMAR	1	Wasahof
ASANAMPA	adult	Other.
Ave	15	Mangwiyow
Aya	16	Wasahof
Bora	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chinuwa	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAWANGI	36	Wasahof
Dawi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Femba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKOTAY	35	Wasahof
Gege	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIYAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huwena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAP	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayamaka	7	Wasahof
KEWARI	adult	Other
KIS	28	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALUMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiya	15	Mangwiyow
KWONAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWONAYI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

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Name	Age	Lineage
EMOS	8	Wasahof
LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Mana	12	Mangwiyow
MANO	24	Mangwiyow
MAR	18	Mangwiyow
MAROK	25	Mangwiyow
Mbwimbwi	adult	Mangwiyow
MERIK	5	Mangwiyow
MES	18	Wasahof
MEY	12	Mangwiyow
MOETSI	Old man of Hongvem - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
MUNDIK	young adult	Other
Nemaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nambomai.
NAMBOMAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
Nawa	adult	Wasahof
NAWABANKH	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
Ngwiya	adult	Wasahof
NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
ROB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
Samba	17	Mangwiyow
SWISAMBI	adult	Other
SOF	adult	Other
SOVINAMBI	adult	Other. Cicatriser
SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Sunga	adult	Mangwiyow
SUW	3	Mangwiyow
TAKAWUR	38	Mangwiyow
Toka	6	Mangwiyow
Uka	24	Mangwiyow
WAR	34	Mangwiyow
WARAMUS	30	Wasahof
WAY	46	Mangwiyow
WENYAMENJ	old man	Other
WINGAWI	adult	Other
WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
WIYANGAWC	adult	Other. Cicatriser.
WOF	45	Mangwiyow
Yama	adult	Mangwiyow
YAT	32	Mangwiyow
Yawa	15	Wasahof
Yawaka	5	Wasahof
Yimba	18 mos.	Mangwiyow

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the general permissive attitude which a mother exhibits toward her infant suggests that she may also allow it freedom to discover this mode of gratification. On the other hand, the fact that older children are not permitted to masturbate in public might influence the mother to prohibit this type of behavior in her infant as well. The fact that both Kum and Merik, boys who were in the weaning period, fingered their genitals without being punished suggests a permissive attitude toward masturbation as perhaps the more plausible assumption.

Although a mother tries to protect her infant from pain inflicted by the natural environment, frequent experience with suffering is unavoidable. It is practically impossible for her to ward off the clouds of hungry mosquitoes that are continually present. The extreme temperature variations are often unpleasant. In the afternoon, with humidity at a maximum and the temperature around ninety degrees, the heat is stifling. By contrast, a damp foggy morning with the temperature at seventy is uncomfortably cold; I would shiver in a thick sweater while the natives huddled by their fires. Teething is another source of pain which every infant must endure. Yaws and malaria are prevalent diseases at Kwoma. Informants told me that no one ever grows up without contracting the former. Certainly few youths or adults can be seen who do not bear scars of yaws sores. The infant's physiological immaturity makes him for the most part dependent on his mother to help him cope with these natural pains just as he depends on her to feed him.

Crying is selected as the most effective response which a Kwoma infant can make both to pain and to hunger. It constitutes an injunction to the mother to discover the source of the trouble. Her first response is to present the breast. If this fails to quiet him, she tries something else. If she believes that the child is crying because he is too hot, she moves him away from the heat of her body. If she thinks he is cold, she cuddles him. If his crying calls her attention to a mosquito on him, she brushes it off and scratches the bite. If she suspects that sores from yaws are hurting him, she tries to move

123 755 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a microphone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed from behind; thus we started back. His dependence on our assistance decreased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off gemba.

754 753 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waremus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waremus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbinan. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 [123] Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness. Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due here in a few days on his patrol.

Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term naremboy we find has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't yet know. Later on when one's naremboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different from Hongwam. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name, came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabenkura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

657 a half-day, he got a line representing between 80-90% of the recorded
179 population. At Tangwishamp the day before he had had a line of five old men who were not able to go off to the bush and hide with all the rest. One former medical assistant wrote under 'Remarks' in the village book 'it would be much easier herding sheep'.

657 From his inspection he concluded that the Kwoma are a very healthy
179 group of people. He had given us his tabulated results. The spleen rate
164 in children is rather high (they don't bother with adults), and filarial glands are found in one-third of the population. But framboesia is scarce and tropical ulcers few. Ring-worm is found in about one-sixth. After the inspection was over we dove into a half dozen bottles of beer which Max had brought for us.

657 The next morning the dispensary was set up outside our house and
179 treatment was given to those who had seemed to need it in the line the day before. Many more appeared than were called, all wanting the hypodermic injection 606, for framboesia. The fame of this is known to all, but beside its purpose it is expected to clear up any complaint that a person may have. Max was very good and gave over forty injections, handling the people very well. We told him the Hongwom term for hello, good-bye, etc. which he used to our friends great delight.

648 On the 12th we saw a pinnace going up the river; the second that has
657 gone up the river since our settling down here. Max told us that this was Assistant District Officer Ellis of Angoram who is going up to the Yellow River to dismantle the new station which is a failure. That means that after the first of the year Ambunti will again hold the title of being the most remote station in the territory--some say in the British Empire, but I doubt that. At any rate it sounds much worse than it really is.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 1]

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CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37-51).

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They
were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the
grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden
cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece
is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of
Kumbima sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves
in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling
that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up
the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint
and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less
and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the
anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task.
So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for
Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps
a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing
which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Soubundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Kumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement compared to the Hokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Mdunkwi of Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

[171] [301] [302]

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Mey who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was belaboring Fit with it. Later Mey came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Mey while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Mey had scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Gwiyap and I were talking about it and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

[522]

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

[123]

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Pit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

*115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Kwiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ama (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her ama or nawalaka (younger uncle and older aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

*115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

*115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me a lot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

*115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Wey was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

October 25, 1936.

101 619 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessam. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampars. Ngwisempte and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempte is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessam. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

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[648]

settle with the Hongwan. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

648 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy
657 place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Max left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days
648 tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with
[439] them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from
[178] them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come
[173] up one time with some of our Hongwam; and the Kwoma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Vasey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

614 [969] along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to 276 the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting is the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9, 1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

How "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its 132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiop". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwem "savi-talk" . His came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabenkure women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to
[548] protect themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm
[123] sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called sambe and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwem. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's sambe. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwem sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwem in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shuddered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

Another event that was important in determining the attitude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[28] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[28] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was [595] named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [597] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [154] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell- 592

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [305] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [177] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [113] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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been one that they had already learned during infancy. In any case neither parents nor older siblings scolded them for this behavior although it was often done in their presence. Kum showed considerable interest in the genitals of other males,* staring at those of his father and older brothers. Perhaps the discovery of his own penis as a source of gratification stimulated his interest in the genitals of others.

While a child is being weaned he must learn many new and independent habits for coping with pain. He has to warm himself by the fire rather than by contact with his mother's body. He must suffer the pain from pressure against his yaws sores, or change his position until the pain is relieved. He no longer has someone to brush the mosquitoes from him but must deal with them alone. He must go down to the spring with his older siblings and wash himself with cold water instead of being gently bathed by his mother with warm water. When it rains he must run into the house if he wishes to keep dry.

When a child is weaned he may no longer sit in his mother's lap by day nor lie by her side at night. This is apparently felt as the most severe frustration experienced at this period of life. No longer is it possible to attain the vantage point from which all drives have hitherto been satisfied.

Kum's behavior indicated an especially strong desire to be near his mother and to touch her. When she came back from work in the evenings he would usually clasp and hug her leg. When she left in the morning he would cling to her, begging to be taken with her. When she sat in the house making a net bag or cooking a meal, he would stand beside her and often lean against her shoulder. Chinuwa, the mother, would never allow him as much contact as he seemed to want. When he hugged her leg or leaned against her side she might tolerate it for a moment, but would soon push him away and tell him to stop annoying her. Kum reacted to one of these rebuffs by

* Both men and women in Kwoma society go naked with the exception of some of the young men who have, within the last few years, adopted the custom of wearing laplaps (calico wrap-around skirts) from their contact with Europeans, and a few of the younger women who have recently procured blouses from white traders.

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[855] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 627 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[31] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[32] against him or one of his relatives.

[31] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[32] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

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When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death repeatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus.

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

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121 86 teachers which does not depend upon pain or fear is that of inciting. This consists of presenting to the pupil the verbal symbols which have been associated with reward along with instructions as to how to achieve such reward. The following [262] case will serve as an illustration. At a coöperative work feast [177] given by Nambomai, my Yambon houseboy, one of the foods prepared was stewed apricots. Gwiyap took it upon himself to teach some of the adults present to eat this food, which was hitherto unknown to them. To do this he said: "It is good. It tastes like ripe bananas." Afolawanj, an old man who was somewhat of a clown, was thus tempted to try some, but he had no sooner taken a mouthful than he spit it out, and refused to eat any more.

In the above case the drive was the appetite evoked by Gwiyap's statement that the stewed fruit tasted like ripe bananas; the response was eating; the cues were Gwiyap's instructions to eat and the sight, smell, and taste of the fruit; the reward was absent. Since there was no reward in this sequence it could be predicted that learning would not take place. The fact that Afolawanj did not again try the fruit is evidence that this was indeed the case. It could also be predicted that Afolawanj would have a decreased tendency to follow Gwiyap's instructions,[20] but I do not know whether or not this was true.

War's attempt to incite Mes and Mar provides a more dramatic instance of the use of this technique. When the Hongwam were planning a head-hunting raid on the Sowal, War, who was the prime mover in the affair, spent a whole evening at the house tamberan inciting Mar and Mes to go on the raid. He described to them all the advantages that they would gain from taking a head—that all the girls would want to marry them, that they could become members of *Nokwi*, that they would gain high prestige so that their words would be listened to at the court meetings, that their

[113] [20] This follows from the principle of extinction. When a response is not followed by a reward, the connection between this response and the preceding cues is reduced in strength. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. v; N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iii.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

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and providing a new means of earning it, had set the stage for the extinction of a supernatural belief.

In sum, a number of factors seem to be responsible for the inculcation and maintenance of supernatural beliefs and practices. Kwoma teachers, having repeatedly warned their pupils concerning real dangers, are enabled to use this technique to teach their pupils to avoid dangers which do not exist. To make these unrealistic warnings more forceful, they describe the supernatural dangers as being similar to the real dangers from which their pupils have experienced pain. Imitation also plays as important a rôle as in the transmission of the other aspects of the culture. Despite all these forces which lead a Kwoma pupil to respect supernatural dangers, the effort and deprivation frequently involved in carrying out magico-religious rituals tend to make him omit them. Since such omissions would soon lead to the extinction of these habits, the sanctions of society, as implemented by punishments from his teachers, provide the ultimate force which prevents the pupil from discovering that these dangers do not really exist and do not have to be avoided. Finally, the teachers themselves continue to inculcate these beliefs because they are integral parts of institutions which as a whole are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic and acquired drives of the constituent members of Kwoma society.

[p. 222 is blank]

349 coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation
[179] brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The
262 natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we
123 were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.
[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the
[346] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the
[198] front court could not see the sacred altar.

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has [197] [19] [291] [177] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɛ, o, u and ʉ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and r. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvcv.
126 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ba is the imperative particle, sage expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wé was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulusi and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bongus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bongus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Kambins, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bongus was the name of another tribe.

however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination-- mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

796 This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaiiu). It seems to be a ceremonial
346 affair, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the
[192] singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpé' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwaté as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bangus.
[177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwat,
[539] representing the Rumbina, Wenyabenkura, and Dawus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwat throw themselves
[535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and
[533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the owi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leathernack' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of Kumbina sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task. So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukau. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My "monki", Gwiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 • 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

657 a half-day, he got a line representing between 80-90% of the recorded
177 population. At Tangwishamp the day before he had had a line of five old men who were not able to go off to the bush and hide with all the rest. One former medical assistant wrote under 'Remarks' in the village book 'it would be much easier herding sheep'.

657 From his inspection he concluded that the Kwoma are a very healthy
177 group of people. He had given us his tabulated results. The spleen rate
164 in children is rather high (they don't bother with adults), and filarial glands are found in one-third of the population. But framboesia is scarce and tropical ulcers few. Ring-worm is found in about one-sixth. After the inspection was over we dove into a half dozen bottles of beer which Max had brought for us.

657 The next morning the dispensary was set up outside our house and
177 treatment was given to those who had seemed to need it in the line the day before. Many more appeared than were called, all wanting the hypodermic injection 606, for framboesia. The fame of this is known to all, but beside its purpose it is expected to clear up any complaint that a person may have. Max was very good and gave over forty injections, handling the people very well. We told him the Hongwem term for hello, good-bye, etc. which he used to our friends great delight.

648 On the 12th we saw a pinnace going up the river; the second that has
657 gone up the river since our settling down here. Max told us that this was Assistant District Officer Ellis of Angoram who is going up to the Yellow River to dismantle the new station which is a failure. That means that after the first of the year Ambunti will again hold the title of being the most remote station in the territory--some say in the British Empire, but I doubt that. At any rate it sounds much worse than it really is.

657 123 179

December 13, 1969.[1] While sitting talking with Max, one of the children came in saying the child Suw was very sick. We went down to see him. His mother was sitting just outside the building, and the other girls were in the house. Wur, who was sitting on the hill beside the house, greeted us. Kis and Kar were standing around. Kwonai was there. We took Suw's temperature; it was normal. Then we stood looking at him and discussing the case. Max said, "He certainly looks sick." Our faces were rather long. All of a sudden we heard a sobbing and looked up to see Wur, his head on his knees, and his body shaking with sobs. Suw's mother began to cry a little too. We went and got some medicine, a mixture of dover powders, asperin, and marmite in warm water, then came back and gave it to Suw. He vomited it up immediately and with it some undigested boyna leaves. After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

[1] [i.e., 1936 - analyst]

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
● 177 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived, there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

578 593 *lege kumori* were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: · Kis said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 *January 17, 1937.* The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Pit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Pit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wef's wife had [775] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring *gambas* (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's *narewboi* came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Nemb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Heyamakwa. They came about 11:00. Nemb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Ehiya boiled sago, and Mar had his family make soup. This was not expected by Nemb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Heyamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] [262] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Nemb had killed a gouria pigeon [123] [262] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] [262] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] [276] [522] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and Mey. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Ehiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] 136 [576] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Yokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mes is now our shoot boy, as Namb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mes realized that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Namb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the nɛ̃ɛ́sí tree is peeled off in short stripe (one to two feet long). These stripe are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is seperated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh seperately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, *kɛ́ɛ́ndɛ́fí* and *nowí*, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the *nowí* trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Nongwem through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.* The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

* Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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121 pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning he will be injured
869 just as surely as, and perhaps even more severely than, if he
178 ignored a realistic warning. Why they wish to prevent the child from being injured is a complex problem, involving identification, loss of help and support, and sanctions against negligence. The important question is why, if parents make their children heed unrealistic warnings in order to prevent them from being injured, does this habit not extinguish when they observe a child experience no harmful consequences when he disregards a supernatural danger? The following case of the extinction of a supernatural belief indicates that this is a real as well as a logical possibility.

121 Mar and Gwiyap had both been warned not to eat sago
869 flour washed by a female lest it make them sick. Before they
178 started to work as our houseboys they had heeded this warn-
252 ing and each had worked with one of his *sisters* in the proces
262 of extracting sago flour. They had washed the pith while the *sister* crushed it. When they began to work for us, however, we demanded their services in the mornings, when they would otherwise have gone to the swamp to replenish the household flour supply. Awa and Kwiya, the *sisters* who had hitherto worked with them, had no other available *brothers*, and therefore formed a team of their own. They took turns washing and crushing and, of course, produced flour washed by a female. Mar and Gwiyap were somewhat hesitant about trying this flour, but they were faced with the dilemma of either going without flour, which had been a staple in their diet since weaning, or ceasing to work for us, which would have meant losing frequent gifts of trade goods as well as some prestige. They chose to risk disregarding the warnings about the food and hoped that the flour would not be like other bad food they had eaten and which had made them sick. Their parents scolded them for this behavior and warned them again. Since no other painful consequences resulted from their first attempt, they decided to try it again, and, for the remaining six months of our stay, they and the rest of their household ate this supposedly harmful food. After the first few occasions their parents stopped scolding and warning them.

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Thus, not only can the supernatural fears of pupils extinguish, but so also can the fears of the teachers become reduced in the same way, so that they no longer maintain these beliefs by sanctioning them.

The fact that Kwoma children can learn not to heed, and Kwoma parents to stop issuing and sanctioning unrealistic warnings, raises a serious question. Why does this not occur more frequently? Why, in the course of time, have not all these supernatural beliefs disappeared as a result of this process? The answer to this is suggested by one of the basic postulates of the functional theory of anthropology. Parents continue to issue unrealistic warnings and to sanction them because they form an integral part of one or more systems of beliefs, customs, and organized activities which, as a whole, satisfy a social need.[14]

The belief in *marsalai* forms a large part of the charter[15] of the yam cult.[16] *Marsalai* are believed to be present whenever this cult holds a ceremonial meeting and to bless those who participate. In playing the instruments of the cult, the members are producing a representation of the voices of these beings. After a ceremony, no man who has attended may have intercourse with his wife, because the powerful and dangerous influence of the cult *marsalai* still clings to him, and might injure her. Thus, were the belief in these monsters to disappear, the Kwoma would be forced either to provide a new *raison d'être* for their cult ceremonies or to give them up altogether. It is not necessary here to present a detailed account of the functions of the cult, but a few of them may be mentioned to show how important this institution is in Kwoma society. The most direct function of the cult seems

[14] See B. Malinowski, "The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology," *Reale Academia D'Italia*, XVIII (1940), 22.

[15] Every institution consists in part of the traditional purposes and reasons for its existence which are believed by the members of the personnel. Malinowski has called this the charter. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 952-954.

[16] The personnel, norms, and material apparatus of this institution can be gathered from the descriptive chapters. The charter and functions are stressed here because of their importance in this context.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

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 121 177 178. [123]

and providing a new means of earning it, had set the stage for the extinction of a supernatural belief.

In sum, a number of factors seem to be responsible for the inculcation and maintenance of supernatural beliefs and practices. Kwoma teachers, having repeatedly warned their pupils concerning real dangers, are enabled to use this technique to teach their pupils to avoid dangers which do not exist. To make these unrealistic warnings more forceful, they describe the supernatural dangers as being similar to the real dangers from which their pupils have experienced pain. Imitation also plays as important a rôle as in the transmission of the other aspects of the culture. Despite all these forces which lead a Kwoma pupil to respect supernatural dangers, the effort and deprivation frequently involved in carrying out magico-religious rituals tend to make him omit them. Since such omissions would soon lead to the extinction of these habits, the sanctions of society, as implemented by punishments from his teachers, provide the ultimate force which prevents the pupil from discovering that these dangers do not really exist and do not have to be avoided. Finally, the teachers themselves continue to inculcate these beliefs because they are integral parts of institutions which as a whole are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic and acquired drives of the constituent members of Kwoma society. 121 869

[p. 222 is blank]

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the banif quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [534] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] They are singing and h[illegible]-walking, half-dancing around the water gong [533] counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few [534] interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Hongwan sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, [178] however, were the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact [554] that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

648 657 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Max left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days 648 tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with [439] them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from [178] them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come [173] up one time with some of our Hongwem; and the Kwoma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Verey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the mKnief tree is peeled off in short strips (one to two feet long). These strips are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 814 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berries used for dye are from two trees, kwaaffi and nowi, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the nowi trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Nongwem through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

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to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order
to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the pos-
sessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing.
In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the
proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman
for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed per-
son, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost
indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation
from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend
his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus,
exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a
means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence
of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and
can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to ex-
tinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
[202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at
which accusations are made and denied and evidence is pre-
sented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all
those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink
water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation
for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and
is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who
have no better theory of disease and no more effective meth-
ods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical
practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the sup-
posed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

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121 82 182 602 262 582 The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

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794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an [241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and [534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which [241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important [182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly [154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

775 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him [764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure [765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

776 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not [794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interetices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12]

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

• [183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukay. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My 'monki', Owiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

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While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

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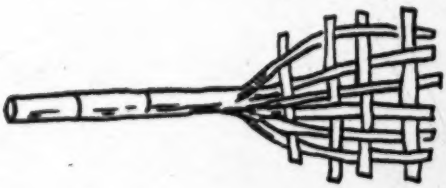
[192]

Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hind [illegible])



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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 1]

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] [156] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hamba. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Telagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

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Urembonj, the Koriasi, and the Kongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Kongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply
[797] a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has
[191] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She
[391] seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.
[177]

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɛ, o, u and ʉ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ar. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvcv.
126 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ba is the imperative particle, nage expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bongus and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
682 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [618] [191] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus lulusi (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his genealogy were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kros came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting for Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yewaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "nonki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

Chapter IV

Case History- OWIYAP

*115 157 Owiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent [191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned *115 593 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second 736 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young-- his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishamps. He was carried *115 553 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His name was given him by the Malus with whom he stayed after the raid. His mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 726 Owiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwam hid in the house except for a few men. Owiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his 'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow Owiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then, when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 123 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Owiyap, who had gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Owiyap sat down beside me and

* 115 In talking over Owiyap with Tip, I was reminded of a couple of things about him that I have not yet recorded. In the first place, he has showed more interest in looking at pictures in the magazines and books that we have than the others --particularly the last number of the Pacific Island Monthly, which he has gone through half a dozen times, asking us what the pictures are--machines, ships, houses, etc., and then having been told, repeating them to himself, much like a child with a picture book.

Another thing is that several days ago, Tip gave him an old tooth brush. Since then, almost every morning he has asked us for it and has spent a long time scrubbing at his teeth and then looking at them in the mirror and showing them to us.

[191] Still another fact is the remarkable amount of pidgin he knows, for a child and for one who has obtained it 'second-hand' from returned "savvy talks". He is always eager to learn new words, and is very quick to learn to make a bed, to cook, or to do other things about the house.

November 15, 1936.

* 115 787 Tip got a dream from him this moring while I was asleep . Owiyap was with Mar going through the bush when they met a simuk (snake). It was a very tall thing made of leather and emitted a noise like a toy bull-roarer, but very much louder. It was a gambe (ghost) . They chased it, killed it and buried it. Then they were afraid about what they had done. As they were leaving the spot, another gambe approached and asked them why they had killed the simuk. They lied, saying "We didn't kill him", and hurried away.

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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [754] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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property.[10] From this time on a male must avoid looking at the genitals of any woman except those of a lover or wife. 864

The sexual response for which a boy is most severely punished during childhood is that of tumescence in public. Any female who observes a boy with an erect penis is expected to beat the member with a stick. It is usually the boy's older *sister* who takes the responsibility for inflicting this punishment. I never saw this punishment actually administered, but I did observe boys with erections on two occasions. While playing at my house one morning Ham had an erection. His older *brothers*, Gwiyap and Mey, noticed it and teased him about it. They told him that he should be ashamed of himself and warned him not to let any females see him that way. On another occasion Fit was observed by his playmates with an erect penis and was similarly teased. Shortly after this I was visiting at Fit's house. His *brother*, Gwiyap, began telling his older *sisters*, Awa and Kwiya, about what had happened to Fit, illustrating the story in a joking manner by putting a stick between his legs. Awa and Kwiya laughed at Gwiyap but they scolded Fit. "You had better not let us catch you that way or we will beat you. What are you, a baby? You should be old enough to control yourself." Fit was much discomfited at this. He denied the truth of Gwiyap's story, told him to shut up, and finally left the house sullenly. Kwoma inculcation on this point is apparently very effective for I observed no adult, and, in fact, no other child with an erection.

A boy is also restricted from fingering his genitals. Anyone who observes a child touching his penis scolds him for it. They tell him that he should not do it because this part of his body belongs to his future wife, and that masturbation will cause injury to his penis. The training is effective enough to prevent the child, who during the weaning period was allowed to touch his penis, from persisting in this habit. I did not observe any boy child manipulate his genitals, and

[10] *Enji mbumbouci*—"My something." This expression is also used to establish property rights, thus bringing the act in context with offenses against ownership and property. [192] [196]

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[648] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[644] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing."[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[561] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sakana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[196] [19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

835 [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[29] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[29] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [513] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *homba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [578] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[762] [192] [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing as his would-be teacher wished.

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right response, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have behaved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is inherent in such objects, because they have been punished for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the power to evoke feelings of fear.

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "infant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used in many contexts in which children are barred from doing what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the motivational power of this concept.

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sago briquettes, she asked Mey to pass her the two sticks which Kwoma housewives use to stir and ladle the thick gruel. Mey brought her two old sticks which she had long since discarded rather than the desired ones. She made Mey take the wrong ones back and get the right ones and began scolding him for his inattention and stupidity. Mey stood looking sullen and sheepish, and heard out her tirade. In this case the drive was anxiety evoked by the scolding; the response was looking sullen and sheepish and listening; the cues included being told to get stirring sticks and the memory of having brought his mother the wrong ones; the reward was reduction of fear (after she stopped scolding him). Thus listening and not talking back, rather than running away, was the response reinforced in this case.[24] The right response, of paying attention when spoken to, would be learned by Mey when on the next occasion he was asked to do something by his mother, did it correctly, and was not scolded for it.

Threatening is the third technique of motivating pupils employed by Kwoma teachers. A threat, like scolding, activates the acquired drive of fear in the pupil, but it differs from scolding in that it precedes the wrong or not right response. A threat is an "if . . . then" statement—"if you do such and such, then I will scold or beat you." Threats are used by Kwoma teachers in situations where they foresee that the pupil is likely to make a wrong response, either because the pupil is beginning to make such a response or because the teacher's knowledge of the pupil's habits suggests that he may do so. Kwoma teachers employ the technique of threatening as widely as scolding although perhaps not as frequently, since it is usually more difficult to predict a wrong response than it is to observe one.

Threats, like scolding, depend for their motivational power upon the acquired drive of fear. The phrase most commonly employed by the Kwoma teacher when threatening a pupil is *anafa fiju*, "I will beat you." *Fiju* is the term employed for all types of physical violence and injury. It has

[24] Unfortunately I observed no case of a child being specifically scolded or punished for talking back, but informants stated that this did occur.

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121 861 [192] [196] the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[25]

121 626 602 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] [25] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[26] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[27]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[26] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[27] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

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pressing work of their own to do; the reward was getting the log to the house tamberan plot. Yat's helpers thus taught him to give a feast by helping him.

Not giving and not helping are also techniques which are frequently used to arouse motivation. Kwoma teachers may punish a pupil by refusing to help him or give to him, after he has made a wrong response, or they may threaten him by promising not to help him or not to give to him if he should make a wrong response. The threat of breaking relationship is effective, not only because it implies aggression, but also because it implies withdrawal of support. Thus War's threat that he would break relationship with Gwiyap if he did not stop taking sago from Payap's plot, implied withdrawal of help and was effective in changing Gwiyap's behavior for this reason as well as because it implicitly threatened the kinds of aggression which kinship restrictions inhibit.

Praising is the third technique of rewarding used by Kwoma teachers. It is an acquired reward on the verbal level. As with other rewards, it may be employed either in conjunction with motivation and guidance or alone. A Kwoma teacher most frequently employs this technique when a pupil has performed an unexpectedly "good" response rather than merely a right one. Kwoma pupils are thus reinforced for excelling, for doing better than others, and this may explain in part why Kwoma individuals strive for superiority and prestige.

One of the phrases frequently employed in praising is *handombas*, "good." This word gains its power to reinforce habits by being frequently used in rewarding contexts. A Kwoma will pat his stomach after a good meal and say "*handombas*," or he will say it when he is greeting a friend, or he will use it to refer to someone or something that he likes. He also uses it to describe tasty food, good workmanship, or someone whom he regards highly. As a result, *handombas* comes to have a relaxing or acquired reward value,[19] and thus has the effect of reinforcing preceding habits when-

[19] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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121 ever a teacher applies it to a pupil. Since, moreover, a
861 Kwoma teacher seldom punishes, scolds, or threatens a pupil at the same time that he praises him, ***handombas*** becomes a cue, reducing whatever anxiety may be present, and thus acquires further rewarding value.

• [192] [554] A second phrase, *harafa ma malaka*, is applied to men of high prestige who have many privileges that the ordinary person does not enjoy. It comes to mean, therefore, the right to go to the *Nokwi* ceremonies, to have many wives, to have many helpers at work bees, to be deferred to at court meetings, and to be so formidable that no one dare threaten or attack you. When a teacher applies this phrase to a pupil, it symbolizes an advance toward the attainment of these goals and is therefore rewarding. Furthermore, if a pupil is called *harafa ma malaka*, he is never called *karaganda yikafa*, "little child," at the same time, as these are antithetical concepts. Since the latter phrase is used to scold pupils, the former symbolizes non-scolding and thus gains further reward value.

Praising may be exemplified by the following case. Yat speared two pigs in one afternoon, a remarkable feat since a man will often hunt for weeks without success. When he returned to the hamlet, he joined a group of men who were sitting in the house tamberan and told them of his accomplishment. The men praised him for his prowess, referring to his act as *handombas* and to him as a *harafa ma malaka*. Thus Yat was rewarded by these words of praise for whatever hunting technique led to his success.

In conclusion, the following summary of the results of the preceding analyses may be made. The assumption that learning principles apply to the process of culture transmission at Kwoma has led to an organization of the data observed, so that some of the factors which permit, and some of the forces which compel, a Kwoma individual to learn his culture have been isolated and defined. Furthermore, the application of learning theory has brought certain essential details of the process of socialization into sharper relief than might otherwise have been the case. It is evident, also, from the above

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wenkí) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its waratta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

"The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, for they will be allowed to go. The night before the waratta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the waratta to the refrain of a hoguasewit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hoguasewit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it isn't taboo to them--merely man's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bongus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulusi, Marsh is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

796 346 [192] This is a 'singsing nothing' (hasawaliiw). It seems to be a ceremonial anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji horumpd' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first hwatd as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Washuh, one for Bongus. [177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwet, [537] representing the Rambine, Wenyabenhura, and Dawus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwet throw themselves [535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and [533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the ewi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leatherneck' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamborem on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamborems.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term narenboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[264] yet know. Later on when one's narenboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwom. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabenkura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

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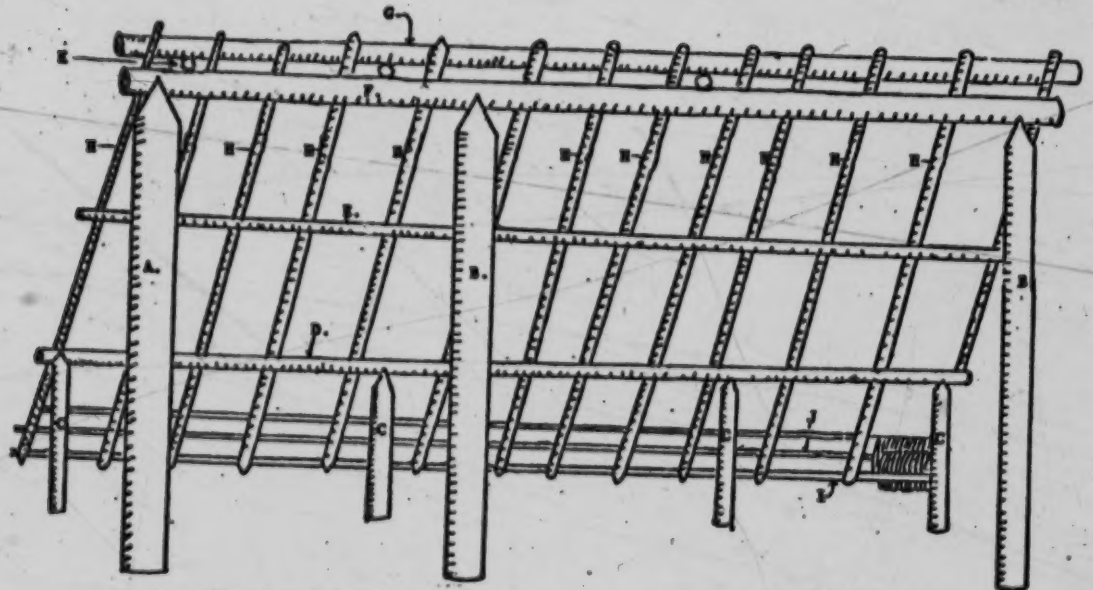
Key to House Construction --Center posts and roof



A. sumaŋ́ -- main central post
B. mɔ̃ndé kwaŋ́--subsidiary central posts
C. taŋ́ faŋ́-- side posts
D. akɨ́ faŋ́--plate
E. akɨ́ jiŋ́--stringer
F. akɨ́ touŋ́--ridgepole
G. yi touŋ́-- binder
H. ya yemi--rafters
I. suku nyungeŋ́--bamboo runners attached to hold ends of shingles
J. aka ngɔ̃ŋ́-- runners to hold shingles
K. akɨ́ warunkɨ́-- cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap.

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[804]

Posts are measured and cut and moved to the building site. To measure the correct length a bamboo is marked by lashing a chip at the desired spot. The diameter of a post is measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around the post and breaking the splint at the point of overlap. The measure is used as a guide in digging the hole. The posts are also measured as they are set to insure a level ridgepole.

The figure on the preceeding page shows the frame of a house, the center posts and half of the roof, and gives definitions for the labels. Following is the procedure used in construction the frame and house.

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1. Two nõndź kwatź (b) (subsidiary central posts) are first set. The central posts (wõndź kwat) stand at each end of the enclosed part of the house.
2. Tafź tompź (c) (side posts) are set.
3. Akź fayź (d) (plate) set.
4. A staging of log lashed from the tafź tompź (c) (side posts) to the akź fayź (d) (plate) and lengthwise logs lashed on this. (For the house tamberan, a very elaborate staging is built-- subsidiary rafters are lashed to a temporary ridgepole up two-thirds way to the nõndź kwatź (b) (subdisiary central posts).)
5. Akź towź (f) (ridgepole) lifted up and lashed. The main ridgepole extends only over the main room (akewź). The smaller ridgepole extension (yi tow) extends over the porch.
6. Yavenź (h) (rafters) set and attached. Those on the porch end of the house are slanted forward toward the peak. (See figure below)

342 192 [284] ongwí yiju are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for akí ne (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akíwoyí ne, in the ground and lashing them to akí fayí (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niene, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas aie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the outside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (momporirié) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas aie room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [35] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asé). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadong represents low gong; gadang represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwo ?af

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

ngurénio

gadang gadong gading

Songs, exhortations

539 Wail sung to mourn a death

533 hogwinanáwÔfáyeyagÔt ahé — Who is looking for him?

764 gamba go ba sowahÔ — He is gone to the land of the dead.

afakw meta né ye yan hÔ — Father come and get him.

Wail sung to mourn a death

awi yahéhé — Mother come

nokwa aké nahé — Give me sago

hogwi anhanahé — Give me meat

aié hawnhé — I am hungry

789 Casting a spell (yamba menifio) is used to protect gardens from pigs
[192] and theft, to prevent rain, thunder, lightening, to quell the wind, etc. and for healing purposes.

789 Exhortation to marselai to quell the wind. If all the snakes are killed, tied
539 up and put in a hold, the wind cannot blow.

533 wafnafré sowégo — Kill the snake (a certain kind in each case)

nayawus sowégo — " " "

hofima sowégo — " " "

kis hofé sowégo — " " "

weyéhof sowégo — " " "

npunkérémbwejuwé — Fasten him

nokéfayétis juwé — Tie him up

key wagwé — Put him in the hollow of a tree.

Magical verse to cure a boil

755 vaíɨ kwiyɨ́ na foso — Growth on breadfruit go away
539 mogwi na foso — Breast go away
533 yatokɨ́ na foso — Leg go away
tabac na foso — Tobacco go away
krɨk na foso — Penis go away
mandɨ́ gɨ́ na foso — Testicles go away
hafokɨ́ ngɨ́ na foso — Shoulder go away
ugwi ngɨ́ na foso — Water go away

533 Songs are not only sung in chorus (hoguaiiu), but also with a leader
192 and chorus (hogwisawat).

192 [826] [262] [614]

marinciw	the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.
nambeyé	ears
nborowang	neck
nasuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
mangorusuku	kidneys
nogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé suf	anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the siafkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.

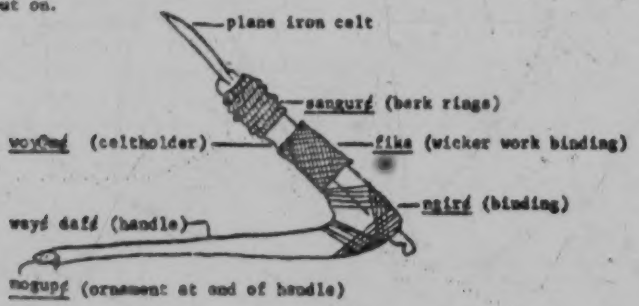
Tools

412
192

Adze (wɔvɛ)

To make an adze, the celt holder (voyɛ̃ŋ́) is shaped and split at the end. Preferred wood is wɔ̃ndɛ́ (pidgin, kwilí), but other wood is used. The handle has also been shaped and is made from any wood. A section is cut out, usually from a small tree where a small branch joins the larger or the main trunk, and is covered to fit the slightly convex celt holder. A straight handle is preferred, but a slightly curved one is not disliked. The angle between the face and handle varies from about 50° to 70°. The iron celt (formerly stone) is slipped into the split in the celt holder. Bark rings (sangurɛ́) which have been dried are slipped on from the top and forced down, holding the celt firmly in place. The wicker work is then woven into a sleeve and the handle is slipped into this. Hoops from prepared liana bark are also used to attach the handle to the celtholder. The hoop is measured to the collar of the celtholder by tying it in a half knot which is pulled tight. This is slipped off and the ends are tucked on either side of the loop until a twisted loop is formed four or five strands thick. The twists are laid carefully side by side, which causes the loop to thicken and therefore a lessening of the inner circumference so that the loop will jam when driven to the shoulder. When the handle has been attached, a final binding is put on.

[284]



412
0 192

The handles for (adzes) wolye, especially those used to break up sago, are buried in the mud for a period of about two years. They become very hard and tough and have a high black polish. A stick (gémégéégé) is also made this way and used in place of the stone blade for crushing sago pith. The cutting point is sharpened by pecking with a pig's tusk scraper into a cup shaped point. The wood is extremely hard after burying so it is shaped before putting it into the water.

412
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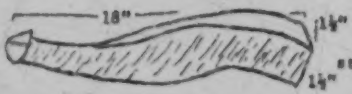
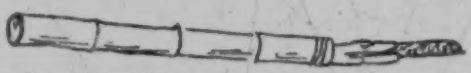
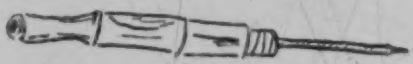
hammer (nbombo) -- made from heavy hard wood



celtholder (woyfwf)-- made with bamboo holder, plane iron celt

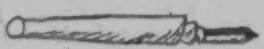


chipper (yonkwo)-- made with bamboo handle, iron rod with wedge chisel point. Handle about four feet long.

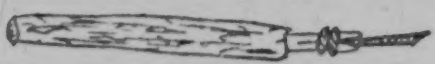


scraper (asf) -- bamboo handle, celt stone, about three and a half feet long.

chipper (yonkwo)-- bamboo or wooden handle, plane iron chipper, attached by split liana cord (fikf) hoops, about three feet long.



chipper (yonkwo)-- made with wooden handle, attached by hoops.



Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the mŋgisí tree is peeled off in short stripe (one to two feet long). These stripe are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, kísəŋfíí and nowí, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the nowí trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Hongwam through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

Paints

386 In addition to the berries used to dye twines, paints are made by
192 various clays. Black paint, wŋnź (kwild- pidgin) is made by burning wŋnź wood. The charcoal is heavy and resinous, and when scraped with a stone is mixed with the sap of sŋgnvivewź . Other colors are made by mixing clay with water. They are nowź kayź (black clay) ; sŋkź nowź (red clay); mbŋndowź nowź (yellow clay) ; nogung (white clay).

532 Sugilawas (carved wooden figures representing marmakai used at the
386 yam cult ceremonies) are painted with a small brush made from the frayed skin
[413] of a betel pepper fastened to a small stick. The black paint is applied all over the figure and dried in the sun. The other clay colors are applied over the black.

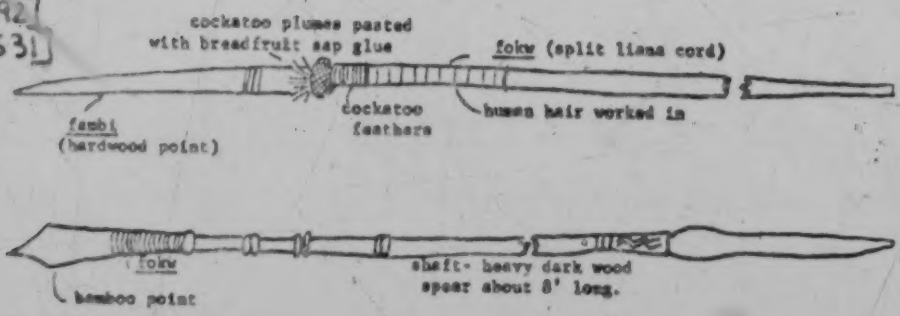
Spears

411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411 322 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. These made from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[324] [192] [531]



Bow and arrow

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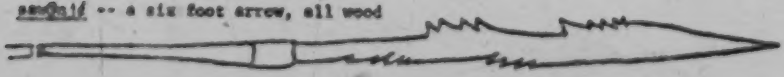
The bow (an[illegible]) is tightened by placing the lower point on the ground, while the left hand grasps the top, and the right hand the middle. The left knee is then brought to bear against the bow and the fokw (split liana cord) slackens. The arrow is held against the fokw (in the right hand) between thumb and forefinger of the index finger. The palm of the left hand pushes out against the bow. The thumb circles the bow; the index finger arches over the arrow so that the latter rests in the crotch between the thumb and index finger. As the bowstring is drawn taut, the bow is raised until the arrow is just below the level of the eye. The left arm is straightened as the string is drawn back with the right.

Arrows are made from either wood or bamboo shafts. (See figures below).

minj/ -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

kwonj/ -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

sa[illegible]j/ -- a six foot arrow, all wood



Butchering a Pig

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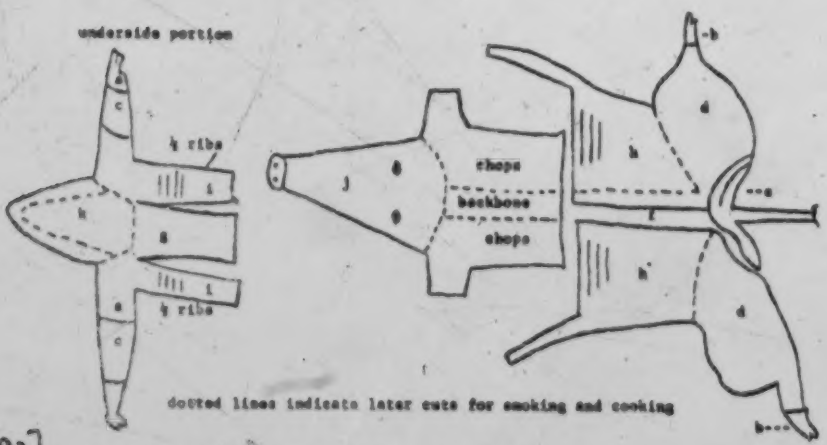
[412]

All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig, how it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.



[192]

a. trotters-front (tef(wheyskerf)
b. trotters-hind (yatf(njenkfr/)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (tokfhaf)
d. 2nd joint of backlegs (kvafhaf)
e. tail and tenderloin (hiayf sfhf)
f. backbone (mangfr/)
g. breast (koku tokwiayf)
h. rear flanks (kokuaif)
i. fore ribs (mari)
j. upper jaw and brain case (masfkf)
k. lower jaw (kvajung)

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192

Cuts of a Butchered Pig

takimpi	breast, lower jaw, outer end of ribs, and fore legs to shoulder
mas/kɨ	upper jaw, head, shoulders, front half of back bone, chops
kwafimpi	back half of animal, cut in two along right side of backbone
yikufɨ	womb containing foetus
wofu	liver
mesɨ̃kɨ	heart
kumbo	stomach
sungu	intestines, large and small
herumpɨ	lungs
kweve	gaul
mbini	shoulder blade
neyfmunt	neck bone
kinyɨ	tail and tenderloin
hofu	long muscle below backbone
wadi	ribs in kwajimpi portion
kinɨkɨ́	lower portion of hind leg
kwaj@mpɨ	second joint of back leg

231
252

Butchering procedure

1. All legs cut through at second joint, skin remaining
2. Ribs chopped on either side of breast bone
3. Breast bone cut around sides and belly and flapped forward over head
4. Belly slit to anus
5. Vitals removed and put in palm spathe; gaul is cut out and thrown away
6. Ribs chopped in three equal sections on either side of back bone-- two breaks on each side

231
252

7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

231
602
593
192

Division of parts to relatives

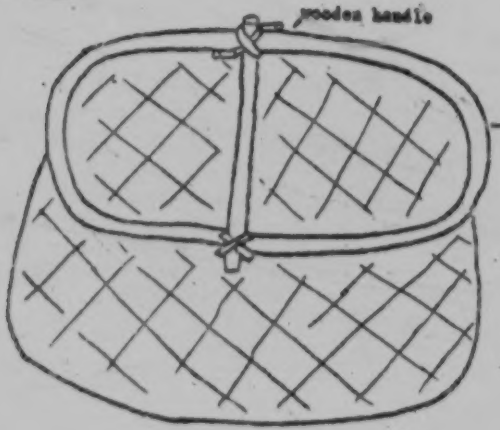
kwajumo	mother's brother
takŋhafi	father's sister
takimpi & suku tokwiyi	sister
masiki, amos	father's brothers
yati ŋgŋokori	brothers
mangŋri	wife and children
hokusaif	wife and children
mayi	wife and children
ontratis	wife and children

Fishing

226 [462] Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (naye) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

Fish Net (naye)

227 [192]



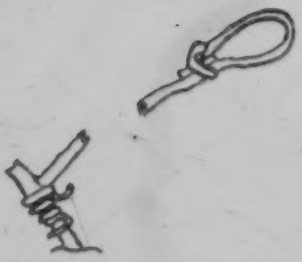
415 [192]

Basket (Sowpd)

Made from palm spathe, sewn with afokwas needle and foky, split liana cord, awl fashion.
Use to carry fish and other dry food.

244

[284]

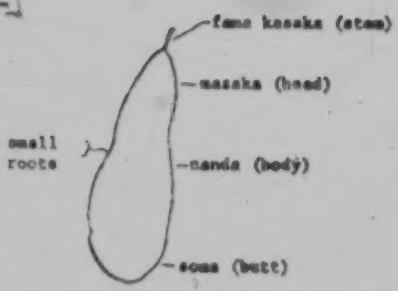


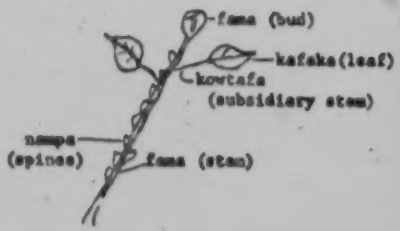
Split liana stringers

Split liana stringers and vines as attached to tree stumps

Names for descriptive parts of yams

[192]





244 192 614

Listed below are some of the varieties of yams and a description of them.

afosampa kow-- a totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf is dark green and large.

hangwa-- The fruit is long and dark, covered with fine roots. The leaf is light green or white. There are needles on the vine.

hayamakwa-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The leaf is light green or white, the vine very spiny.

hofu nanyi (snake)--The fruit is very long and thin. The leaf is long, narrow and dark green.

kasaya nanyi (a bird)-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf dark green, and the vine spineless.

kayahafa-- The fruit is long and covered with roots. It resembles the variety afosampa.

mandowa-- The fruit is long and light colored with fewer roots than the hangwa yam. There are needles on the vine; the leaf is dark green.

mandowa kow-- A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is dark skinned, with some roots; the leaf large and dark green.

mbutuwi kow-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is large, has no roots and is dark. The leaf is spineless, dark green.

nbagaoak-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is rounded and dark, with roots near the head near the stem but not below; the leaf is dark green.

nanya-- The fruit is round and lumpy; the leaf long and narrow. There are no needles on the vine.

ngayatafa-- The fruit has no roots except around the leaf of the fruit near the stem; the leaf is green and the vine spiny.

nogwako-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit has no roots, the leaf is white.

wasimpira (pig's tooth)--A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is large and flat. The leaf is dark green; there are no spines on the vine.

woya-- A variety of wild yam with long fruit and a small leaf.

Other vegetables

244 Mbiraka, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The
[A2] seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house . The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[192] Waru, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Mayon , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted.
192 There are several varieties grown: mbviya, eaten raw or cooked; ngayamwa,
252 eaten raw or cooked; fayambiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasifi, eaten raw or
[462] cooked; afojokwa, eaten cooked only; yayofa, eaten raw or cooked; ngarafaya, eaten raw or cooked.

249 Betel nut, kwasa, and coconut are planted by either men or women.
[245] Betel peper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Varieties of Taro

244
192
614

afiyengwat-- A totem of the Tug sib.

harama-- A totem of the Tug sib. The leaf is green with dark green squires; the stalk dark green.

managa oska-- The leaf is dark green on top while the underside is a slightly bluish light green. The stem is light green.

nawakamayi-- A totem of the Haykmakwo sib. The leaf is large, dark green with light green splotches. The stalk is mahogany red.

The head of a taro is called masaka and the body ono . A young shoot is called yeyi.

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Manus
252 Informant: Gwiyap:
115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago
192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago
262 1 cup soup (kow foyf)

Informant: Gwiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana
7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit
1 boiled sago
noon-- 3 ripe bananas
3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: May

dawn-- 1 boiled sago
3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, ngwf)

Informant: Awa

niingf
(breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yantkf
(lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago
1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)
meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

hongwf
(dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

262
192 Soups and other foods

foyokw ndonkw (pork soup) - foyɨ (pork), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana), mɨngisa (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbir@kɨ (spinach).

foyokw ndonkw-s@wɨ (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), foyɨ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbir@kɨ (spinach), mɨngisɨ (leaf greens), s@wɨ (coconut).

wusiyɨ w@os huvutu (thick vegetable soup) -hinyɨ (a kind of vegetable), mbir@kɨ (spinach), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), owɨ (sago grubs), kwinyɨ (pork).

sfos@wɨ ndonkw (cassowary soup) -mbir@kɨ (spinach), s@wɨ (coconut), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] sfondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] [439] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is merely salted and eaten with sago.

Preparation of Boiled Sago

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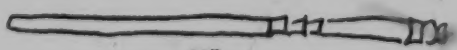
[192] To make boiled sago, water is heated in a pot over the fire with a half dozen seasoning leaves (yiffinbiki) simmering in it (if the boiled sago is to be particularly tasty). A large lump of sago is then put in the bottom of another pot supported on the ground by a hoop of thin wood (the pots are round-bottomed). When the water boils, the leaves are skimmed off and put aside. The water is dipped into the other pot with a coconut shell dipper until the pot containing the sago is filled. It is stirred with the two "chop sticks" held in one hand. (See figures below). The water unites immediately with the sago and makes a thick gruel which becomes rubbery when it cools. This is stirred and tested until it has cooled sufficiently to congeal. The sticks are then held in each hand and rotated around each other and pulled out, dipped, rotated, and pulled out, about

ladle (nagwiebwi)

252
415
192
531

chop sticks (wuffiwi)



252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (whasambage, a roughtdull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do [516] this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, [857] child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (nəŋyi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [354] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

252 of a pancake. Next it is placed on the palm spathe, on top of the first cake, cooked side down, and another handful is put on the pot, the palm spathe, etc. until the lump is finished. Then the process of frying the other side is begun. Water in a coconut shell or pot is sprinkled over the top of the last cake until it is damp. Then it is put back on the fire the damp side down, and the next cake is sprinkled while the first one cooks. Each cake is cooked about a minute then stacked on a leaf. When they all are cooked, the pile of cakes is wrapped in the leaf and put away until time for eating, or eaten immediately.

[415] [192] A piece of betel spathe (tsoo nasiwe) is used to scrape the stirrer (ngumwi), the chop sticks (wurəfi), and the pan in order to clean them.

Preparation and cooking of yams

252 Yams are prepared for boiling by cutting off the skins with a cane knife. The yams are cut into chunks, the size of medium potatoes, and placed in a clay pot (about three quart size) to which water is added. They are boiled until they are soft, removed from the pot with yam sticks and [263] placed on freshly picked banana leaves. A small amount of salt (wís) is put [192] on the leaf as well.

Salt (wís)

263 Salt is made by burning dried sago bark (punkí). The ashes are 192 eaten. (It tastes like medicated salt.). foat (pidgin) is trade salt, [437] much preferred to the homemade variety.

Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab. There are numbrous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark [824] slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngola plant (which produces motf, the red [192] berried 1' - 2' cobbwhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled [262] so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape. These leaf rings vary in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen [192] about the house. They are called songuesale.

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.

Other containers

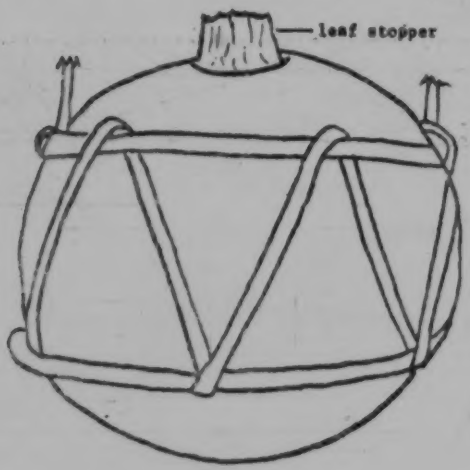
322
415
[192]
[824]

To make a lime gourd (weff), the stem of a green gourd is cut; the seeds are chipped out with a bamboo sliver, and shaken out with some of the meat. The gourd is then stuffed with leaves of a bush taro (kwasfmbonkf) and filled with water. It is wrapped with breadfruit leaves and cooked for about fifteen minutes. Then it is removed, emptied, and scraped inside and out. Next it is put in the sun to dry. (If the taro leaves are not put inside, the gourd will turn black.)

415
192
[386]

Gourd pot (nafrfmpf)

This particular pot is used for storing the sap of kwar, a hardwood tree, used as a base for black body paint (kevi). A similar cradle is made for a long gourd.

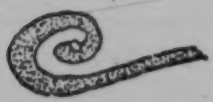


323
531 Incised decorations on clay pots

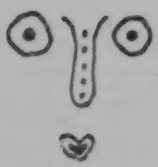
192 wɲɨɨ (usually on top rim of pot)

ambag

mbonɨmbonɨ



miyi (eyes)
sumpɨnɨi (nose)
kwinɨɨ (mouth)



Tobacco

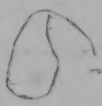
276 793 Long, long ago, Sukugaratś shot Sokweyigurś and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagaratś made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

276 Cigarettes

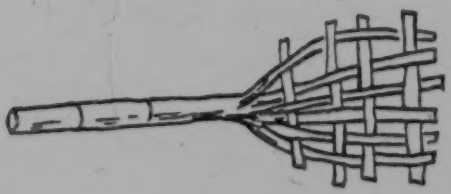
[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdangara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (niey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.



276 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed
562 smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the
183 women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

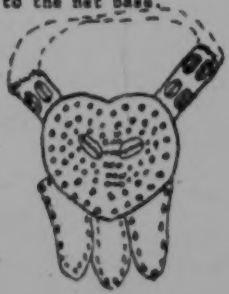
249 Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hiwé mu@e@tawé)
412
[192]



Ornaments

301 286 287 192 [583] [439] [436] Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawtsé) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price). Shells , yasi (small cowrie shells) and asimangiré (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below , an ornament called nō masiké (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.



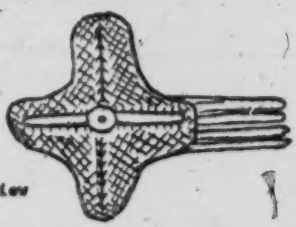
[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (asingurí), shell ornaments (wanyiyé) , yasi , asimangiré and lofu wafé (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird of paradise (mano) are the most highly prised for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mano.

301 [561] A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white 301 237 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo foku) is attached

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] nagŋɨ minjɨ-- ornamental comb
[581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikɨ) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fulɨ) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

Appendix 1 GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

Key to vocabulary

104
194
192

Vowels

ɨ = u in but (ɨ =ʌ)

@ = a in bat (@ =æ)

a = a in father

o = o in rote

e = a in mate

u = u in rule

i = ee in meet

Consonants

f and b are bilabial

mb and nd are nasalized consonants

192

Section II
VOCABULARY

afakɨ	now, today
afɨ kafɨ	soon, presently
[601] afɨ yakɨ	father's older brother
afiyangwat	variety of taro
afo	a generic term for birds, butterflies, and bats
afo fɨyɨ	small bat
afojokwo	variety of banana
afo jokwɨ	fowl
afo kimbi	large bat, "flying fox"
afo kiyɨ	cicada
afo kwasɨ	large fruit bat
afo kwasɨ mɨmbɨ	hair on the arms
afokwɨ	father or paternal uncle. The term refers to afi, awa, and afo yakɨ If one is asked who his afokwɨ is, he will answer with the name of his afi. It is also used as andɨ afokw, meaning "I am of the older generation".
afokwɨ	old man
afo ma	cockatoo
afoma	white
afo mbeyɨ	birds' eggs
afo ndowandɨ	gouria pigeon

192 afo ngwiyeyé earrings

afo ngwo a small bird

afo nyumé rock pigeon

afo nyumeyé large fish hawk or eagle

afoeenkw chisel made from pig's thigh bone

afo ŋ̊mbé- large cassowary. A girl calls a man's penis afo ŋ̊mbé if she wants to have intercourse with him.

afoempa variety of yam

afo sombé rukwé a butterfly

afo senyé nest of the bush fowl

afo sifé small cassowary

afo wanjé large black duck

afo ẘŋé a bird's nest

afo ẘŋé egret

afo yemé duck

afo veyi "bird canoe", airplane

afwa greetings!

[601] ager (ahdré, a) new

ajé maternal grandparents (those who are addressed as laka or kumwa)

aka house, dwelling

aka feyé the enclosed part of a house

aka jifé the side of a house

akama house, home. Often used to refer to one's own hamlet or village

aka ma the front part of a house

aka ngwoné rat

akaré new, another

aké towé ridge pole

aka yin rear of a house, porch

ak̊ ẘc 4" black lizard

akwé coen to swallow

amé bamboo

amérgwré clam shell ring

amérukwé house fly

amaruka wana fly trap

amé yemé large bamboo with nodes knocked out. Used to carry water.

amba before, completed, done. Denoting completed action.

amiya bring it quickly, come quickly, go quickly

amwa father's younger brother

anandé big

amé me, to me

anéwcwé to agree, to speak

amé wasi yohité to play

amé jokwé taboo, prohibit

anjuka bow

192 ndé I

ndé yu ywé I dislike

ao clay pot'

ao bèwuto to cook (hiyato)

ao wari a bilassed saucepan

apasanka cassowary

arafá large knife

así wangári shells used for ornaments and money

así dog;scraper

así fu dog's tooth headband

ato ant

[601] atokwé wife's parents, parent-in-law

awisÕkí a kind of soup

awé wild sugar plant

awambaga a small palm

awe mother

ayandí noon

ayes navel

ca wbeyé wanda sÕtá masturbate (o). Phrase used to scold children.

cikác sÕw cÕrá the same as this; as big as theirs

afeyé hornbill

afi father, ceremonial

ajahawa hungry

ajo to have intercourse

ajo hawí to be hungry

aki ʏ(agi) bone dagger

angi my, mine

ará penis

ará wandá sÕtá masturbate(o). Phrase used to scold children.

asankwá grass spider

até this or that (demonstrative)

ayi canoe paddle

fafa stone

fafa afowa white stone

fambi hardwood point of a spear

fawá leaf, young shoot

fawa kapaka stem of a yam

fandáto to wrap in leaves for roasting

fayambi areca palm, areca nut

fayambiyaf variety of banana

fÕkáto to break fire wood

fÕnder one

fÕrá jará three

fÕrána them (dual accusative)

fÕrátá they, they two

fÕrati their (dual genitive)

fÕráto to draw a design

fÕrá tawá relation between two families(stop as one)

fi blood, sap, milk

192 fijo — to fight, spear, kill

fikɨ — wicker work

fojɨ kayi — sunset

fokwɨ — string or cord for lashing, vine used for lashing

fora — sago needle fish hook

foyɨ — pig

foyɨ kokw — flint

foyɨ utu — to boil

foyimbɨ — pig's tusk

foyokw — bull roarers

foyokwɨ — soup

fu — tooth

fulɨ — arm band

futo — to bring forth, come out

fuyi — white shell ring worn as an ornament

fwejo — one

fwejo — to break ground with a digging stick

fwuyɨ — cheek

garubw — fruit tree

girumba — tree

hafɨ fikɨ — arm band

hafɨmɨ — shoulder joint

hafɨ mbalɨ — poor, thin, "bone nutin"

hakwato — to weep

hamba — small knife

hamba hijo — to practice phlebotomy

handɨ yuyɨ — young man

hanga yungo — to be a little better (if sick)

hangɨ yato — to fly

hangwa — variety of yam

harafɨ — big

harɨnɨ tatɨ — help, assist

hato — to give; to be sick; die

hawankwa — variey of yam

hawɨsik — let's go!

haydmi — a tree

hecuwɨ — to look at, look for

hi — name, fire

hi jafɨ — firewood

hi ka tukato — to burn, make a fire

hikɨsato — to be wrong, err

hil@kɨ — to steal

himdangara — cigarette

him — tobacco

himyɨ — a kind

hisawɨ — big, large (marked out)

hiso — to mark, mark out

hiyato — to cook, boil

hofama — variety of yam

hofato — to open

hofojimbifɨ — small tree snake

hofokiyɨf — large tree snake

192

hofokwẽe	2' water snake
hofu	snake
hokwé hokwa	ceremony
hokwa kẽréto	to scratch onẽe skin
hokwa yato, hokwé yato	to scratch
homba leyato	to be ashamed
hompa	palm spatha
hongo rukwé	arm pit
hongwé	afternoon
hongwésé	to sneeze, begin to be sick
hongwato	to loosen, untie
hoyé yikafé	man child, son
hukwiyé	meat
humboto (humbutu)	to beat a gong
i	tomorrow
ijo (iju)	go
ja	vagina
jojo	to scratch, pinch
joyé	chair, bed
ji	down below
jimbifi	sap of a tree
jis iju	to walk about, go calling
kafére	three and four(in coming)
kafwé	black magic
kafwa sekẽ-	bad, no good
kamé epwé	to menstruate
kambé	swamp grass
kamwa fi	menstrual blood
kandkandé	quail
kaoaka	stem (of taro)
katé	that (demonstrative)
kasanafa	blue dye
kayé nimbére	personal name (feminine)
kẽkété ijo	to chase
kẽnkareyaf	2" white bush lizard
kẽréto	to cut, scratch, shave
kẽréto	to tie
késénéfé	tree, the berries of which are used for dye
kététo	to buy
kéwato	to plant (yams and bananas)
kéyato	to weep, wail
kafé	good (applied particularly to people)
kayé fi	good
kes ijo	to dry up (sore), to peal (vegetable)
kayahafa	variety of yam same as afosampa
kayafé, kéyafé	ornament
kayaké	house for storing yams and taro
kayé hafé	black, blue, green
kayé ngambé	black feather

192

kijé	you two (dual gen.)	kwar	a hardwood tree
kijémé	you two (dual acc.)	kw@sé	betel pepper
kiji	you two (dual gen.)	kwase	a magic leaf
kikiyé	tiny	kwasikó	bushland, jungle
kiu	pig's tusk scraper	kwayé	tail feathers of a cassowary
kin iju	to sharpen, whittle, engrave	kwejémbé	thigh
kinyé	tail feathers, tail	kweyé	good, well, hard (adv.)
kirése	to cut or bruise	kwinjé fofweyé	breath
kis kis	side posts of a house	kwinjé safi	lips
kiyé	flesh of pig or cassowary	kwo	mat bag
kiyato, kiyéto	to carry	kwo mas	behind
koré koré	small marsupial	kwo wasfké	mountain
korémbé	men's house, sib	kwomé	you (pl. acc.)/ 6" arrow
korowé	saw fish	kwo na wa	whose, what, what is
kow	variety of yam	kwofé	stinking, rotten
kowimi	4" red ants	kworé	boil, ulcer
kow@ hukuw@	to wait	kwoté	you (pl. nom.)
kowtafa	subsidiary stem of a yam	kwotato, kwotéto	to cut in a sawing manner
kumbo	stomach, belly	kwoti	your (pl. gen.)
kukiya	animal food	wa	man, husband
kumbo jeyé	orphan	wafuwé	first, in front
kumbujeyémi/@ o	thin, poor	wagagositit	design cut through bark of a tree - Property marks
kim ok@sé	palm	wa heyé	burial platform
[601] kumwo	younger brother	wagwis@wé	ladle
kuréké	stingless honey bee	wa keyémbi	forehead
kuréto	to curve, bend		
kwar sugwiya	afternoon ceremony		
kwé hato	to cut up meat		

192 ma kiyafi jiju — payment to deceased wife's family

makáfá — long hair

mambá — skin

mambeyá — ear

mambeyá — hawk

mana — rat trap

managa oaka — variety of taro

mandá — testicles

mandá simbá — pubic hair

mandowa — variety of yam

[601] mangáfá — mother's brother

mank — a swamp grown tree

mangá ruwá a@ká — kidneys

mangwisa — a tree

mangárákampá — an edible lizard

mankárá — back bone

mangola — comb ornament

mano — bird of paradise

mará kafá — little black mosquito

mara oakwá- — brain, soft bone on top of baby's head

Marailai — ghost, spirit

mas@ká — head, front

mas@ká nga — grey hair

masa — before, previously

masayá minjá — comb

maya — fish net

mayaka — strong, large, old

mé fénga — wooden trumpet

mérinká — white sago grub

m@ — crocodile

m@ná — you (sing. nom.)

m@ngá — tree

m@tá — you (sing. nom.)

m@ti — your (sing. nom.)

mbambá — shell ring arm band

mband mband — nearby

mbango wará — pig skin shield

mbas — tinea; small lizards

mbasambaga — a rough leaf about 1' square, used as outer wrapping for boiled sago.

mbasakáyato — to return to one's house

mbayá ngayá — side

mbe — egg

mbeyajo — to be crazy, insane

mbi — point

mbirika — spinach

mbiyuka — 1' lizard

mbom — mouth

mbombo — hammer

mbonká — taro

mboro wanga — neck

mbos — small lizard

mboyni — a tree

192 mbonyi old

mbə belly

mbu ground, earth

mbukinawé to refuse

mbukw a certain leaf

mbumboya something

mbutukgnafo 2' ground snake

mbutuwi variety of yam

mbəə nothing, no, not

mbwiya variety of banana

me kambé bush country to south, sago swamp

me mbé yowé hole in gong

[601] mem mother's brother

mendayé brother (woman speaking)

menjo, menjéwé to hear, understand

meré a tree (Ficus?)

mesaka a tree

mesalaf a tree

me sŋkd heart, fruit

mesérimbé gong beater

[601] meye rib bone

meyon water melon

miji a sago grub

mikwénéé snake

mimé wife, woman

[601] mimé yikafé female child, daughter

minjéfankiyé 6" edible black bush lizard

minjé futu to be sick

miyi eyes

miyi mbonjé eyebrow

miyi nambé eyelids

mogu nipple, breast, milk

moké sémbé urine

moka sperm

mokufi milk

mokwé nambé light brown skin, white skin

mokwi the cicatrization on a woman's belly

mombu bamboo beheading knife

mombé esé comb

mongwi yangwé rubbish

morinjé a white sago grub used to bait hooks

mowanyega variety of banana

mowé sŋkd large tree with fine grained wood. Yembons use it for canoe making.

mowi sister

moyi large fish

moya " "

mugwiyeyé bamboo cage

mwenjé court of older men who decide on crimes and sorcery.

mwenjé mbetu to talk

192

na	imperative particle
nanda	body of yam or taro
nambí (bared)	creak
rempa	small roots or spines of a yam
nangwí	something
narámboyi	friend, blood brother
[601] narəmá	brother's sister's wife
nawa i	go!
nawaki	large white ground snake
[601] nawí yaki	father's older brother's wife
rayáwəlo	water snake
nayámá nəki	red, light brown
nayámbi	year
[601] nəfí	dry, ripe
nəgdicu	to hold in hand
nəkárí, nəkarí	yellow
nəkáriywá	to be well
nəmbí	feathers, hair
nəndí kwat	central post in a house
nəŋkayəwar	2nd black house lizard--inedible
nəngangwaá	small black bush mosquito
nəwá	to howl (dog)
nəwəfki	moon
nbagaak	variety of yam
ndangi yookwí	small bug which supposedly kills a man if it gets in his ear
ndəfárí	first two units in counting
ndəfárí	four
ndəfárí karí	three
ndəkí	here, at this spot
ndəmbali	four row knitted ornament
ndəngarí	a piece, bit, part
ndəngato	to cut up
ndəti	this
ndompí	short
ndowíkay	rat
ndowar	a plant
nenywí	earthquake
nenyí	yam
neyi	wife's sister's child
ngambí	ghost; ornament, markings on a pot
ngambírungwenyí	small tree bat
ngarafaya	variety of banana
ngawí	pith
ngayawwa	variety of banana
ngayana	lizard snare
Ngayí Ngayí	original inhabitants of Kwoma
ngayatafa	variety of yam
ngayí	sago swamp
ngdui	fried sago fritters
ngərato	to shave face

192 ng@rd ng@sd — an ornamental betel stick

ng@risiju — to peel, part of process of scraping sago pith

ng@sd — tally which records the amount of bride price; lime spatula

ng@yd — fried sago fritters; a small bush lizard

nginyd — toy used to imitate sound of gongs

ngole — a plant

ngowd — bone of "flying fox" used for needle

ngoro — long

ngowd y@t@s — orange bodied mosquito

ngowosi, ngowimi — large orange ants

ngumbetmwosi — cross beam

ngumbu — sedge

ngumbwiyo — sweet potato "tapioc"

ngungwinyd — marrow

ngwantomoyd — spider

ngwayd — long bamboo pole used to hang runners on yam plants

ngworo — high, long

ngwoto — to fill up

ng@t@ fai@to — to empty

ngwimbihofo — 2' groond snake

ngwusi — tortoise, turtle

ngwwayamp — sago needle

[60] nirjokw — daughter's husband

nonumokd — large clam shell

nokwd- — sago

nombonjo — broken

nijd n@ngd — evening

nijengd — morning

niji — night, dark

njimbi — comb ornament

nje — banana leaf paper

nogwako — variety of yam

nogwisd — Australian

nokwa — vegetable food

rokwa sanga — long, ribbed leaf

nokwangora — hot water

nokwifd — many

nokumokd — large clam shell suspended from necklace

nokwingord — boiled sago pith

nokwd o@wd — paw paw

nokwa — raised scars which are a symbol of manhood

nokwis — white men

nombo — road

nombonjo — broken

nond — us (pl. acc.)

nosafd — ground

notd — we (pl. nom.)

noti — our (pl. gen.

nowd — ground, earth; tree, the berries of which are used for dye

192 numbuy@rɨk day before yesterday

nyinymwɨ earth quake

ɔmaup digging stick

oayimbi domesticated betal nut

ofw@lɨ later

ofweyɨyakɨt to come sometime later

okamalaga lizard snare

okɨ a boil

okɨrmɨ sweat

omɨnd@ndɨ far away, distant

omo food, meat

omok@rɨ mimmw

otato to do, work

otowɨ ak to cook

owɨ an edible insect, sago grub

owɨs@kɨ fern, sago shoot

r@nɨ him

r@tɨ he

r@ti his

rokwiyɨto to empty

sa an expletive to call attention

safɨ skin

sakanowa red dye

sakɨ sowɨkwato to fall down (a person)

sambo kafwa sever relations between families

sakwɨ to fall down (an object)

saw@ajɨ 6' all-wood arrow

sawɨ large edible grasshopper

saw@nɨ base on which shells are sewed for ornaments

sawuto to sing; to teach or to scold

s@kɨ s@ɨto to sizzle, dry up on fire

s@nbayɨ ornament suspended from neck

s@nakɨ following

sɨnbayɨ base on which shells are sewed for ornaments

sɨwenato to fetch (water)

sangurɨ bark rings

se awa form of greeting

secuwɨ to place, put

sembi hair, short feathers

senyɨ (often pronounced san) form of greeting

s@nɨ black magic

s@tɨ she, it

s@ti her, its(gen.)

s@wɨ coconut

s@wɨ fo coconut milk

s@wɨ fiju to break a coconut

s@wɨ najɨ red

s@wɨ onoyutu to take out the meat of coconuts

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si	ants
sicé	we two, we
sin	variety of banana
sokérenkérd	2" lizard
sokwato	to come up (wind or plants)
soma	butt of yam or taro
soubo	lacking, empty, emptied
songawan	cicada
sowangéhokwé ciou	to whistle
sowé	wind
suferuku	18" black lizard
sufu	hole
sufétambí	"lap lap" (pidgin)
sug@riyowé	6" black bush lizard
sugilwas	beings thought by women to make noises of flutes, gongs, etc. at ceremonies
sugwiyawé	to dream
sugwiyé	ceremony; hant sugwiyé, age-grade ceremony; yenéminjé, yam cult ceremony
sugilówas	marsalai, or wooden figures representing them
sumagwiyi	upper lip
sumba sumba	without expecting pay
sumo	buttocks, rear, back of anything
sumo sufé	anus
sumwa sumwa	without
sumwenjé	nose
sungu	intestines
sungé woenj (sunga wenj)	sorcery court
suwafa	co-wife
suwutu	to roast
tafé	arm; handle; limb of a tree
tafé hondtu	to hiccough
tafé mangéré	back of hand
tafémd	finger; fifth unit in counting
tafémbis	fingernail
tafémbowkwé	elbow
tafé miyi	wrist joint
tafé oe	upper arm
tafé wofu	palm of hand
takimpi	chin
takwé mayémé hato	to yawn
tarokwoyé	tongue
tarato	to chew
tawé	stop, remain, live
t@fé	trough for washing sago pith
t@géré	bit, piece, section, portion, remainder
t@kimbésibé	beard
t@mimému	shoulder
tenjicu	howl, bark

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togwowé	to tie a knot
tombokwiew	to carry on the shoulder
tokpo	short
tosɨto	to dance
ufɨrieɨ	two; sometimes, "they two"
ufɨrisimbɨ	a few
ugum@rɨ	a large eel
ugu sɨwɨ	to chew betel
u handɨ nandɨ	dawn
uk@nbus	1" black lizard
uku	water
ukums	2" edible black bush lizard
uku uyuyi	high water
ukus	sickness; phlegm
unɨnisf	small opossum
usuto	to shout
usunje	large opossum
uwɨ	husk of betel nut
uwiya kus	womb
wafɨ	lime gourd
wafɨ dakɨ	hole in top of lime gourd
wafiyokw	2'-3' ground snake
wagɨndagɨt	inter - tribal court
wajɨ	breadfruit
wanda	an herb
wangeyef	the rim of a fish net
wanyiyɨ	shell ornament
waru	pumpkin
wasifi	variety of banana
wasimpira	variety of yam
waterɨsokwsto	to wake and rise
wato	sleep
wayɨ	rain
wayufa	6' tree snake
w@ɨ	to paddle; black paint
w@s	salt
w@sato	to greet
w@kiy kuwuto	to bake lime
w@jɨto	to set a post
wɨnɨnkwɨ	spoon roughly made from coconut shell--no handle; raises scars which are a symbol of manhood
wɨsɨgayɨ	German
wesard	small nut-like betel which grows wild
weyw	canoe
wokɨ	drum (kundu)
worɨ	a plank shield
woyɨ hokwɨ	the ringing of an ax
woyɨwɨ	celt holder
woyɨto	to fill up
woyɨhiyɨ	grass
woye	wild yam
wɨye	adze
woyico	to vomit
wur@fiyɨ	chop sticks

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wurémbeyé	wooden sleeping slab
wus	salt
ya mongwo	middle of the night
yantfké	lunch
yar	on a level
yaréfaké	day after tomorrow
yasi	shell used for ornaments and for money
yaté mandré	shin bone or shin
yaté mé	toe
yatémberanj	calf of leg
yatémbiéd	toe nail
yatémbonku ngurú	knee cap
yaté minjé	lame foot (also proper name)
yatémiyi	ankle
yaté wofu	sole of foot
yato	marry, come, bring
yifémbdké	seasoning leaves
yayemé	rafters
yaynfa	variety of banana
yÖkéé	generic name for insects, applied chiefly to mosquitoes, but not to flies
yÖréké	yesterday
ye icu	to carry
yekmé	to pull down, to cut down
yembiru	ax
yené kwat	back central post in house
yenémingé ngwiyé	yam cult ceremony
yenéafé	tobacco pouch; tree from which tobacco pouch is made
yeré	cross rafter
yesogwet	to lift up
yeyi	paternal grandparent; young shoot on tree or plant
yeyimu	to go down
yicé	they (pl. nom.)
yici	their (pl. gen.)
yicu	to sit down, to put or place, to be situated
yikafé	child
yikafa	son, ceremonial address
yiné	them (pl. acc.), the
yinyé	then
yi tow	ridge pole extension
yiyi	their
yo	top, up
yofu	banana
yokwiné	razor
yomo	a kind of palm
yompu	spear
yonkwo	long handled chisel

[601]

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yoedto	to sprinkle
yoto	to throw a spear
yowé kanyé	tin
yowé	work
yowutu	to have intercourse (of animals)
ya yowé	to dislike

Common Phrases

192 an iju fundar tɨmbɨ niyi	I am going for one night
an yo oddɨd kuo na sandɨ yagɨt	I'work make later'. I will come,
an yikafand mokwujijɨ	I show, teach my child
an yikafand wejuwɨ	I scold my child
and itsa hawa	I am hungry
an wan inyɨ kafwɨ hagijo	I am 'sorry too much'
an wend hoc iju	I will look at you (think of you)
afokɨ ca tand ngaji rɨwatɨ	Don't wake him; he sleeps
owij	What are you doing that for?
nɨ ya yɨ	Bring something
nɨ yeyɨ yeyi	Carry it away
igapan@	my child
igap@ kiy@fah@	my good child
igap@ hawa@	my child is dead
hayah@	he is dead

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they bogged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply
[197] a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has
[191] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She
[291] seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.
[177]

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɛ, o, u and ʉ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ər. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvcv.
126 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ha is the imperative particle, gage expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

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Appendix 1 GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

Key to vocabulary

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Vowels

ɨ = u in but (ɨ =ʌ)

@ = a in bat (@ =æ)

a = a in father

o = o in rote

e = a in mate

u = u in rule

i = ee in meet

Consonants

f and b are bilabial

mb and nd are nasalized consonants

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Section II
VOCABULARY

afakɨ	now, today	afo kwasɨ mbɨbɨ	hair on the arms
afɨ kafɨ	soon, presently		
[601] afɨ yakɨ	father's older brother	afokwɨ	father or paternal uncle. The term refers to efi, awut, and afe yakɨ If one is asked who his afokwɨ is, he will answer with the name of his efi. It is also used as andɨ afokw, meaning "I am of the older generation".
afiyangwat	variety of taro		
afo	a generic term for birds, butterflies, and bats		
afo fɨbyɨ	small bat		
afojokwe	variety of banana		
afo jokwɨ	fowl	afokwɨ	old man
afo kimbi	large bat, "flying fox"	afo ma	cockatoo
		afoma	white
afo kiyɨ	cicada	afo mbeyɨ	birds' eggs
afo kwasɨ	large fruit bat	afo ndowandɨ	gouria pigeon

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [754] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sok*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sok* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

property.[10] From this time on a male must avoid looking at the genitals of any woman except those of a lover or wife.

The sexual response for which a boy is most severely punished during childhood is that of tumescence in public. Any female who observes a boy with an erect penis is expected to beat the member with a stick. It is usually the boy's older *sister* who takes the responsibility for inflicting this punishment. I never saw this punishment actually administered, but I did observe boys with erections on two occasions. While playing at my house one morning Ham had an erection. His older *brothers*, Gwiyap and Mey, noticed it and teased him about it. They told him that he should be ashamed of himself and warned him not to let any females see him that way. On another occasion Fit was observed by his playmates with an erect penis and was similarly teased. Shortly after this I was visiting at Fit's house. His *brother*, Gwiyap, began telling his older *sisters*, Awa and Kwiya, about what had happened to Fit, illustrating the story in a joking manner by putting a stick between his legs. Awa and Kwiya laughed at Gwiyap but they scolded Fit. "You had better not let us catch you that way or we will beat you. What are you, a baby? You should be old enough to control yourself." Fit was much discomfited at this. He denied the truth of Gwiyap's story, told him to shut up, and finally left the house sullenly. Kwoma inculcation on this point is apparently very effective for I observed no adult, and, in fact, no other child with an erection.

A boy is also restricted from fingering his genitals. Anyone who observes a child touching his penis scolds him for it. They tell him that he should not do it because this part of his body belongs to his future wife, and that masturbation will cause injury to his penis. The training is effective enough to prevent the child, who during the weaning period was allowed to touch his penis, from persisting in this habit. I did not observe any boy child manipulate his genitals, and

[10] *Enji mbumbowi*—"My something." This expression is also used to establish property rights, thus bringing the act in context with offenses against ownership and property.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

882 836 602 124 835 [448] [464] he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta. When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 837 [661] Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [196] [18] *Sumwo sumwo mowo*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowo sakana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [539] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [513] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [678] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[262] [192] [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing as his would-be teacher wished. [121] [861]

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right response, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have behaved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is inherent in such objects, because they have been punished for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the power to evoke feelings of fear. [192] [196]

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "infant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used in many contexts in which children are barred from doing what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the motivational power of this concept. [192] [196] [304]

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sago briquettes, she asked Mey to pass her the two sticks which Kwoma housewives use to stir and ladle the thick gruel. Mey brought her two old sticks which she had long since discarded rather than the desired ones. She made Mey take the wrong ones back and get the right ones and began scolding him for his inattention and stupidity. Mey stood looking sullen and sheepish, and heard out her tirade. In this case the drive was anxiety evoked by the scolding; the response was looking sullen and sheepish and listening; the cues included being told to get stirring sticks and the memory of having brought his mother the wrong ones; the reward was reduction of fear (after she stopped scolding him). Thus listening and not talking back, rather than running away, was the response reinforced in this case.[24] The right response, of paying attention when spoken to, would be learned by Mey when on the next occasion he was asked to do something by his mother, did it correctly, and was not scolded for it.

Threatening is the third technique of motivating pupils employed by Kwoma teachers. A threat, like scolding, activates the acquired drive of fear in the pupil, but it differs from scolding in that it precedes the wrong or not right response. A threat is an "if . . . then" statement—"if you do such and such, then I will scold or beat you." Threats are used by Kwoma teachers in situations where they foresee that the pupil is likely to make a wrong response, either because the pupil is beginning to make such a response or because the teacher's knowledge of the pupil's habits suggests that he may do so. Kwoma teachers employ the technique of threatening as widely as scolding although perhaps not as frequently, since it is usually more difficult to predict a wrong response than it is to observe one.

Threats, like scolding, depend for their motivational power upon the acquired drive of fear. The phrase most commonly employed by the Kwoma teacher when threatening a pupil is *anafa fiju*, "I will beat you." *Fiju* is the term employed for all types of physical violence and injury. It has

[24] Unfortunately I observed no case of a child being specifically scolded or punished for talking back, but informants stated that this did occur.

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121 861 [192] [196] the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[25]

121 626 602 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] [25] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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pressing work of their own to do; the reward was getting the log to the house tamberan plot. Yat's helpers thus taught him to give a feast by helping him.

Not giving and not helping are also techniques which are frequently used to arouse motivation. Kwoma teachers may punish a pupil by refusing to help him or give to him, after he has made a wrong response, or they may threaten him by promising not to help him or not to give to him if he should make a wrong response. The threat of breaking relationship is effective, not only because it implies aggression, but also because it implies withdrawal of support. Thus War's threat that he would break relationship with Gwiyap if he did not stop taking sago from Payap's plot, implied withdrawal of help and was effective in changing Gwiyap's behavior for this reason as well as because it implicitly threatened the kinds of aggression which kinship restrictions inhibit.

Praising is the third technique of rewarding used by Kwoma teachers. It is an acquired reward on the verbal level. As with other rewards, it may be employed either in conjunction with motivation and guidance or alone. A Kwoma teacher most frequently employs this technique when a pupil has performed an unexpectedly "good" response rather than merely a right one. Kwoma pupils are thus reinforced for excelling, for doing better than others, and this may explain in part why Kwoma individuals strive for superiority and prestige.

One of the phrases frequently employed in praising is *handombas*, "good." This word gains its power to reinforce habits by being frequently used in rewarding contexts. A Kwoma will pat his stomach after a good meal and say "*handombas*," or he will say it when he is greeting a friend, or he will use it to refer to someone or something that he likes. He also uses it to describe tasty food, good workmanship, or someone whom he regards highly. As a result, *handombas* comes to have a relaxing or acquired reward value,[18] and thus has the effect of reinforcing preceding habits when-

[18] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

115 have made a better choice. I got some texts on the whistling language. It is a surprisingly well developed form of communication and as far as I can tell, independent of their spoken language. It consists of different combinations of three factors,--two tones and a stop. These can be spoken or shouted with a high tone, a low tone, and the glottal stop. It can be whistled, or, for very long distances, blown through a large open whistle of bamboo.

One of the most interesting things that Eve told us was evidences of Malay bird of paradise hunters in the area roughly west of a line drawn from here northward to the coast, and extending to the Dutch border. This is evidenced by the fact that the natives would come out and pantomime shooting a gun and using a ramrod, and would jabber to him a few words of Malay Pidgin. He checked up on its being Malay Pidgin by looking it up when on leave and learning enough so he was able to answer them on his next trip in. Another thing of interest is a homogeneous culture area about eight days march south of Aitape--very thickly populated, about eight-hundred to the village, very friendly, with food aplenty, and as yet untouched by recruiters, etc.

126 After Eve left, we worked on revising our phonemes. Our first rough attempt was not satisfactory. The one we have now is better, but still far from perfect. We also went over all the words we had collected, revised them and arranged them alphabetically in a loose leaf dictionary. We find that we have about four-hundred -- not enough, and a particular paucity of verbs [124] which are rather hard to get at. It is difficult to get texts because the [123] myths are supposedly esoteric and only recently have people been willing to [196] tell us any. From this dictionary we have made, several interesting word configurations and a promise of more have appeared - for instance sugilewa

126 which seems to mean 'sacred' is the term for the ghosts of powerful men,
196 for the big masks on the altar at the "singsing", and is a special term of greeting meaning something like 'hail, powerful man' or perhaps more accurately it is a sort of cult shibboleth. Then there is sukwiyawé which is 'to dream' and sukwié which is the term for "singsing" and another term for the sacred masks. Since they translate dreaming into pidgin as "look in tamberunk(ghosts)," there are seems to be some connection which may throw some interesting light on their theory of dreams. We have already noted that the subject of their dreams is almost universally dead people. Such a bias would have to be allowed for if any Freudian interpretation was attempted....Then there is the term wofu which means 'mother's brother's wife' and 'lungs'. This we can make no sense of except that the lungs are thought to be non-functional appurtenances.

124 This reminds me that a week or so ago, Kar, one of the most intelligent of the "savvy talks", came in and we got from him their knowledge of anatomy. (See Part III, Ethnophysiology)

114 To get back to the present, after we had finished the dictionary, there was a rainy spell. No informants came around, and we did not feel like sloshing around to look them up. Both of us were pretty low. We figured that we hadn't gotten anything worth while, and the chances of our doing so were pretty slim. We felt that the people were so scattered about that it was very difficult to observe anything like village life, let alone anything on our special projects. We even thought of moving to some other place - Yambon, for instance. We were not very serious about this, however, because it would not be worth while to lose what little we already had.

124 The only thing to break the monotony of the rainy days was a great deal of talk one evening down below at Wof's house. He is our nearest neighbor and his house is about forty or fifty yards down the hill. This talk kept
000 up long after they were settled for the night. It turned out the next

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

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101 619 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[921] Yangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is
carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping
vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that
they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little
we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[793] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively
the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,
fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage
which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter
groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of
the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the
inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated
by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his
deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

"banis"	roof
"cuscus"	opossum
"drink house"	tavern
"fashion belong me all the same you"	my customs are the same as yours
"fashion of monkis"	a childish custom
"fight the garamut"	beat the slit gongs
"finish timer"	one who has completed a years work on a plantation at the coast
"finished timers"	former plantation workers
"food belong kanaka"	native food
"goyaman along mi ol saiw"	lied to me
"gouria"	pigeon
"hard work too much"	very hard work
"he no got cross now"	he is not angry now
"house sick"	hospital
"I think"	I think so
"kai kai"	dining
"kiap"	Australian patrol officer
"klambu"	mosquito net
"lap lap"	wrap around shirt
"lapun"	old man
"lapun mari"	old woman
"lik lik im broka im"	she only breaks little twigs
"lika bilong mari"	it was the girls' idea
"limbou"	sago bark
"lulual"	chief appointed by the Australians
"maratta"	thatching
"marked"	noticed
"missis"	missionaries
"monki"	child
"monki nutin"	child with no status
"nats nats"	mosquitoes
"no got"	it is not true
"papa true bilong them"	their real father
"pushed"	had sexual intercourse with
"roused"	driven out
"sac sac"	gruel made from sago palm flour
"savvy talks"	one who understands pidgin English
"singsing"	ceremony
"something nothing"	inconsequential
"talk place"	speak Kwoma
"talk straight"	coherently
"tambu"	shell money
"tumkat"	gong
"yes, broke im nose"	break his nose

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boys of this age even refrain from touching them while urinating.

I cannot say whether this prohibition also prevented private masturbation. I asked Ham, Fit, and Mey, all of them boys in the childhood group, whether they played with their penises when they were alone. All of them denied it with considerable embarrassment. They hung their heads, pretended not to understand me, and changed the subject as quickly as they could. This embarrassment suggests that they were guilty about masturbation, but it does not indicate whether they actually did not masturbate or whether they did and were afraid to admit the fact.

Boys who have not seen one another for some time rush together, throw their arms around each other, and hug and pat one another and rub one another's cheeks with their lime gourds. They exhibit this behavior with boys of their own age and sometimes with older men, but never with a female. Such an embrace is permitted between the sexes only when they are both aged and related. Mey, Fit, and Ham frequently chose to sleep together in my house rather than at their homes. They were often joined by adolescents. Although this was attributed to the advantage of mosquito proofing, they usually slept huddled together and often with their arms around one another.

Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connotations: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simulates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated "her." Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their "honor." When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month.

Boys often tease one another sexually when they sleep

323 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Enlya and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chinawa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Enlyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the nayalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 38, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayanakwo to fulfill
578 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tambaran that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order
to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the pos-
sessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing.
In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the
proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman
for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed per-
son, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost
indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation
from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend
his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus,
exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a
means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence
of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and
can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to ex-
tinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
a [202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at
which accusations are made and denied and evidence is pre-
sented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all
those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink
water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation
for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and
is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who
have no better theory of disease and no more effective meth-
ods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical
practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the sup-
posed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

3½ bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying [483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wankd) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maratta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

7½ "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally
3½ set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation,
[202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maratta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone
[533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maratta
[192] to the refrain of a hogwasawit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hogwasawit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest
[462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it
[614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bangus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulusi, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

578 754 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 464 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Hamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 114 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 202 [534] January 20, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun meri" was dying and they were calling her relatives

763 back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty
202 well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren
[603] were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

759 January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

[593] This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did
[752] not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day
[757] before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

123 January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I
439 paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with
522 it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

114 January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had
123 arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted kwoyaub na me yato (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Yenakwot from Kewi Tuk (Yessen) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mas came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white men and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

578 Yevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumve Sumve. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Owiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Owiyap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Yambon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Owiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Owiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Owiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a sugilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a sugilawas of the Wanyi people.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192]

Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asf). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192]

Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadgng represents low gong; gadgng represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwc ?af

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

ngurfnjo

gadang gadong gading

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group cooperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[4] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[4] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[39]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[39] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

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When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[24] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[25] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death repeatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Somburdura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus.

[24] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[25] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this.
[648] Gwiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis.
[821] When Tip touched it, Gwiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bUng" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

000 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by
482 carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags
with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men
carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were
past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the
men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders.
We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know
whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They
always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering.
Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They
will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of
men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen
them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves,
but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or
five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of
biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel
confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their
violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from
the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did
very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi,
and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[857] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

• 222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
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868 harvest home.
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[223] ally makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons,
[224] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an
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Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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224 [857] strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 262 [826] If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply. He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 703 237 223 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the lack of interest in small game. A man may expend considerable effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 593 885 [439] [476] [796] Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of both sexes. The technique which they master during adolescence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 462 [591] [433] [487] An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet. The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 462 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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Hunting

223 Cassowary hunting

Cassowaries (apasanka) are surrounded by dogs in daylight. The hunter uses a spear and seeks the vital spot under the ribs for the kill. It is useless to spear them in the back or chest, for such a stab does not kill and a wounded cassowary may turn on a man and "deal him a terrific blow" with its foot. If the cassowayy is sitting, the hunter builds a fence and advances under cover of darkness to spear the bird.

Large cassowaries (7-8' high at head) may have five young; medium sized birds may have three young, and small ones may have 2 young.

Upon sighting a cassowary with young, a boy hides behind a tree close to the path. He allows the mother to pass and then gathers up the (three) chicks--the size of a large fowl, in his arms, ties their legs and necks with rope, and carries them off. If the mother gives chase, the boy clambers up a tree with his burden.

Pig hunting

224 Pig hunting is regarded as a grown man's job. It is dangerous at times because wild pigs attack men. A man might go out for two or three days in the bush toward Ambunti where there are known to be many pigs. The actual hunting is done at night. One method is to build a sago frond blind (bannis) across a track. An opened sago log is placed on the other side to attract pigs. The hunter crouches behind the blind to wait. When an animal comes, the hunter rises slowly and thrusts the spear hard behind the right shoulder.

When a spear is used in hunting pig it is grasped near the middle of the shaft in the right hand (with palm toward body). The hunter assumes a crouching posture with his body weight resting on his right leg, almost sitting on his right heel. The left leg is extended in the direction of the

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

[252] [476] An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [226] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tambaran during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

112 Pig hunting *Becoming a Kwoma*

is an occupation which a Kwoma male does
• 224 for the first time as an adult. Women never hunt. A man usu-
[395] ally hunts alone, although occasionally he will allow an adolescent boy to accompany him and watch. The bait-and-blind technique is considered the most effective method. For bait the hurter cuts down a sago palm in the swamp wherever pig signs are evident. He erects a blind of fronds alongside this, and on a moonlight night waits for the prey to come to eat the fresh sago pith. The hunter may crouch in the mud for several hours before the sound of sloshing footsteps, punctuated with deep grunts and the breaking of dead sago fronds, heralds the arrival of the game. If he is lucky enough to attract a wild pig to his bait, he edges slowly and soundlessly along the blind to a point opposite his prey and then rises slowly and thrusts his spear into the beast's heart.

The Kwoma also hunt with trained dogs. They walk through the swamp until their dog picks up the fresh trail of a wild pig. If the dog brings his quarry to bay, the hunter dispatches it with a spear. Wild pigs are also trapped. A hole about four feet in diameter and five feet deep is dug in a pig trail and covered lightly with twigs and leaves. The trapper visits this pitfall periodically.

224 After a pig has been killed it must be transported from the
482 swamp to the hamlet. If the pig is not full grown the hunter
483 lifts it across the back of his neck and carries it as a shep-
[251] herd does a lamb. If the hog is full grown and fattened on sago pith, however, it is too heavy for a man to carry alone. He therefore, if possible, drags the carcass to a pool and leaves it immersed in water while he goes home to get help from his *brothers*. Kwoma theory believes that the meat keeps better immersed in water than if it is simply left where it falls. At least three men are required to carry a large hog. Two of them lift the burden onto the back of the third man, and he staggers as far as he can before the hog is transferred to the shoulders of another. By taking turns in this way the carcass is finally brought home.

224 The adult man of the hamlet who is most adept at butcher-
ing usually performs this task. The pig is laid on its back on

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.* The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

* Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[7] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [496] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[7] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig-hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[859] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
895 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[590] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling: then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
• 224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwem
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Nayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

600 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a 'singsing' rhythm from Wenyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told
[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kat Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
123 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
439 near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbiman" (from Rumbima) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Kumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
754 in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Rwiyampa and Dowari and Mawendaya had broken it and

224 [518] made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and [648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandayn has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Hayamakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinombara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 627 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 241 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Hwal was cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Mey, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa'a on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

114 near War's. He was building a bennis (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed
[224] us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mas cut it up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific. We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which were at Mar's . We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa was teaching Mar and Mas. He was very patient with them. He would sing out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mas slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa on the other. This morning Pokadaya left early. Mar, Mas and I had breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back to the house. Mas took a short trip and came back with a bunch of bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mas is his nephew, it is all right. We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai. Awambaka and Apinokw came to help carry my bed back, and we returned. Poketaya and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

Yamengamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to
[754] Wisep's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to the house tamberan to find Wof, Marok et al there. They came out and claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out for poison. (Mamb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night. They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from
754 755 Wenyabenkura this evening. They were making the rounds of Hongwom, getting

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just
[766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had
[262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Hey and Avambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on Hey's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his men (mother's brother). It is also War's men and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his men told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay men at hanf suguiva. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Hoel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-aboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. Hay said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunds and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yelangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [578] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Yokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mes is now our shoot boy, as Hamb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mes realised that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Owiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Hamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Hunting

223 Cassowary hunting

Cassowaries (apasanka) are surrounded by dogs in daylight. The hunter uses a spear and seeks the vital spot under the ribs for the kill. It is useless to spear them in the back or chest, for such a stab does not kill and a wounded cassowary may turn on a man and "deal him a terrific blow" with its foot. If the cassowayy is sitting, the hunter builds a fence and advances under cover of darkness to spear the bird.

Large cassowaries (7-8' high at head) may have five young; medium sized birds may have three young, and small ones may have 2 young.

Upon sighting a cassowary with young, a boy hides behind a tree close to the path. He allows the mother to pass and then gathers up the (three) chicks--the size of a large fowl, in his arms, ties their legs and necks with rope, and carries them off. If the mother gives chase, the boy clambers up a tree with his burden.

Pig hunting

224 Pig hunting is regarded as a grown man's job. It is dangerous at times because wild pigs attack men. A man might go out for two or three days in the bush toward Ambunti where there are known to be many pigs. The actual hunting is done at night. One method is to build a sago frond blind (bannis) across a track. An opened sago log is placed on the other side to attract pigs. The hunter crouches behind the blind to wait. When an animal comes, the hunter rises slowly and thrusts the spear hard behind the right shoulder.

When a spear is used in hunting pig it is grasped near the middle of the shaft in the right hand (with palm toward body). The hunter assumes a crouching posture with his body weight resting on his right leg, almost sitting on his right heel. The left leg is extended in the direction of the

224 [481] spear for balance. The hunter approaches prey in this semi-sitting position by shifting weight to his left leg and then settling back again on the right. When the prey is within striking distance, he rises with weight on the right leg, draws back the spear at a level with his eye, and plunges it downward at an angle, following through with the weight of his body onto his left leg.

Another method used in pig hunting is to catch the pigs in pitfalls and spear them after they are caught. The pitfall is about four feet in diameter, three feet deep, covered with twigs and leaves, and dug near a sago swamp.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw[9] up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

[9] A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

[252] [476] An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the [346] hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [226] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[857] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwam
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Hayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
0226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

000 Anaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yet came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and Hay said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Enya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Enya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Enya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kam came to visit while I was still in bed. Kam was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Dawas to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting
[378] around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was
[136] at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly.
[579] Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is con-
476 spicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work
863 room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 Mas is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mas killed
784 two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that
226 he could not eat any. Mas realized that he should not eat them because he
[177] had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

Division of Labor

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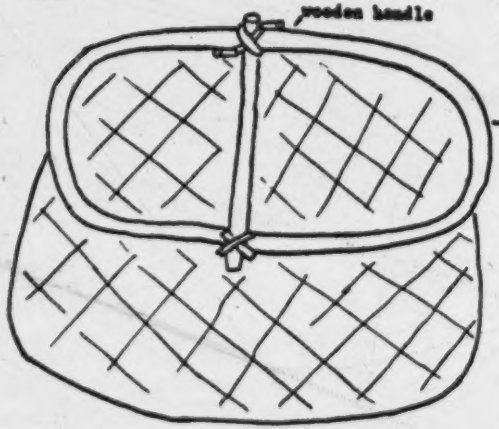
Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Fishing

#226 [462] Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (maya) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

Fish Net (maya)

227 [192]



415 [192]

Basket (hompd)

Made from palm spathe, sewn with afokwas needle and foky, split liana cord, awl fashion.
Use to carry fish and other dry food.

227 Fishline is made of split fibers of the root of the mbaŋ tree.
283 These fibers are tied together end to end to make a fine strong line
(the size of a heavy sewing thread). The hook is made of a double sago
226 needle. A grub is threaded over this so that the prongs are held close
together and parallel to the line. When the fish takes the bait the prongs
open out and down and toggle. Fishing is done when the water is high
in the holes in the swamp.

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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Awa mending a fish net. She is repairing the hoop with a piece of split liana. Awa, Mar's real sister, was one of the adolescent girls of Rumbima hamlet. See Chapter V.

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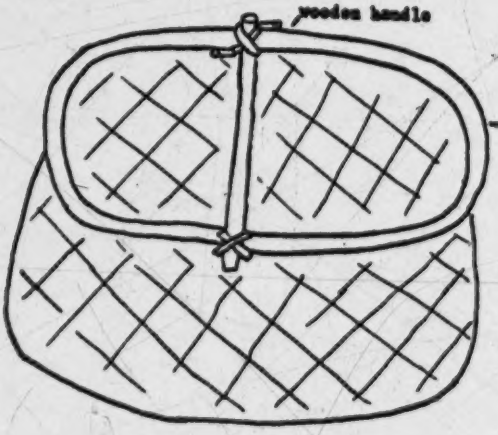
Fishing

226 [462] Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (nayu) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

Fish Net (nayu)

• 227 [192]



415 [192]

Basket (kumpd)

Made from palm spathe, sewn with afokuna needle and fokw, split liana cord, awl fashion.
Use to carry fish and other dry food.

227 Fishline is made of split fibers of the root of the mbaŋ tree.
283 These fibers are tied together end to end to make a fine strong line
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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

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* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[5] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[5] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[a] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[b]

[a] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[b] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

796 346 [262] [562] A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - - (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2) hot water sac sac and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished, the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire. He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singing is finished.

796 346 [562] "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the house tambaran--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

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Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Mamb thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "ume go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dosen times since buying it from Max Mann when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached Sombundura, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that the pig had come for its morning meal. They showed us what they were paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dosen two foot ropes of ½ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks. In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

[439]

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Mamb and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the woman still stood close by and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

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broadside shot at not more than thirty feet. I drew a quick aim and fired - the pig, just ahead of Hamb, instead of dropping in its tracks, went bounding off into the bush. This was very bad, for not only would the sale fall through but the pig might go off and die in the bush. So a chase started then that was to last until after noon. John had come up with his .22 with a crowd of men as soon as they had heard us fire. We all began to scour the bush nearby and to get scoured ourselves by creepers, branches and nettles. The men and boys suddenly all had spears and the hunt was on. We who had guns were called all over the district by people who had just seen the pig. John saw it once and had two shots at it, but the .22 didn't kill it.

When we gathered together again at Marok's house, speculation was rife as to what had happened. Hamb swore that we both had hit it and that he had seen the holes the bullets had made. Inasmuch as I found the one bullet I was able to fire in the ground under the spot where the pig had stood, I am almost sure that I didn't hit it. Hamb's story was believed by [178] most everyone. Then it appeared that the pig was sugiliwas, and some supernatural agency had come down into it and given it power to run away. Marok seemed very proud of what the pig had done and told us that the pig was his people's (Wanyi) totem . Some said that it was mesra, his sugiliwas, that was in the beast and wouldn't let it go until night because it didn't want Marok to sell his pig. We were quite willing to accept any such explanation for the sake of our reputations as marksmen.

The wear and tear on our clothes and bodies during the morning was terrific. John turned his nose into a yam stick in a headlong fall down a muddy slope, and I got a stitch in my side which made my eyes pop from answering false alarms at the house on top of the mountain. A hairless goat might feel at home in these surroundings, but as yet we can't even bleat.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwon
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haymakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
826 that the man's bblood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

114 [123] down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwag, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Mew came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Verey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to bathe, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomorrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver, .44, a shot gun and the .22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

231 123 114 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a augiliwas must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Mamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

754 648 464 Later Yat came up and said that Suw was all right. Someone had admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked Mey if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to Mey, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Hamb, went up and greeted Hamb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tridd to pump Mey, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was working on a fish net. [231] They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

578 Kmb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awanbaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awanbaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the "sac sac" (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[481] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[313] garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabunkura. A log was cut to the
[284] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of
[483] the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 [411] March 8, 1937. War went to Yelegu alone. He held one spear poised in his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. [23] [43] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to do with Asanampe, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some "tambu" too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Owiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwo went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from Wanyambenkara came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mwani. They had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Hayamakwo present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Mamoy to fight, but Mamoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house temberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing
[648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and Mey. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awa giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Owiyap. Awa and Kwiya were there. Owiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Owiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Owiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), War, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

231 682 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a mat bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.

231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw [231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Mey and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on Mey's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth 421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting [602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mem (mother's brother). It is also War's mem and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his mem told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay mem at hant sumyiya. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes
and sat down at Mar's. Kriya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others
had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they
were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so
I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels.
Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were
eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did
not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause
sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently
anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally
Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis
was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok
will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhwiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's
elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters
had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up
this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimwe took it, saying it was better so.
Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with
Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

Butchering a Pig

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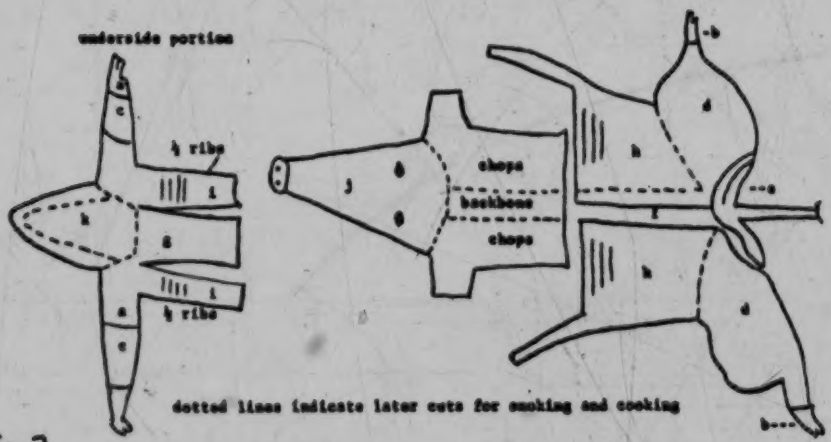
[412]

All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig, how it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.



[192]

a. trotters-front (toŋ́ nbeyakeŋ́)
b. trotters-hind (yaŋ́ ŋiaŋkáŋ́)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (tokʷhaŋ́)
d. 2nd joint of backlegs (kwaʃkwaŋ́)
e. tail and tenderloin (kiawi aŋkí)
f. backbone (mangáŋ́)
g. breast (kokwa tokwiwyŋ́)
h. rear flanks (kokwaaŋ́)
i. fore ribs (mari)
j. upper jaw and brain case (maaŋkí)
k. lower jaw (kwaiyaŋ)

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Cuts of a Butchered Pig

tekimpi	breast, lower jaw, outer end of ribs, and fore legs to shoulder
masiki	upper jaw, head, shoulders, front half of back bone, chops
kwajimpi	back half of animal, cut in two along right side of backbone
yikuki	womb containing foetus
ymfu	liver
masiki	heart
kumbo	stomach
sungu	intestines, large and small
herumpi	lungs
kweya	gaul
mbini	shoulder blade
neyimunt	neck bone
kinyi	tail and tenderloin
hofu	long muscle below backbone
wadi	ribs in kwajimpi portion
kindiki	lower portion of hind leg
kwajimpi	second joint of back leg

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Butchering procedure

1. All legs cut through at second joint, skin remaining
2. Ribs chopped on either side of breast bone
3. Breast bone cut around sides and belly and flapped forward over head
4. Belly slit to anus
5. Vitals removed and put in palm spathe; gaul is cut out and thrown away
6. Ribs chopped in three equal sections on either side of back bone-- two breaks on each side

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7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of foreleg.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

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Division of parts to relatives

kwajump	mother's brother
takŋhafé	father's sister
takimpi & suku tokwiyé	sister
masíké, amoe	father's brothers
yaté naŋokóré	brothers
manaŋré	wife and children
hokusaif	wife and children
mayi	wife and children
entrails	wife and children

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[857] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[590] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
778 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves. The mask near the front was called asambwerŋ, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abŋnakus and belonged to Bangus (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called savŋnayŋ. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no naski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singsing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulual" of Bangus, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wŋ with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj. After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[262] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[502]

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[237] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house
with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary
enemy.

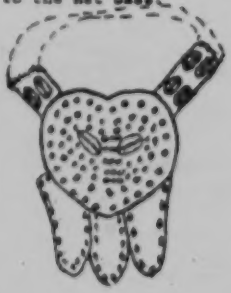
619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said
that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a
fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make
court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could
make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp
are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for
some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the
Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of
the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as
informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened
around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always
around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at
our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to
organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of
raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little,
but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to
ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system.
It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also
collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated
a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawfnf) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 Shells , yesi (small cowrie shells) and asfmangfrf (larger ones), obtained
[583] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[439] function as money.
[436]

The figure below , an ornament called wf nasfkf (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.



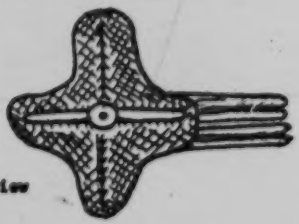
[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (smfngurf), shell ornaments (wanyivf) ,
yesi , asemangfrf and lofu waff (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia.
The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mano.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo fokw) is attached
237

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle
of the head.

[192] [illegible] ninid-- ornamental comb
[581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (filid) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fulé) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings
vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

301 Mŋwbali is a four row knitted ornament made with yasi shells.
286 The band increases in worth as further projections decorated with shells
237 are added to it. These projections are worn pointing up.

Mbuhayi is an ornament worn suspended from the neck, made from a net base and covered with yasi shells. It resembles a necktie. The [435] value of this ornament is about 2 shillings.

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CHAPTER I

ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND PERSONNEL

THE Kwoma live in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea on the Peilungua Mountains just north of the Sepik River and 265 river miles from its delta.[1] This small mountain system, not more than twenty square miles in area, is bounded on the south and west by the Sepik and a lake formed from a former oxbow in the river, and on the east and north by the vast, rolling watershed of the river which stretches to the foothills of the coastal ranges. It consists of a primary orographical feature in the shape of a letter *S* plus a series of short arterial ridges running off in all directions. From tip to tip as the crow flies the system measures a little over five miles in length. The slopes of these ridges are precipitous; in climbing it is often necessary to dig one's feet into the earth or hold onto vines to avoid falling. A dense forest of large trees covers the ridges and extends down to meet a sago swamp just above the level of the Sepik. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, rises 1,520 feet above sea level.

The elevation of the Kwoma territory is not sufficient to cause any noticeable variation from the strictly tropical climate of the entire Sepik River Valley. The daily range in temperature, from an average of seventy-one degrees Fahrenheit at dawn to eighty-five in mid-afternoon, closely approximates the norm in the river villages. Humidity is high throughout the year. Some rain falls virtually every day and all-day storms are not uncommon, but the climate and precipitation are so uniform throughout the year that there is no clear-cut division into seasons. Gardens may be planted, cultivated, and harvested at any and all times of the year.

[1] The tribe is situated approximately four degrees and ten minutes south of the equator and one hundred and forty-two degrees and forty minutes east of Greenwich.

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132 Although there is slight variation in the amount of rainfall within the annual cycle, during the months of December, January, and February the Sepik is in flood. This fact is of such importance to the river people that they divide the year into periods of high and low water. This seasonal periodicity is also noted by the Kwoma, but it is significant to them only in so far as it affects their commerce with the river people.

136 Cassowaries, wildfowl, hornbills, cockatoos, pigeons, and a great many unidentified species of smaller birds abound in the region. The only large mammal is the wild pig. The natives report that there were formerly wallabies in the region but that now there are none. There are several varieties of small tree-climbing marsupials. Many species of bats of different size despoil the fruit trees.

137 The flora of the region is tropical. The trunks of giant trees support a mat of foliage fifty to sixty feet in the air, so dense that the sun scarcely filters through it, except where the natives have cleared a garden or house site. The swamp land is full of sago palms whose thorn-studded spathes make passage difficult. Small stands of areca and coconut palms mark the sites of habitations past and present. Betel pepper vines cling to the paw-paw, breadfruit, and paper mulberry
• 241 trees which the natives plant near each dwelling. Many varieties of yams, taro, and greens are grown as a first crop in Kwoma gardens; these are followed by a second crop of bananas and plantains of numerous varieties.

142 The Kwoma are short, stocky, negroid people with long heads, dark frizzly hair, medium thick lips, and skin color varying from light to dark brown.[2] The homogeneity in physical type is immediately apparent, although there is one family with two generations of strikingly aberrant members, whose skin is so blond that it sunburns. The so-called Papuan, or Semitic, nose-form occurs at random about as often as the dished type. Noses with straight bridges, however, are the most common.

041 [2] Their average height is five feet four inches, and their cephalic index is in the upper range of mesocephaly (71.7 to 83.6, average 77.1). These figures were taken from twenty adult males.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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857 868 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

• 241 Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 [252] Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [962] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they [223] are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, [224] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an [125] adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [411] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[a]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[b] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *paternal uncle*,[c] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[a] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[b] There were six gardening groups in Rumbima hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[c] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adoles-
• 241 cents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing
462 sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not
241 allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her
[252] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of pre-
[476] paring food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to
[602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part
[492] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries
[487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag
[346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the
[226] girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities
[224] continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their coöperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57-58.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group cooperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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476 relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not
574 have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this
262 call and appear the next morning at the place where the
[203] work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the
[621] households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

241 The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision
311 which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the
[317] hamlet or in an outlying district.[5] If the garden is planted
[231] near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

241 The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number
476 of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is nor-
[462] mally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[423] [5] Property rights also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another hee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a womangor child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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244 beliefs about blood appear again to determine a
• 241 facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the
262 process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated
826 with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He [602] does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

241 After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weed-
244 ing need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the
[462] gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, [462] stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the [284] little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of [482] each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of [417] the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine.

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling.

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe.

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight.

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does

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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[15] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [15] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[25] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[25] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

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[For information on the Kwoma Yam Cult, sometimes referred to as a male secret society, see category 794.]

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwam
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Hayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
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794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the naiwi which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
[794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Ear. He gave the baby to Haub who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Ear, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwom would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, Mey, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Haub went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Kam came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Nay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Doweri on the road and
[518] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Doweri threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mwendayu has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Hayunakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwaga is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mwendaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Kwai was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, May, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa'a on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

754 578 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwo had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them. [648]

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and Hey. Chinawa rubbed my arms, and Khiyakay and Awa gigglingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Gwiyap. Awa and Khiya were there. Gwiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Gwiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Gwiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), War, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinawa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambenkura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Ehriya boiled sago, and Mar had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his presitge. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Gwiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Harok, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinamo, Ehriya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 aspirin [754] tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

241 Kriye has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Koriasi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aye. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aye; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Koriasi whom he 'marked' a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Yawa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik im brok im". If she goes to break sago, she buts a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aye, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to [464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers [583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the [476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.

[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Haub, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an [154] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Hamb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Yambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Hamb would shoot a'gouria' for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Hamb would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [461] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by [241] Owiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Owiyap and May said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 3, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Owiyap, Awa, and Ehiya there to finish it. [787] He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [123] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 123 657 The sore on Gwiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Gwiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Her had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 133 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Prilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a s, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing. [132] 241 A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Gardening-- planting of yams

244
241 In preparation for the planting of yams, the land is cleared, the
[313] tops of large trees are cut off and the small trees are chopped down entirely. The small trees are allowed to lie on the ground for a couple of months, or until they are thoroughly dried. The refuse is then collected and burned. The ground is broken with a digging stick and the planter puts in the yams.

[311] Because of the hilly terrain, small terraces about a foot square are built. If the slope is very steep a small buttress is made with pegs stuck in the ground and cross sticks thrown behind them for a sort of retaining wall. If the slope is gentle, the terrace is made by simply leveling out the earth. The breaking of the ground is done with a pointed stick which is forced in the ground and then pried up hill while the ground is forced out and down. This prying is repeated until the terrace
244 is formed and the ground is softened. The seeds are planted butt end down and the head up at right angles to the level ground, and covered so that the stem is just below the surface.

After the yams have begun to come up, stringers are put up for the vines. Split liana stringers are suspended from the branches of the cut-off trees and pegged to the ground beside each yam hill. (See figure) Care is taken so that one stringer is not pegged above another depriving it of rain and sunlight. This is done for all yam plants, the vines twining around the stringers.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine.

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling.

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe.

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight.

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does

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[For information on the Kwoma Yam Cult, sometimes referred to as a male secret society, see category 794.]

Gardening-- planting of yams

244
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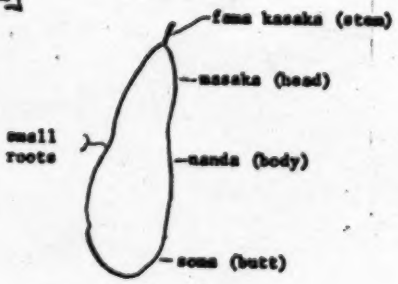
[284]

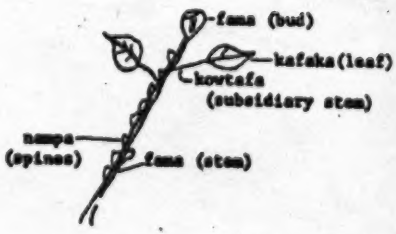
Split liana stringers

Split liana stringers and vines as attached to tree stumps

Names for descriptive parts of yams

[192]





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Listed below are some of the varieties of yams and a description of them.

afosampa kow-- a totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf is dark green and large.

hangwe-- The fruit is long and dark, covered with fine roots. The leaf is light green or white. There are needles on the vine.

hayamkwe-- A totem of the Hayamakwe sib. The leaf is light green or white, the vine very spiny.

hefu nanyi (snake)--The fruit is very long and thin. The leaf is long, narrow and dark green.

kasaye nanyi (a bird)-- A totem of the Hayamakwe sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf dark green, and the vine spineless.

kayahafa-- The fruit is long and covered with roots. It resembles the variety afosampa.

mandowe-- The fruit is long and light colored with fewer roots than the hangwe yam. There are needles on the vine; the leaf is dark green.

mandowe kow-- A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is dark skinned, with some roots; the leaf large and dark green.

mbutawi kow-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is large, has no roots and is dark. The leaf is spineless, dark green.

mbagasak-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is rounded and dark, with roots near the head near the stem but not below; the leaf is dark green.

nanya-- The fruit is round and lumpy; the leaf long and narrow. There are no needles on the vine.

ngayatafa-- The fruit has no roots except around the leaf of the fruit near the stem; the leaf is green and the vine spiny.

nogwaho-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit has no roots, the leaf is white.

wasimpira (pig's tooth)--A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is large and flat. The leaf is dark green; there are no spines on the vine.

woya-- A variety of wild yam with long fruit and a small leaf.

Other vegetables

244 [192] Mbiraka, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house . The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[192] Weru, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Weron , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 192 252 [462] Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted. There are several varieties grown: mbwiye, eaten raw or cooked; ngayamwe, eaten raw or cooked; fayambiyef, eaten cooked only; wasifi, eaten raw or cooked; afojokwe, eaten cooked only; yayofa, eaten raw or cooked; ngarafaye, eaten raw or cooked.

249 [245] Betel nut, kwasa, and coconut are planted by either men or women. Betel paper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Varieties of Taro

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afiyengwat-- A totem of the Tug sib.

harama-- A totem of the Tug sib. The leaf is green with dark green squired; the stalk dark green.

menega eaka-- The leaf is dark green on top while the underside is a slightly bluish light green. The stem is light green.

nawukamayi-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The leaf is large, dark green with light green splotches. The stalk is mahogany red.

The head of a taro is called nasaka and the body one . A young shoot is called yeyi.

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine. 241 244

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling. [482] [462]

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe. 241 244 422 343 251

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight. 244 249 245

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does 000

Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the nhnisf tree is peeled off in short stripe (one to two feet long). These stripe are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 814 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, hísísífí and nowí, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the nowí trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with [177] a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [178] was brought to the Hongwam through Yamboa. (Yamboa is a river tribe). Before this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

Sago Plots

245 423 Sago plots are owned either individually or by brothers or other close relatives in undivided shares. These plots are scattered widely without reference to nearness to the sib, except that there is usually one plot [428] at some point near the house in case of a sudden shortage. These plots are inherited patrilineally by the son or older brother's son.

The division of the plots depends on the exigencies of the situation. If two brothers quarrel about the sago in an undivided section, their father or some older man whose decision they respect will divide the [476] plot. On the other hand, if two people are friends or close relatives, and their plots are adjoining, they may combine plots and work them together.

Nar and Gwiyap together work about a half dozen plots. Their grandfathers and fathers owned them in common--their grandfathers marked them out.

Other vegetables

244 [A2] Mbirska, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house. The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[192] Waru, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Meron , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 192 252 [462] Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted. There are several varieties grown: mbwiya, eaten raw or cooked; ngayamwa, eaten raw or cooked; fayambiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasifi, eaten raw or cooked; afojokwa, eaten cooked only; yayofa, eaten raw or cooked; ngarafaya, eaten raw or cooked.

249 [245] Betel nut, kwasa, and coconut are planted by either men or women. Betel peper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Sago-- preparation for cooking

245 The trunk of a sago palm is cut shoulder high. The wedge is taken
[462] out in the direction toward which it is wished the tree to fall. Both men and women cut the trees.

The felled log is then cut into sections, and the outer surface (xylem) is peeled back. A section ten feet long is enough to provide a day's work and about a three day's supply of sago.

252 A woman sits on the peeled bark and chops the log between her feet
[462] with a special adze-like tool with a blunt hardwood celt in such a way that a half inch section of pith is scraped off and crushed with each blow. This crushed pith is then piled onto the upper end of the washing trough (see figure
[462] below). The man helping pulls the pith down the trough until it is filled except for a space about two feet long from the strainer. Three or four dippers of water are then poured into the trough above the pith.

The pith is pulled up the trough, a double handful at a time, allowing the water to run down the trough and to be absorbed by the pith. If the water were first added at the bottom, near the strainer, it would run through without being absorbed into the pith.

The water-saturated pith is then pulled down by the handful and squeezed like a sponge. The handful of dry pith is then put back at the top of the trough, a new handful squeezed, put at the top, etc., until all has been squeezed. The strainer is then shaken back and forth and rubbed with the hand to force the water and sediment through it. The remaining pith is drawn back. Water is added again to the remaining pith, the squeezing repeated, the pith strained, and any remaining pith thrown out onto the ground.

The water and sediment run into the decanter which is placed so that the farther end is slightly lower than the nearer end. When the water begins to run over, a non-splasher is put into the trough about one third

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Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does

Other vegetables

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Tobacco

276 Long, long ago, Sukugaratś shot Sokwaydgurś and left him lying on
793 the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagaratś made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked
[562] and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

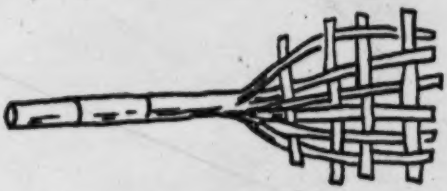
276 Cigarettes

[562] Cigarettes (himdaggara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco
[192] is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (hiey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

276
562
183 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

249
412
[192] Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hind mafeftawi)



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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine.

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling.

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe.

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight.

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does

112 Pig hunting *Becoming a Kwoma*

224 [385] is an occupation which a Kwoma male does for the first time as an adult. Women never hunt. A man usually hunts alone, although occasionally he will allow an adolescent boy to accompany him and watch. The bait-and-blind technique is considered the most effective method. For bait the hunter cuts down a sago palm in the swamp wherever pig signs are evident. He erects a blind of fronds alongside this, and on a moonlight night waits for the prey to come to eat the fresh sago pith. The hunter may crouch in the mud for several hours before the sound of sloshing footsteps, punctuated with deep grunts and the breaking of dead sago fronds, heralds the arrival of the game. If he is lucky enough to attract a wild pig to his bait, he edges slowly and soundlessly along the blind to a point opposite his prey and then rises slowly and thrusts his spear into the beast's heart.

The Kwoma also hunt with trained dogs. They walk through the swamp until their dog picks up the fresh trail of a wild pig. If the dog brings his quarry to bay, the hunter dispatches it with a spear. Wild pigs are also trapped. A hole about four feet in diameter and five feet deep is dug in a pig trail and covered lightly with twigs and leaves. The trapper visits this pitfall periodically.

224 482 483 • [251] After a pig has been killed it must be transported from the swamp to the hamlet. If the pig is not full grown the hunter lifts it across the back of his neck and carries it as a shepherd does a lamb. If the hog is full grown and fattened on sago pith, however, it is too heavy for a man to carry alone. He therefore, if possible, drags the carcass to a pool and leaves it immersed in water while he goes home to get help from his *brothers*. Kwoma theory believes that the meat keeps better immersed in water than if it is simply left where it falls. At least three men are required to carry a large hog. Two of them lift the burden onto the back of the third man, and he staggers as far as he can before the hog is transferred to the shoulders of another. By taking turns in this way the carcass is finally brought home.

224 The adult man of the hamlet who is most adept at butchering usually performs this task. The pig is laid on its back on

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Gwiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwams were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Gwiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them mam but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Tambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Gwiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Gwiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Gwiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Gwiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Gwiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

251 [252] Pig flesh is preserved by boiling it first with yams, bananas and spinach. The broth is eaten and the pieces of meat removed from the cooking pan and smoked. A platform of green boughs is made, the height varying from two to four feet depending on the amount of flesh to be smoked. A fire is made under the platform and kept burning continually for three or four days. The flesh is then put in <u>nuuvivavi</u>, a bamboo cage, where it hung over the ordinary cooking fire so that its smoke reaches the flesh as much as possible.

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

• [252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error. [86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

868 850 [415]

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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857 868 241 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which [252] requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [462] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they [223] are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, [224] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an [125] adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [311] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 • 262 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbima hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her [252] [476] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed [602] yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [340] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the [226] girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities [224] continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[796] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling: then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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869 826 206 [157] [856] [262] 869 262 562 252 121 869 823 123

Becoming a Kwoma

Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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121 pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning he will be injured
869 just as surely as, and perhaps even more severely than, if he
178 ignored a realistic warning. Why they wish to prevent the child from being injured is a complex problem, involving identification, loss of help and support, and sanctions against negligence. The important question is why, if parents make their children heed unrealistic warnings in order to prevent them from being injured, does this habit not extinguish when they observe a child experience no harmful consequences when he disregards a supernatural danger? The following case of the extinction of a supernatural belief indicates that this is a real as well as a logical possibility.

121 Mar and Gwiyap had both been warned not to eat sago
869 flour washed by a female lest it make them sick. Before they
178 started to work as our houseboys they had heeded this warn-
252 ing and each had worked with one of his *sisters* in the process
262 of extracting sago flour. They had washed the pith while the *sister* crushed it. When they began to work for us, however, we demanded their services in the mornings, when they would otherwise have gone to the swamp to replenish the household flour supply. Awa and Kwiya, the *sisters* who had hitherto worked with them, had no other available *brothers*, and therefore formed a team of their own. They took turns washing and crushing and, of course, produced flour washed by a female. Mar and Gwiyap were somewhat hesitant about trying this flour, but they were faced with the dilemma of either going without flour, which had been a staple in their diet since weaning, or ceasing to work for us, which would have meant losing frequent gifts of trade goods as well as some prestige. They chose to risk disregarding the warnings about the food and hoped that the flour would not be like other bad food they had eaten and which had made them sick. Their parents scolded them for this behavior and warned them again. Since no other painful consequences resulted from their first attempt, they decided to try it again, and, for the remaining six months of our stay, they and the rest of their household ate this supposedly harmful food. After the first few occasions their parents stopped scolding and warning them.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 123 262 252 [415] [323] [439] While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty-two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] [317] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

123
593
595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on
[513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by
[252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19.
[482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box
[521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was
[522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the woman looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and
[524] Kwos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her
[152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts
[522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
524 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[334] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Han came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the 123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the 241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat [857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis [252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for us--they gathered [264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate [262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and [161] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with us and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother, 356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with us. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

578 [123] been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not feel like working.

527 262 [754] [692] [252] [415] [252] [123] [123] Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 754 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngoyamas (a big man of Afokalisa) got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowinambi's (kinship term) and I will fight anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white man (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

574 476 [501] April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wanyambankura and Hayamalwa. They came about [252] 11:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Hviya boiled sago, and Nar had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamalwa, and he wanted to help. I [186] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Nar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Tambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Gviyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [197] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marsh, Nar and Nay. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Nar, Fit, Chiawa, Hviya, Pamba, Yawa, and Dav went to the garden. They left about dawn. Nar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong
mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride
price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased
and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for
fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his
mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said naaki (nevermind).
When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all
this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and
then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and
tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also
said that Yatamiŋ, Kar, Kis, Wof at al. were his fathers. He had talked
to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was
likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it
(evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help
him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyap just came in without his ?lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the
woman did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed
and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
935 Una, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi
and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very
much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopement be postponed. Masuk was going
[583] to Korisai with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. Mey came

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yafalăs came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Enos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting for Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "nonki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Butchering a Pig

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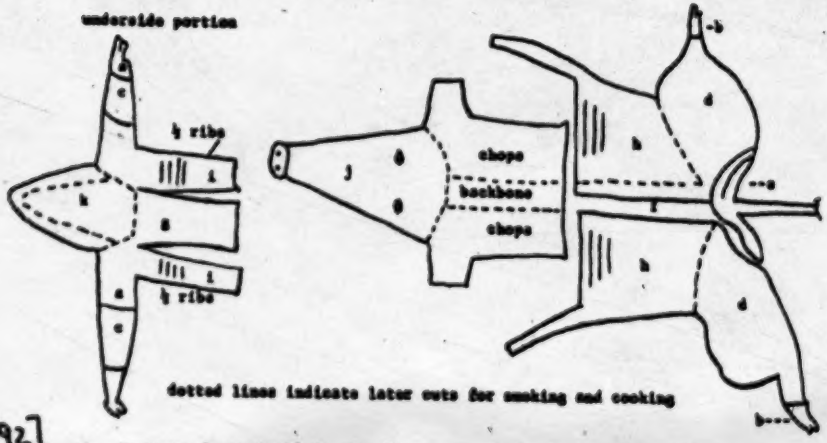
[412]

All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig, how it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.



[192]

a. trotters-front (taf(nbevukarf)
b. trotters-hind (yatf nienbdrf)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (tokfhaf)
d. 2nd joint of backlegs (kwafhaf)
e. tail and tenderloin (kiavf afkf)
f. backbone (nenafrf)
g. breast (kuku tokviavf)
h. rear flanks (kokuaaif)
i. fore ribs (nevi)
j. upper jaw and brain case (nasfkf)
k. lower jaw (kwafump)

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Cuts of a Butchered Pig

takimpi	breast, lower jaw, outer end of ribs, and fore legs to shoulder
masɨkɨ	upper jaw, head, shoulders, front half of back bone, chops
kwajimpi	back half of animal, cut in two along right side of backbone
yikufɨ	womb containing foetus
wofu	liver
masɨkɨ	heart
kumbo	stomach
sungu	intestines, large and small
herumpɨ	lungs
kwaya	gaul
mbinj	shoulder blade
nayfwant	neck bone
kinyɨ	tail and tenderloin
hofu	long muscle below backbone
wadj	ribs in kwajimpi portion
kɨndkɨ	lower portion of hind leg
kwajɨmpɨ	second joint of back leg

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Butchering procedure

1. All legs cut through at second joint, skin remaining
2. Ribs chopped on either side of breast bone
3. Breast bone cut around sides and belly and flapped forward over head
4. Belly slit to anus
5. Vitals removed and put in palm spathe; gaul is cut out and thrown away
6. Ribs chopped in three equal sections on either side of back bone-- two breaks on each side

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7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

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Division of parts to relatives

kwajump	mother's brother
takɸafí	father's sister
takimpi & puku takwiyí	sister
masíyí, amoa	father's brothers
yatí naɸukíyí	brothers
manɸíyí	wife and children
hokusaif	wife and children
mayí	wife and children
entrails	wife and children

251
[252] Pig flesh is preserved by boiling it first with yams, bananas and spinach. The broth is eaten and the pieces of meat removed from the cooking pan and smoked. A platform of green boughs is made, the height varying from two to four feet depending on the amount of flesh to be smoked. A fire is made under the platform and keep burning continually for three or four days. The flesh is then put in <u>mauriyard</u>, a bamboo cage, where it hung over the ordinary cooking fire so that its smoke reaches the flesh as much as possible.

Other vegetables

244 [A2] Mbiraka, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house . The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[A2] Wara, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Mayan , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 A2 252 [462] Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted. There are several varieties grown: mbviya, eaten raw or cooked; mayamwa, eaten raw or cooked; fayambiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasifi, eaten raw or cooked; sfojowa, eaten cooked only; yavofa, eaten raw or cooked; nasafaya, eaten raw or cooked.

249 [245] Betel nut, kwaga, and coconut are planted by either men or women. Betel pepper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Menus

252 Informant: Oriyup:

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup koup (kow fowd)

Informant: Oriyup

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: Hay

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, shel)

Informant: Awa

niiingd (breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yantfkd (lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bongwd (dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 Informant: Mey

264 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago

115 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

262 noon-- a little pigeon meat

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

1 cup yam soup

5:00 p.m.- 2 boiled sago

6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Her

7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

3 cups soup (meat)

night-- 6 boiled sago

262
192 Soups and other foods

fayoku ndonku (pork soup) - fovɨ (pork), mbonvɨ (taro), lofu (banana), mɨngise (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbirɸkɨ (spinach) .

fayoku ndonku-sɸwɨ (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), fovɨ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbirɸkɨ (spinach), mɨngisɨ (leaf greens), sɸwɨ (coconut).

vuaivɨ wɸoa huvutu (thick vegetable soup) -hinvɨ (a kind of vegetable), mbirɸkɨ (spinach), wɸngisɨ (leaf greens), ovɨ (sago grubs), kwinyɨ (pork).

afoswɸvɨ ndonku (cassowary soup) -mbirɸkɨ (spinach), sɸwɨ (coconut), wɸngisɨ (leaf greens), mbonvɨ (taro), lofu (banana).

● [252] afoudowsu and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] Fish that is bought from Tambon at the market is already smoked and is
[439] merely salted and eaten with sago.

Sago-- preparation for cooking

245 [462] The trunk of a sago palm is cut shoulder high. The wedge is taken out in the direction toward which it is wished the tree to fall. Both men and women cut the trees.

The felled log is then cut into sections, and the outer surface (xylem) is peeled back. A section ten feet long is enough to provide a day's work and about a three day's supply of sago.

252 [462] A woman sits on the peeled bark and chops the log between her feet with a special adze-like tool with a blunt hardwood colt in such a way that a half inch section of pith is scraped off and crushed with each blow. This crushed pith is then piled onto the upper end of the washing trough (see figure [462] below). The man helping pulls the pith down the trough until it is filled except for a space about two feet long from the strainer. Three or four dippers of water are then poured into the trough above the pith.

The pith is pulled up the trough, a double handful at a time, allowing the water to run down the trough and to be absorbed by the pith. If the water were first added at the bottom, near the strainer, it would run through without being absorbed into the pith.

The water-saturated pith is then pulled down by the handful and squeezed like a sponge. The handful of dry pith is then put back at the top of the trough, a new handful squeezed, put at the top, etc., until all has been squeezed. The strainer is then shaken back and forth and rubbed with the hand to force the water and sediment through it. The remaining pith is drawn back. Water is added again to the remaining pith, the squeezing repeated, the pith strained, and any remaining pith thrown out onto the ground.

The water and sediment run into the decanter which is placed so that the farther end is slightly lower than the nearer end. When the water begins to run over, a new [illegible] is put into the trough about one third

252 of the distance from the strainer to keep the new unprecipitated liquid from running over and to prevent the bottom part from being stirred up. The sago has precipitated, excess water that has not yet gone through the strainer might be scooped from the top leaving the mass of sago slightly drier. The mass of sago is wrapped in leaves and carried home.

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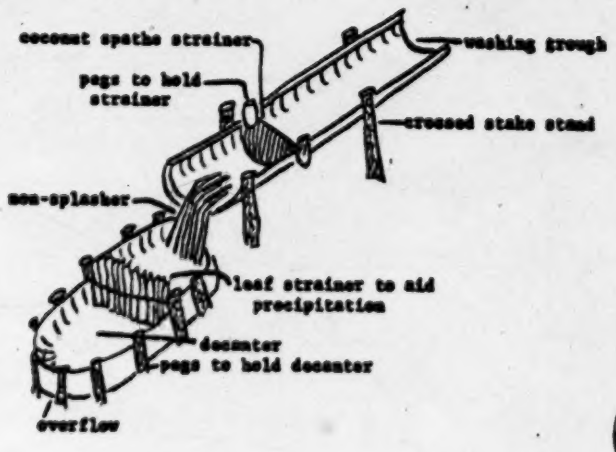
Sago Washing Trough



coconut shell dipper

Preparation of Boiled Sago

252 [192] To make boiled sago, water is heated in a pot over the fire with a half dozen seasoning leaves (yiffabfid) simmering in it (if the boiled sago is to be particularly tasty). A large lump of sago is then put in the bottom of another pot supported on the ground by a hoop of thin wood (the pots are round-bottomed). When the water boils, the leaves are skimmed off and put aside. The water is dipped into the other pot with a coconut shell dipper until the pot containing the sago is filled. It is stirred with the two "chop sticks" held in one hand. (See figures below). The water unites immediately with the sago and makes a thick gruel which becomes rubbery when it cools. This is stirred and tested until it has cooled sufficiently to congeal. The sticks are then held in each hand and rotated around each other and pulled out, dipped, rotated, and pulled out, about

ladle (nagwisfud)

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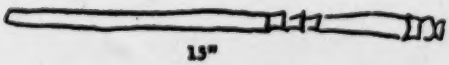
chop sticks (wuffiwf)



252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (ubasumbaga, a roughtdull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is reposted until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[462] [516] [857]

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (nzivi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [364] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

262 of a pancake. Next it is placed on the palm spathe, on top of the first cake, cooked side down, and another handful is put on the pot, the palm spathe, etc. until the lump is finished. Then the process of frying the other side is begun. Water in a coconut shell or pot is sprinkled over the top of the last cake until it is damp. Then it is put back on the fire the damp side down, and the next cake is sprinkled while the first one cooks. Each cake is cooked about a minute then stacked on a leaf. When they all are cooked, the pile of cakes is wrapped in the leaf and put away until time for eating, or eaten immediately.

[415] [192] A piece of betel spathe (*tase nambwa*) is used to scrape the stirrer (*nanwai*), the chop sticks (*wanifi*), and the pan in order to clean them.

Preparation and cooking of yams

• 252 Yams are prepared for boiling by cutting off the skins with a cane knife. The yams are cut into chunks, the size of medium potatoes, and placed in a clay pot (about three quart size) to which water is added. They are boiled until they are soft, removed from the pot with yam sticks and [263] [192] placed on freshly picked banana leaves. A small amount of salt (wiŋ) is put on the leaf as well.

Salt (wiŋ)

263 192 [437] Salt is made by burning dried sago bark (punhŋ). The ashes are eaten. (It tastes like medicated salt.). Soap (pidgin) is trade salt, much preferred to the homemade variety.

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lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[8] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[8] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37-53).

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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882
262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an ado-
252 lescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities.
602 While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[a] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[a] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another lee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He does not plant this section, but calls on a brother to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his brother's garden.

After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.* The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a good-will feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Tcuma* or *Mwjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

* Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[151] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
• 222 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[326] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
103 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother or uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[479] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[496] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife cooperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
• [262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[280] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [678] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[262] [192] [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near Var's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[32] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[32] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

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121 86 teachers which does not depend upon pain or fear is that of inciting. This consists of presenting to the pupil the verbal symbols which have been associated with reward along with instructions as to how to achieve such reward. The following [262] [177] case will serve as an illustration. At a coöperative work feast given by Nambomai, my Yambon houseboy, one of the foods prepared was stewed apricots. Gwiyap took it upon himself to teach some of the adults present to eat this food, which was hitherto unknown to them. To do this he said: "It is good. It tastes like ripe bananas." Afolawanj, an old man who was somewhat of a clown, was thus tempted to try some, but he had no sooner taken a mouthful than he spit it out, and refused to eat any more.

In the above case the drive was the appetite evoked by Gwiyap's statement that the stewed fruit tasted like ripe bananas; the response was eating; the cues were Gwiyap's instructions to eat and the sight, smell, and taste of the fruit; the reward was absent. Since there was no reward in this sequence it could be predicted that learning would not take place. The fact that Afolawanj did not again try the fruit is evidence that this was indeed the case. It could also be predicted that Afolawanj would have a decreased tendency to follow Gwiyap's instructions,[30] but I do not know whether or not this was true.

War's attempt to incite Mes and Mar provides a more dramatic instance of the use of this technique. When the Hongwam were planning a head-hunting raid on the Sowal, War, who was the prime mover in the affair, spent a whole evening at the house tamberan inciting Mar and Mes to go on the raid. He described to them all the advantages that they would gain from taking a head—that all the girls would want to marry them, that they could become members of *Nokwi*, that they would gain high prestige so that their words would be listened to at the court meetings, that their

[113] [30] This follows from the principle of extinction. When a response is not followed by a reward, the connection between this response and the preceding cues is reduced in strength. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. v; N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iii.

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826 Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow some-
[157] one to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache,
or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even be-
come seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not
[856] bleed his penis he will not grow up.[3] When the age-grade
initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not
attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow
• [262] up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is
warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish
may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that
if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow
he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the ani-
mal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This
warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting.
An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he
become sick, for the seed and produce have become contami-
nated with his blood.

869 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here,
262 because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adoles-
562 cents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a
252 woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in
processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife,
to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychologi-
869 cal effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have
823 upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walk-
123 ing through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a
waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it
for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap
heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, how-
ever, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walk-
ing stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing
this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity.
The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a
distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by
Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[3] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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the warning about walking abroad during the night. On the way home they heard a strange noise, took it to be a ghost, stopped in their tracks, and yelled for help. War and others, who were gossiping in the house tamberan, heard their cries and shouted back instructions to make a dash for the house tamberan. They did this and thus escaped what they believed was imminent danger. The chance occurrence of a strange noise had operated on this occasion to strengthen the fear of walking abroad at night.

An episode which involved Wof illustrates how chance can strengthen sorcery beliefs. He came home one day to find that someone had tampered with his store of sago flour. Believing that someone had taken flour in order to sorcerize him, he asked his first wife if she knew who could have done it. She replied that she had seen his second wife in that part of the room and that it was undoubtedly she who had stolen the food in order to sorcerize him. When Wof accused the younger woman, she denied it. The next day Wof came to my house and asked me if I had any medicine against sorcery, for he felt sick. He said that his head and stomach ached and he knew that someone was trying to sorcerize him. Whether Wof's illness was an attack of malaria, psychological depression resulting from repressed *anger at his wives*, or some other psychic or physical disturbance, it strengthened his belief in the efficacy of sorcery. He probably guarded his food stores more carefully thereafter.[10]

Chance can operate to reinforce the habit of heeding a warning about blood. Children who let blood from their penises do grow up; after phlebotomy has been practiced pains eventually disappear; and women who menstruate and men who let blood from themselves remain healthy. The following case also illustrates how chance may operate to support the belief in blood contamination. Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma our regular shoot boy left and we appointed Mes to take his place. Previously he had helped around our house and had eaten whatever pigeon meat was

[10] It was, indeed, not long after this that he scolded Ham for walking about his porch and accused him of being a thief of sorcery material.

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121 869 [262] left over from our table. When he became shoot boy the question arose as to whether he could still eat this meat since he killed it himself. Gwiyap was of the opinion that since he killed the birds with a gun rather than with a spear or arrow his blood would not be transferred and it would be perfectly safe to eat the meat. Yat, his *paternal uncle*, disagreed with this opinion, and held that it would be dangerous. Gwiyap then argued that the former shoot boy had eaten birds that he had shot without getting sick. Yat countered that, although he did not get sick, he had missed many shots and that this was probably due to his having eaten his own kill. Mes decided to heed his *uncle's* warning and ate no more pigeon meat. It happened that Mes was a very good shot and missed extremely few birds. He explained his accuracy as proof of the wisdom of heeding his *uncle's* warning.

Certain forces operate against heeding unrealistic warnings in Kwoma society. One of the most important of these is the fatigue drive. This drive exerts a constant pressure on the pupil not to run away from ghosts, not to bother to avoid the dwelling place of *marsalai*, to be careless about his food leavings, and not to go to the trouble of gathering nettles to scrape his penis to renew his blood. In other words his fears of the supernatural must be strong enough to *overcome his* indolence. Furthermore, the avoidance of supernatural dangers is frequently incompatible with the satisfaction of some other drive. When Yat discovered that he had cleared his garden too near a *marsalai's* dwelling place, his fear of disturbing the *marsalai* was opposed by his need to raise vegetables in a convenient place in order to satisfy his hunger. Similarly, when a pupil scrapes his penis or practices phlebotomy to let out bad blood these acts are opposed by the pain which they cause; when he does not eat a pig he has killed or yams he has planted, these renunciations are opposed by his hunger for these foods. Likewise a pupil's avoidance of ghosts and fear of sorcery often force him to give up satisfactions which he might otherwise attain.

In contrast to realistic warnings, when a pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning, the pain, except by chance, does

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121 pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning he will be injured
869 just as surely as, and perhaps even more severely than, if he
178 ignored a realistic warning. Why they wish to prevent the child from being injured is a complex problem, involving identification, loss of help and support, and sanctions against negligence. The important question is why, if parents make their children heed unrealistic warnings in order to prevent them from being injured, does this habit not extinguish when they observe a child experience no harmful consequences when he disregards a supernatural danger? The following case of the extinction of a supernatural belief indicates that this is a real as well as a logical possibility.

121 Mar and Gwiyap had both been warned not to eat sago
869 flour washed by a female lest it make them sick. Before they
178 started to work as our houseboys they had heeded this warn-
252 ing and each had worked with one of his *sisters* in the process
262 of extracting sago flour. They had washed the pith while the *sister* crushed it. When they began to work for us, however, we demanded their services in the mornings, when they would otherwise have gone to the swamp to replenish the household flour supply. Awa and Kwiya, the *sisters* who had hitherto worked with them, had no other available *brothers*, and therefore formed a team of their own. They took turns washing and *crushing* and, of course, produced flour washed by a female. Mar and Gwiyap were somewhat hesitant about trying this flour, but they were faced with the dilemma of either going without flour, which had been a staple in their diet since weaning, or ceasing to work for us, which would have meant losing frequent gifts of trade goods as well as some prestige. They chose to risk disregarding the warnings about the food and hoped that the flour would not be like other bad food they had eaten and which had made them sick. Their parents scolded them for this behavior and warned them again. Since no other painful consequences resulted from their first attempt, they decided to try it again, and, for the remaining six months of our stay, they and the rest of their household ate this supposedly harmful food. After the first few occasions their parents stopped scolding and warning them.

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

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121 The distribution of pork to rela-
82 tives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a
182 person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of
[602] blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus
• [262] strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally,
[582] the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

869 Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood
121 are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories
182 which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

121 Although the above analysis gives an answer to the ques-
172 tion of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises
178 an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division
[123] of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

349 [177] coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 262 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 123 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us. [417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the [346] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the [198] front courtcould not see the sacred altar.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulusi and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bongus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bongus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bongus was the name of another tribe.

however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination-- mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amusement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which [133] is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 [415] are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [323] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty [439] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cassowary fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kim and Mar were homicides; each had killed an Urumbum). After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation for raids that the Urumbum) had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[262] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[276] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[562]

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[202] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water sac and
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singing
is finished.

796 The men return to the singing and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Yambak on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their breasts are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambum. Only one or two old women are present."

392 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 11), I went down to Nar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[892] In this room sleep Nar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Nar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not enclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. There a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[402] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
000

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on oib history I went over the mountain to Kanyabumbura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Kanggua man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tambaran by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Har, of Kambina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwe (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a babel of advice from those men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [333] [334] uninitiated boys run for the house tambaran to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Kwoma
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Imyambum, or Tag. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory. Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

428
241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to beg one is a rare event. Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[967] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
260 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished [illegible] (carved figure) roughly
[322] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with
an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another
1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother,
held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts.
I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to
whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then
laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The
ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it
to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the
house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly
to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove.
He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his
finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then
asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a
piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham
who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but
the sweet heart of sugar cane excellent.

583 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his
wife; he snapped at her and at Suiyap's little sister for not making the
sago properly. Wof's wife sent May for the chop sticks to make the sago.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Ham came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

476
534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mas, and Owiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwate mbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

578 [123] been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not feel like working.

527 262 [754] [692] [252] [415] [262] [123] [123] Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 754 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayamas (a big man of Afokalisa) got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sownambi's (kinship term) and I will fight anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betal pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Bwiyampa and Dowari and Mbwandaya had broken it and

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and
Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong
to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just
[766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had
[262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If
Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and
caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing
it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and May and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on May's
wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mam (mother's brother). It is also
War's mam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants
reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect
right to the sago since his mam told him he could cut it. He has decided that
what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of
obligation to pay mam at hant supviya. He is afraid that if he does not pay
War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He
thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark
from me which he considers to be enough.

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwama were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them men but use their name. His daughter, Mamba, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Tambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wanyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awe and Kwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [123] [262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] [262] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] [276] [522] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marck, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinuwa, Kwiya, Yamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who
628 had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It
883 was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Pit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Enlya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Enlya, Awa, and Afi went to
262 their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food
313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Enlya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch
123 anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is
[593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was
[262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came

[583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and Mey would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight

[752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was

123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap

431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca

437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The

276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are

[262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Bwiye and Awe were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awe who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awe urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhuriyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chinawa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afoksyisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted Imoyamb na me yato (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Yonakwot from Kawi Tuk (Yessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mas came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white men and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Qwiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>amuto mesni</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Mazuk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my <u>lake</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

192 [826] [262] [614] marinokw — the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.

nambeyé	ears
mboroweng	neck
nesuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
mangorusuku	kidneys
mogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé suf	anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the siafkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Menus

252 Informant: Gwiyap:

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup koup (kow fowf)

Informant: Gwiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: May

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, sowf)

Informant: Ava

niiingf
(breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yantfhf
(lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish,snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bongwf
(dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 Informant: Hay

264 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago

115 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

• 262 noon-- a little pigeon meat

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

1 cup yam soup

3:00 p.m.- 2 boiled sago

6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Mar

7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

3 cups soup (meat)

night-- 6 boiled sago

262
192 Soups and other foods

foyokw ndonkw (pork soup) - foyɨ (pork), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana), mɨngisa (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbir@kɨ (spinach) .

foyokw ndonkw-s@wɨ (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), foyɨ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbir@kɨ (spinach), mɨngisɨ (leaf greens), s@wɨ (coconut).

wusiyɨ m@os huwutu (thick vegetable soup) -hinyɨ (a kind of vegetable), mbir@kɨ (spinach), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), owɨ (sago grubs), kwinyɨ (pork).

afos@wpɨ ndonkw (cassowary soup) -mbir@kɨ (spinach), s@wɨ (coconut), m@ngisɨ (leaf greens), mbonyɨ (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] afondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] [439] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is merely salted and eaten with sago.

Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab. There are numbrous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngola plant (which produces motí, the red berried 1' - 2' cobbwhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape. These leaf rings vary in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen about the house. They are called aonguesala.

[824] [192] [262] [192]

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [488] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [415] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [323] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done [439] the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

262
192 Soups and other foods

foyokw ndonkw (pork soup) - foyŋ (pork), mbonyŋ (taro), lofu (banana), mŋ@gisŋ (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbir@kŋ (spinach) .

foyokw ndonkw-s@wŋ (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), foyŋ (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbir@kŋ (spinach), mŋ@gisŋ (leaf greens), s@wŋ (coconut).

wuaiyŋ m@os hunutu (thick vegetable soup) -hinyŋ (a kind of vegetable), mbir@kŋ (spinach), m@ngisŋ (leaf greens), owŋ (sago grubs), kwinyŋ (pork).

afow@wpŋ ndonku (cassowary soup) -mbir@kŋ (spinach), s@wŋ (coconut), m@ngisŋ (leaf greens), mbonyŋ (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] afondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] [439] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is merely salted and eaten with sago.

Preparation and cooking of yams

252 Yams are prepared for boiling by cutting off the skins with a cane knife. The yams are cut into chunks, the size of medium potatoes, and placed in a clay pot (about three quart size) to which water is added. They are boiled until they are soft, removed from the pot with yam sticks and [263] [192] placed on freshly picked banana leaves. A small amount of salt (wíg) is put on the leaf as well.

Salt (wíg)

263 192 [437] Salt is made by burning dried sago bark (punkú). The ashes are eaten. (It tastes like medicated salt.). Boat (pidgin) is trade salt, much preferred to the homemade variety.

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862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[5]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [364] [754]

[3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.

[4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.

[5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may [602] [571] eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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[862]

concepts of the culture, and must learn to respect them. As an infant, he suffered no such restriction, for no food that was available to him was prohibited on these grounds. During the weaning period he received some training in this respect, but it is especially during childhood that this learning takes place. In contrast to discriminating between things on the ground of their edibility, this restriction on behavior is not supported by natural characteristics such as hardness, bitterness, or poisonousness; it is a man-made prohibition, and must be inculcated entirely by means of social rewards and punishments.

A Kwoma child learns that he cannot eat any food that he sees, but that he may do so only if he has regarded certain property rights.[4] Several times a week his older sister or his mother brings a net bag laden with fruit and vegetables back from the garden. Bananas, plantains, spinach, coconuts, yams, and taros are emptied out on the porch floor to be stored or cooked. The child soon discovers that he cannot help himself freely from this pile of food. If he does so, his mother or sister scolds him: "Don't take those bananas; they were picked from So-and-so's tree and we are going to use them in soup." Sometimes he is told that certain fruit or vegetables come from his own tree or from his own plot in the garden; in this case, his mother is not cross with him if he takes some, but says: "Those are your bananas, but it is your turn to contribute to the family pot. If you eat them now, we won't have enough for the soup." On other occasions he may begin to help himself to a breadfruit that his older brother has just roasted for a between-meal snack, and get a kick or blow and a volley of abuse from this brother when he is discovered. On the other hand, he finds that if he first asks if he may share the snack, his brother usually gives him some.

After considerable trial and error of this kind, as well as after explanations and examples from parents and older sib-

[4] Property rights in respect to tools, toys, etc., follow the same formula as property in food; but since Kwoma children have few toys or tools, it is with respect to food that property rights are primarily learned.

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264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another
859 person without being punished only if the owner gives per-
261 mission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error.

[86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.[6] A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

[6] A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wí was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the luluai and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rambini, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
[123] the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[122] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
858 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Hen came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the 123 241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat [857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis [252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered [264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate [262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and [461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother, 356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tongwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for [628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan 721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Kwiyamps and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

Cooking and Food Preparation

264 Menus

252 Informant: Qwiyap:

115 10 o'clock-- 1 boiled sago

192 1 o'clock-- 2 boiled sago

262 1 cup soup (kow fovf)

Informant: Qwiyap

dawn-- 1 ripe banana

7:30 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

1 boiled sago

noon-- 3 ripe bananas

3:00 p.m. 2 boiled sago

Informant: Mey

dawn-- 1 boiled sago

3:00 p.m.-- 3 dishes soup (lofu, sfwf)

Informant: Awa

niiingf (breakfast)--1 - 3 boiled sago

yentfhf (lunch)-- 1 - 3 boiled sago

1 - 3 dishes soup (served in half coconut shell)

meat (fish, snake, lizard, pig or bird)

bongwf (dinner)-- 1 boiled sago

252 Informant: Mey

264 7:00 a.m.-- 1 boiled sago

115 10:00 a.m.-- one-third breadfruit

262 noon-- a little pigeon meat

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

1 cup yam soup

3:00 p.m.- 2 boiled sago

6:00 p.m.-- a bit of gouria pigeon.

Informant: Mar

7:00 a.m.-- 2 boiled sago

2:00 p.m.-- 2 boiled sago

3 cups soup (meat)

night-- 6 boiled sago

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727 Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed
• [266] to eat the soup,[80] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

726 The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently em-
[721] ployed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and
727 fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

721 A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain
554 prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man
[794] is eligible to join *Nokwei*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwei* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwei* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[829] [80] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

October 25, 1936.

101 619 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [727] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mouta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessan. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempte and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempte is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessan. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Mesamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakela
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-abooss" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. Mey said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrance of the Yelangu affair. It

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "taltul" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the alter. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" were laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise
was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear
the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj.
After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation
for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line
up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is
drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of
labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do
the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of
washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[262] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[562]

614 [769] along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 276 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting is the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9, 1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

132 How "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Nemb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar, Chinuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got none ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Owiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Kwiya, Chinuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chinuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and May, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong.
323 Mar was working hembank and cutting grass by the house tamberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Namb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Namb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and Mar had his family make soup. This was not expected by Namb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his presitge. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Namb had killed a gourie pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Gwiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [197] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dosed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Kwiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mes would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mes one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mes marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mes. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [952] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 is sold to me. When the Tengwishamp bring fayombi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 War, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunge kafesmaeni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Gwiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Gwiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Gwiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Gwiyap heard that Gawi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urembanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Gwiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urembanj.

752 Kwos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

Tobacco

276 973 Long, long ago, Sukugaratɨ shot Sokwayɨgurɨ and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagaratɨ made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

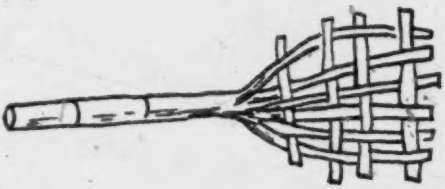
276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdengara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (niey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

276
562
183 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

249
412
[192] Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hiŋ/ wə@ə@taw/)



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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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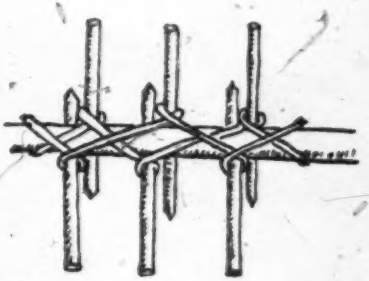
335.
[284]

Method for binding rafters to ridgepole



Kwas nje, a room in which carved wooden images (wanilwas) are stored is made of cross rafters bound to the porch rafters. The room extends from the partition at the central post about 8 feet out, has a palm spathe floor and partition of uprights laced with maratta leaves. The outside cross beam is supported by split liana cord to the yi tow (ridgepole extension). The room is open on the end facing into the house.

7. Aké jiré (e) (stringer) set and attached.

8. Aké warunkw (k)(cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap) fastened.

9. Yi towé (g) (binder) attached.

10. Roofing. Palm spathes (ndofé) are most commonly used for roofing. Ndofokw fiju is preferred but less common and usually used for house temberans

342 The leaves (4) are stacked one on top of another, butts and points alternating direction, folded in the middle over the palm spathe slat so that the new bundle slightly overlaps the previous bundle. The leaves are sewn with an

[412] [283] overhand back stitch-- the needle a sharpened hollow stick, the thread split liana. The slat to which the bundles are attached is made from a split areca palm trunk, about five feet long and one half inch square.

Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the wɨnɨsɨ tree is peeled off in short strips (one to two feet long). These strips are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 814 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, kɨsɨndɨ and nowɨ, the [245] former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant the nowɨ trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with [177] a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [178] was brought to the Hongwan through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

227 Fishline is made of split fibers of the root of the mɔngé tree.
283 These fibers are tied together end to end to make a fine strong line (the size of a heavy sewing thread). The hook is made of a double sago
226 needle. A grub is threaded over this so that the prongs are held close together and parallel to the line. When the fish takes the bait the prongs open out and down and toggle. Fishing is done when the water is high in the holes in the swamp.

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beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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284.

Mundik just after he had fled to our house for sanctuary after having been beaten and bound for attending the cult meeting associated with the second funeral feast. This ceremony is restricted to those who have received their keloids of manhood. Mundik, being a Yelagu, had not received these. A further reason for his being beaten was that he had killed his wife in a fit of rage and fled to Kwoma, his mother's former home, to escape being killed by his wife's relatives. The Kwoma shunned him and used his breach of cult rules as an excuse for expressing their feelings toward a person they believed to be a homicidal maniac. Had he not loosened the bonds on his ankles and escaped from the house in which he was imprisoned, he may well have been killed before the ceremony ended. See Chapter VI, page 144, and Chapter VIII, page 213.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

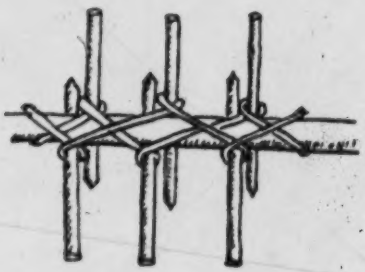
578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the "sac sac" (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[481] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[313] garden by the side of the road toward Wemysbunkura. A log was cut to the
[284] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of
[483] the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

342
335 Method for binding rafters to ridgepole

[284]



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342 192 [284] a ongwé yiiu are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for shé me (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, shéwoyé me, in the ground and lashing them to shé fayé (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niame, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the ousside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (aomporirié) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nie room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [351] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

Tools

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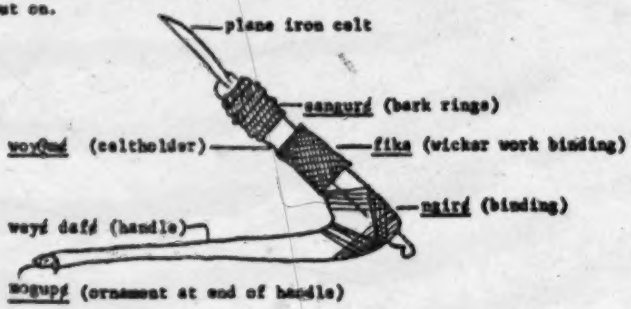
192

Adze (woye)

To make an adze, the celt holder (woyéwé) is shaped and split at the end. Preferred wood is wheté (pidgin, kwilé), but other wood is used. The handle has also been shaped and is made from any wood. A section is cut out, usually from a small tree where a small branch joins the larger or the main trunk, and is concaved to fit the slightly convex celt holder. A straight handle is preferred, but a slightly curved one is not disliked. The angle between the face and handle varies from about 50° to 70°. The iron celt (formerly stone) is slipped into the split in the celt holder. Bark rings (sangurí) which have been dried are slipped on from the top and forced down, holding the celt firmly in place. The wicker work is then woven into a sleeve and the handle is slipped into this. Hoops from prepared liana bark are also used to attach the handle to the celtholder. The hoop is measured to the collar of the celtholder by tying it in a half knot which is pulled tight. This is slipped off and the ends are tucked on either side of the loop until a twisted loop is formed four or five strands thick. The twists are laid carefully side by side, which causes the loop to thicken and therefore a lessening of the inner circumference so that the loop will jam when driven to the shoulder. When the handle has been attached, a final binding is put on.

[284]



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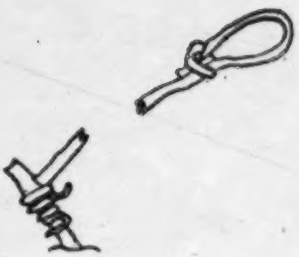
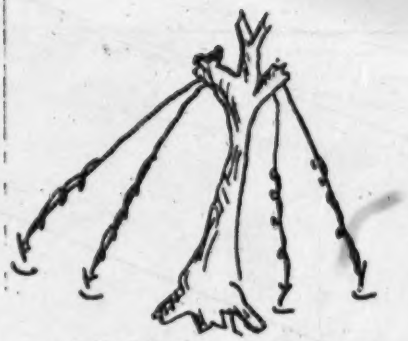


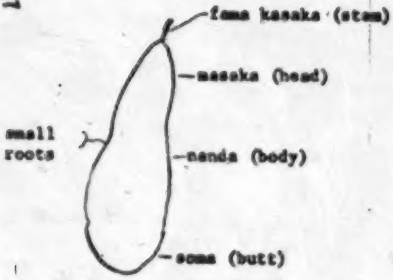
Split liana stringers

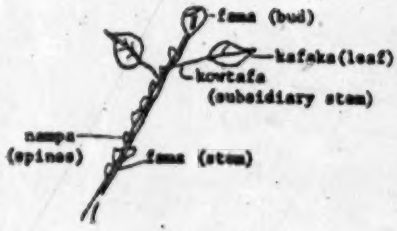


Split liana stringers and vines as attached to tree stumps

Names for descriptive parts of yams

[192]





412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

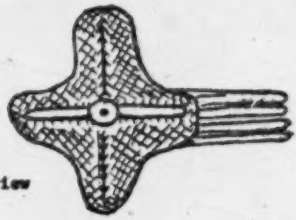
848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [531] winiema or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] ~~nambi~~ minid-- ornamental comb

[581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikí) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fulí) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[a] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[b]

[a] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[b] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw[9] up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

[9] A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a haftad hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [821] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 794 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] miniama or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
574 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[334] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

114 Watakaup came in the afternoon with an invitation to come to Ambunti. I think I'll go.

April 22, 1937.. It was raining this morning, so I decided not to go to Ambunti but sent Mar and Mee to get kerosene, flour, etc. I went down to [284] War's to look at his house. The whole family was at home. The women were sewing mat bags, as well as War who was sewing a bag. His was working a wafe ngaga from afosamp bone. Kar was lying on a bed sick.

I went up to the house tamberan to get its construction. Way was shaping the outside of a gong, but the mosquitoes drove me home. I sent 836 Owiyap and Mey to wash clothes. Owiyap came back full of excitement about Gwanta. He had seen her on the way, and she let it be known she wanted to have intercourse with him. He bribed Gwanta with 2 razors, one for him and one for her, to come and tell him when she next went down to get water so he could meet her there. He said he was going to ask her to come and sleep [593] with him at Wisep's house in his "klambu". She had suggested it the other night but her father had forbade her.

This afternoon he put on Mar's singlets and a brand new orange "lap lap" and went down the hill. He stayed all afternoon. Tonight he said he had called at Way's house. Gwanta and her mother were there--they sat and talked. She was sitting on the bed, and he asked her if there were plenty of "nats nats." She said yes. Then he told her if they bothered her too much to come up and sleep in his mosquito net. She said she would. Gwanb who was also there, said he would come too, but Gwanta said no--how many people do you think the net will hold. Mar remarked that she did not call him by his name and that she told him not to go with me but to stay.

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the wɔhisɨ tree is peeled off in short strips (one to two feet long). These strips are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and looseens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berries used for dye are from two trees, kɨsɨndɨfɨ and nowɨ, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the nowɨ trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Hongwem through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (aswkaf) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 [583] Shells, yesi (small cowrie shells) and asfmangfrf (larger ones), obtained
[439] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[436] function as money.

The figure below, an ornament called nf nasfkf (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.

[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (amfngurf), shell ornaments (wanyivf), yesi, asemangfrf and lofu wafd (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mapo) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouris pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mapo.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo foku) is attached
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301 Nǒ̃ubali is a four row knitted ornament made with yasi shells.
286 The band increases in worth as further projections decorated with shells
237 are added to it. These projections are worn pointing up.

Nǒ̃ubarí is an ornament worn suspended from the neck, made from a net base and covered with yasi shells. It resembles a necktie. The
[435] value of this ornament is about 2 shillings.

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been one that they had already learned during infancy. In any case neither parents nor older siblings scolded them for this behavior although it was often done in their presence. Kum showed considerable interest in the genitals of other males,* staring at those of his father and older brothers. Perhaps the discovery of his own penis as a source of gratification stimulated his interest in the genitals of others.

While a child is being weaned he must learn many new and independent habits for coping with pain. He has to warm himself by the fire rather than by contact with his mother's body. He must suffer the pain from pressure against his yaws sores, or change his position until the pain is relieved. He no longer has someone to brush the mosquitoes from him but must deal with them alone. He must go down to the spring with his older siblings and wash himself with cold water instead of being gently bathed by his mother with warm water. When it rains he must run into the house if he wishes to keep dry.

When a child is weaned he may no longer sit in his mother's lap by day nor lie by her side at night. This is apparently felt as the most severe frustration experienced at this period of life. No longer is it possible to attain the vantage point from which all drives have hitherto been satisfied.

Kum's behavior indicated an especially strong desire to be near his mother and to touch her. When she came back from work in the evenings he would usually clasp and hug her leg. When she left in the morning he would cling to her, begging to be taken with her. When she sat in the house making a net bag or cooking a meal, he would stand beside her and often lean against her shoulder. Chinuwa, the mother, would never allow him as much contact as he seemed to want. When he hugged her leg or leaned against her side she might tolerate it for a moment, but would soon push him away and tell him to stop annoying her. Kum reacted to one of these rebuffs by

* Both men and women in Kwoma society go naked with the exception of some of the young men who have, within the last few years, adopted the custom of wearing laplaps (calico wrap-around skirts) from their contact with Europeans, and a few of the younger women who have recently procured blouses from white traders.

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back,[32] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[32] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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[p. 168-H]

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Gwiyap, our best informant, wearing a laplap which he had earned working for us as a house boy. See Chapter V.

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "luluai" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the altar. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and flatlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly, and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like yaguuliguuliguuligo. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus waga or aya, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with aya sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of wahowaho, dadohoha, or hahohowa that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "a". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply
[797] a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has
[91] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European
[391] clothes. She
[177] seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, é, o, u and ü . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ar. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvcv.
126 Length and stress seem to very together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ma is the imperative particle, saga expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

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March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 191 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

*115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Kwiye or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ave (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amwa or newalaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

*115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

*115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

*115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

#115 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it
291 is a "gud felo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

#115 Owiyap heard that Gamwi, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Owiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

583 Owiyap has not paid the large indemnity, ma fander ya which is about
768 half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not
593 look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between
604 her brothers.

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881 561 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who [608] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes [304] the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three • [292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[1] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three [535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. [786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[1] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

443 The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the bared (canal) leading from the foot of the Waskuk mountain to the Sepik. [489] This varies according to the height of the river water. At high water canoes can come up to the very edge of the forest. At present the end of canoe navigation is 100 yds. out in the swamp grass.

"The market is held a few hours after sunrise for it takes more than an hour for the Waskuk to descend the mountain and about the same time for the Yambon to paddle up-river in their canoes. I reach the edge of the swamp grass shortly after 8 A.M. The Waskuk are before me, but the Yambon are not yet in sight. Four young men of Waskuk are seated on logs around a small fire. Twenty to thirty women sit in three groups apart from the [293] men without the benefit of the shade which the men enjoy. The women hold slabs of bark over their heads to avoid the sun and still wear their string bags even though they are sitting down. They talk among themselves as do the men with only a few remarks passing between the groups.

"After a few minutes wait, the heads of men poling in three canoes can be seen above the swamp grass. There are eight or nine canoes, but since the Sepik river women paddle sitting, these cannot be seen until they have reached the head of the canal. When they are all grounded and their paddles have been stuck upright in the mud alongside their canoes, the Waskuk women gather up their digging sticks and bark wrapped bundles of washed sago to walk through the ankle deep muck to the canoes. I follow shortly after with the men. The Waskuk women are busy setting up their digging sticks or, if they haven't one, a piece of bamboo of the same length. In front of these uprights each women deposits her forty to fifty pound bundle of sago and unwraps it. The food had about the consistency of roquefort cheese and stands up in a triangular lump when the bark wrappings [439] are removed. Its colour is gray or a dirty pink. The Yambon women now

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

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796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "lulual" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the altar. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" were laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly, and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like yagwuligwuligwuligo. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus wawa or awa, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with awa sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of wahowaho, dadohoha, or hahohowa that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "o". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

(Again Tip).

796 December 17th, 1936./The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong mari", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalis with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalis we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit [534] dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is
584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the
initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does
not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One
847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal
845 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
583
591

611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[532] minjema or yenana; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
[534] the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement [171] compared to the Hokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Mdunkwi of [301] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went [302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Mey who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was belaboring Fit with it. Later Mey came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Mey while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Mey had [522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Gwiyap and I were talking about it, and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in
522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through [123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mes told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitema
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olataim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind wearing the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mes both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (savũnɨ) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 Shells, yasi (small cowrie shells) and asɨmangɨrɨ (larger ones), obtained
[583] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[439] function as money.
[436]

The figure below, an ornament called nɨ̃ nasɨkɨ (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net bags.

[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (amɨngurɨ), shell ornaments (vanyivɨ), yasi, asɨmangɨrɨ and lofu vafɨ (small turks heads made of wicker work).

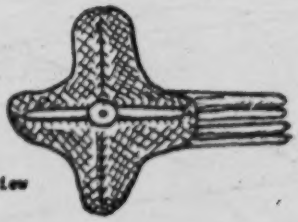
[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird of paradise (mano) are the most highly prised for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mano.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo gokw) is attached
237

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] ~~nasPrd~~ ninif-- ornamental comb

[581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikf) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fulf) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

301 Kɔ̃ubali is a four row knitted ornament made with yasi shells.
286 The band increases in worth as further projections decorated with shells
237 are added to it. These projections are worn pointing up.

Kɔ̃ubayɨ is an ornament worn suspended from the neck, made from a
[435] net base and covered with yasi shells. It resembles a necktie. The value of this ornament is about 2 shillings.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tamberan gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event. He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the prescribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[26] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[26] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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721 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was
593 undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning
578 in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even • [302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her. [648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

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Mundik just after he had fled to our house for sanctuary after having been beaten and bound for attending the cult meeting associated with the second funeral feast. This ceremony is restricted to those who have received their keloids of manhood. Mundik, being a Yelagu, had not received these. A further reason for his being beaten was that he had killed his wife in a fit of rage and fled to Kwoma, his mother's former home, to escape being killed by his wife's relatives. The Kwoma shunned him and used his breach of cult rules as an excuse for expressing their feelings toward a person they believed to be a homicidal maniac. Had he not loosened the bonds on his ankles and escaped from the house in which he was imprisoned, he may well have been killed before the ceremony ended. See Chapter VI, page 144, and Chapter VIII, page 213.

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Gwiyap, our best informant, wearing a laplap which he had earned working for us as a house boy. See Chapter V.

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[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

(Again Tip).

796 December 17th, 1936. The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong mari", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalis with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalis we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit [534] dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement [171] compared to the Hokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Hdunkwi of [301] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went [302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Hey who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was beleboring Fit with it. Later Hey came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Hey while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Hey had [522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Owiyap and I were talking about it, and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Hem in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through [123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Hem to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Hem, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Hem danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

356 [857] with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the back (Mar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for nothing. 578 According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimwa is finished. 754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yamapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's 578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him 593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to [532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the [778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

439 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ma yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. May ran down so ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilewas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilewas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Mas and Owiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Mdowsy house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
• 302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
437 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mes told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olatsim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mes both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

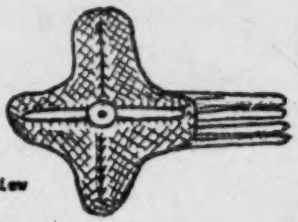
*115 household and then had a long conversation with War's son, Mes, a lad of his own age.

[302] He and Mes put a bleaching mixture on each other's hair--lime, water
*115 and foyimaka leaf. I did not see him look at Aye once nor did he speak to
584 her beyond a word of greeting. After we left and were out of sight he exclaimed excitedly, "Did you see my girl? Ai yo ha ha ha hoiyo," he shouted. Then he put his thumb in his mouth and danced on one foot and exploded in a loud voice, "I think I'll get her. Never mind about sorcery". Then contracting his brows and looking at the ground, "Yes, I think so. I don't know." Later after we had returned to my house, he spoke of his fiancee once again and said that she was good and had a good vagina (laughter). If he went away, another man might get her. If so, he would break his lime gourd and clay pot and go up to the house tamberan and beat the gong for that man to come. Then he would fight him, punch him in the nose and then in the ear. "Yes (as if I had said I did not believe him) if I stay I can look out for her, but this place is no good, and if I stay I will be sorcerized", War said. "What are you going to give me when you go--some money?" I told him yes and he added, "I guess I'll give it to War and then no one else can get her. She's a good girl. Oh! War. " Then I said something which he misconstrued as a suggestion to go to War's house and sleep with Aye. War exclaimed, "No, no; if I went there, War would shoot me with a spear. (Pause). I think I'll take your fffle and shoot War. Yes!" (As though I doubted it).

*115 Before leaving, War warned me not to sleep at night unless I have my rifle by my side as there were some strangers walking around today with spears. He told me to sleep, and he would leave, but I still had work to do so he decided to finish his pipe and then go. War started at a noise outside and in a loud voice he asked, "What is that, a ghost ? Who is that walking

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] manŋwi miniŋ-- ornamental comb
[581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikŋ) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fuliŋ) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12]

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881 561 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who [608] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes [304] the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three [292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[8] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three [535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. [786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[8] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 • 304 A KWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiina hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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[Q 168-D]
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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing as his would-be teacher wished. [121] [861]

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right response, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have behaved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is inherent in such objects, because they have been punished for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the power to evoke feelings of fear. [192] [196]

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "infant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used in many contexts in which children are barred from doing what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the motivational power of this concept. [192] [196] [304].

412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is
584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the
initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does
not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).
848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One
847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal
845 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
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611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[532] minjeme or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
[534] the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Owiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Owiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Owiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Owiyap must have know his intentions. When Owiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[804] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, butthat he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Hongwan).

Some examples of cicitrisation around a woman's navel

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Cicatrization symbolic of manhood

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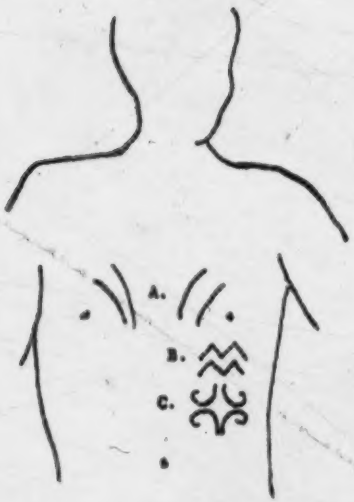

A. nákwe

B. wínɨ́

C. kwayɨ́ nbankɨ́

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[3] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[3] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

Gardening-- planting of yams

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[313] In preparation for the planting of yams, the land is cleared, the tops of large trees are cut off and the small trees are chopped down entirely. The small trees are allowed to lie on the ground for a couple of months, or until they are thoroughly dried. The refuse is then collected and burned. The ground is broken with a digging stick and the planter puts in the yams.

[311] Because of the hilly terrain, small terraces about a foot square are built. If the slope is very steep a small buttress is made with pegs stuck in the ground and cross sticks thrown behind them for a sort of retaining wall. If the slope is gentle, the terrace is made by simply leveling out the earth. The breaking of the ground is done with a pointed stick which is forced in the ground and then pried up hill while the ground is forced out and down. This prying is repeated until the terrace
244 is formed and the ground is softened. The seeds are planted butt end down and the head up at right angles to the level ground, and covered so that the stem is just below the surface.

After the yams have begun to come up, stringers are put up for the vines. Split liana stringers are suspended from the branches of the cut-off trees and pegged to the ground beside each yam hill. (See figure) Care is taken so that one stringer is not pegged above another depriving it of rain and sunlight. This is done for all yam plants, the vines twining around the stringers.

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error. [86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

• [312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.[a] A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife cooperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

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578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not seperated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the "sac sac" (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in
[481] diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[313] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[284] garden by the side of the road toward Wenysbunkura. A log was cut to the
[483] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the woman or bring the police to shut the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 Mar and Mea worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food 313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Duwus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

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Gardening-- planting of yams

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After the yams have begun to come up, stringers are put up for the vines. Split liana stringers are suspended from the branches of the cut-off trees and pegged to the ground beside each yam hill. (See figure). Care is taken so that one stringer is not pegged above another depriving it of rain and sunlight. This is done for all yam plants, the vines twining around the stringers.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dosen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 123 262 252 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots [415] are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [323] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty [439] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilawas (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at Mey and at Owiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent Mey for the chop sticks to make the sago.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asf). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadong represents low gong; gadang represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwc ?af

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

nyrfnjo

gadang gadong gading

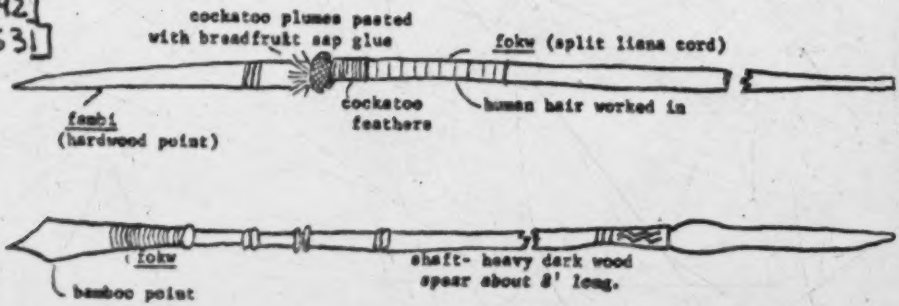
Spears

411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. These made
322 from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[824]
[192]
[531]



Other containers

322
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[192]
[824]

To make a lime gourd (waff), the stem of a green gourd is cut; the seeds are chipped out with a bamboo sliver, and shaken out with some of the meat. The gourd is then stuffed with leaves of a bush taro (kwasfmbonkf) and filled with water. It is wrapped with breadfruit leaves and cooked for about fifteen minutes. Then it is removed, emptied, and scraped inside and out. Next it is put in the sun to dry. (If the taro leaves are not put inside, the gourd will turn black.)

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[386]

Gourd pot (ngérempf)

This particular pot is used for storing the sap of kwar, a hardwood tree, used as a base for black body paint (keyi). A similar cradle is made for a long gourd.

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[821] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is
584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the
initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does
not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One
847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal
845 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
583
591

411 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[532] minjema or yenena; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
[534] the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Nemb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar , Chimuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got none ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Gwiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Ewiya, Chimuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chimuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and May, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong. 323 Kar was working bushbank and cutting grass by the house tamberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

323 531 123 201 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this afternoon and did card tricks for Kwiya and Awa. Their reaction was to close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and forefinger and bite the lower lip. Chinuwa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Kwiyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marselai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 578 February 38, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

578 -103-

114 [224] near War's. He was building a bannis (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mes cut it up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific. We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which were at Mar's . We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa was teaching Mar and Mes. He was very patient with them. He would sing out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mes slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa on the other. This morning Pokadaya left early. Mar, Mes and I had breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back to the house. Mes took a short trip and came back with a bunch of bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mes is his nephew, it is all right. We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai. Awambaka and Apinokw came to help carry my bed back, and we returned. Poketaya and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

[154] Yamangamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to Wisep's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to the house tamberan to find Wof, Marok et al there. They came out and claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out for poison. (Mamb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night. They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from 754 Wanyabankura this evening. They were making the rounds of Nongwam, getting 755

Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab. There are numbrous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngole plant (which produces motí, the red berried 1' - 2' cobbwhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape. These leaf rings vary in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen about the house. They are called songuesala.

[824] [192] [262] [192]

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.

323
531
192 Incised decorations on clay pots

wŋnjí (usually on top rim of pot)

ŋmbeŋ

mbonŋmbonŋ

miri (eyes)
ŋmoŋnii (nose)
kwinjí (mouth)

476
534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and Wer did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar , Mas, and Owiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwats mbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

2: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1970 OJ13 Kwoma OJ13
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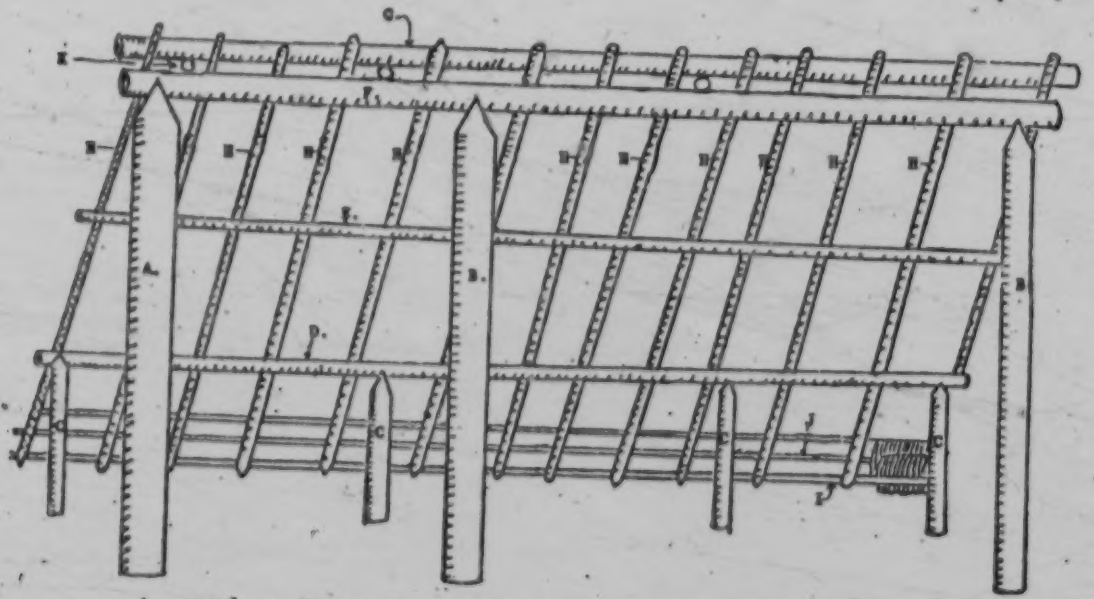
Key to House Construction --Center posts and roof



A. sumarɨ -- main central post
B. mɔ̃ndɨ kwatɨ--subsidiary central posts
C. taɨ̃ fayɨ-- side posts
D. akɨ fayɨ--plate
E. akɨ jirɨ--stringer
F. akɨ towɨ--ridgepole
G. yi towɨ-- binder
H. yɨ yemi--rafters
I. suku nyungeyɨ--bamboo runners attached to hold ends of shingles
J. aka ngɔ̃yɨ-- runners to hold shingles
K. akɨ warunkɨ-- cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap.

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335
[804]

Posts are measured and cut and moved to the building site. To measure the correct length a bamboo is marked by lashing a chip at the desired spot. The diameter of a post is measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around the post and breaking the splint at the point of overlap. The measure is used as a guide in digging the hole. The posts are also measured as they are set to insure a level ridgepole.

The figure on the preceding page shows the frame of a house, the center posts and half of the roof, and gives definitions for the labels. Following is the procedure used in construction the frame and house.

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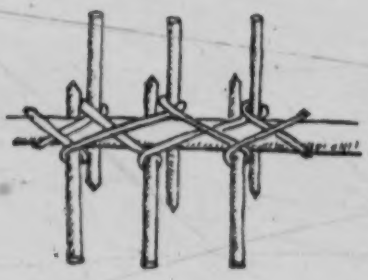
1. Two nǫ̃ndí kwatí (b) (subsidiary central posts) are first set. The central posts (nǫ̃ndí kwat) stand at each end of the enclosed part of the house.
2. Tafí tompí (c) (side posts) are set.
3. Akí favi (d) (plate) set.
4. A staging of log lashed from the tafí tompí (c) (side posts) to the akí favi (d) (plate) and lengthwise logs lashed on this. (For the house tamberan, a very elaborate staging is built-- subsidiary rafters are lashed to a temporary ridgepole up two-thirds way to the nǫ̃ndí kwatí (b) (subsidiary central posts).)
5. Akí towí (f) (ridgepole) lifted up and lashed. The main ridgepole extends only over the main room (akawí). The smaller ridgepole extension (yí tow) extends over the porch.
6. Yawmí (h) (rafters) set and attached. Those on the porch end of the house are slanted forward toward the peak. (See figure below)

342
335 Method for fitting rafters to ridgepole

[284]



Kwas nje, a room in which carved wooden images (sungilwas) are stored is made of cross rafters bound to the porch rafters. The room extends from the partition at the central post about 8 feet out, has a palm spathe floor and partition of uprights laced with maratta leaves. The outside cross beam is supported by split liana cord to the yi tow (ridgepole extension). The room is open on the end facing into the house.

7. Aké jirí (e) (stringer) set and attached.

8. Aké warunkv (k)(cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap) fastened.

9. Yi towé (g) (binder) attached.

10. Roofing. Palm spathes (ndofé) are most commonly used for roofing. Ndofokv fiju is preferred but less common and usually used for house tamberans

342 The leaves (4) are stacked one on top of another, butts and points alternating direction, folded in the middle over the palm spathe slat so that the new bundle slightly overlaps the previous bundle. The leaves are sewn with an

[412] [283] overhand back stitch-- the needle a sharpened hollow stick, the thread split liana. The slat to which the bundles are attached is made from a split areca palm trunk, about five feet long and one half inch square.

342 192 [284] kongvi yilu are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for akí ma (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akíwoyí ma, in the ground and lashing them to akí fayí (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niama, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the outside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (momporirí) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nie room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [351] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Y'enama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Y'enama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

trifles because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

591 and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work
• 342 for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually
476 slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the cen-
[351] tral post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young
married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a
[593] site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and
share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since
the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man
usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime.
[688] Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapi-
dated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of
their sons.

885 Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma
781 adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adoles-
[224] cence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous
animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt
them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the
warnings issued during the previous periods of his life con-
cerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

885 As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *mar-*
156 *salai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains
794 enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he
796 shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at
554 one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong
beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows prom-
ise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked
to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the
initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into
the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at
this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, dif-
fering only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia.
Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both
of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the
marsalai, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and
feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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Coöperative work group constructing the house of the ethnographers. The roofing material is split limbom palm spathes. The construction is that used by the Kwoma in making bush houses, permanent dwellings having an enclosed room and sewn shingles. See Chapter VI, pages 129–130.

I: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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[p.168-B]

Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk, with a finish/ as their spokesman, declared timer
that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably testing us out to see whether we were "missin" or not, for yesterday construction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed an outhouse for us.

342 Nemb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of strips bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Nemb is now making a bed. The uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles to the slats. Nemb is very proud of his house and considers it quite superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisep's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[183] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a 353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door 342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them. [592] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys [513] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of [354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet [262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made [415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half [412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears 000

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534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
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The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwata wbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

754 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does
755 not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this,
the sick person will recover.

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in
[311] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him
coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind.
[231] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to
[431] do with Asanampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was.
War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned.
War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--
Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road
to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two
center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there
were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two
were put on in other directions and all four tied.

600 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking
ground. Mar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May
says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man".
Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from
578 Wenyambankurs came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They
had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of
the day was that since there were no Hayamakwa present, it was they who were
responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on
Mamoy to fight, but Mamoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Dew put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
123 685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke im nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Kwos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Kwos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

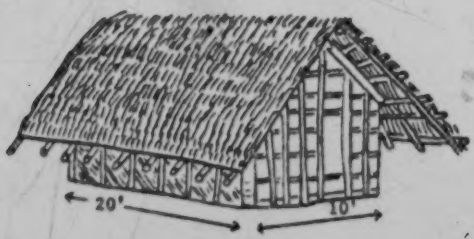
I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

Chapter V
Field Notes Not Previously Published

House and building construction

342 [428] [423] [372] Houses are not permanent enough to be important in inheritance. If a man dies, the remainder of the family lives in his house until it falls down or begins to leak. The house, however, is considered to be the property of the male children. A house may last ten years, and is abandoned when it falls apart. The available timber is used for other purposes-- firewood, for example.

343 342 The figure below illustrates a house for storing yams and taro (kayakí) but is identical in construction to a dwelling house.



There are two central posts at either end of the outside room. The roof overhangs in either direction. The construction is identical to the room of a dwelling house. The porches are extended from this frame.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

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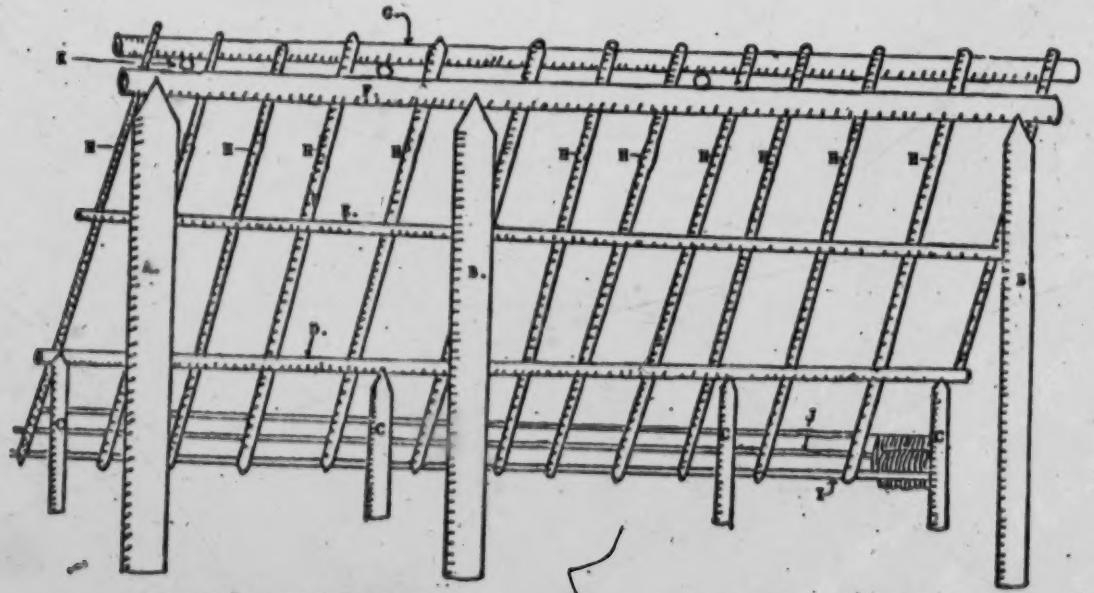
Key to House Construction --Center posts and roof



A. sumarɨ -- main central post
B. wɔ̃ndɨ kwatɨ--subsidiary central posts
C. tafɨ fayɨ-- side posts
D. akɨ fayɨ--plate
E. akɨ jirɨ--stringer
F. akɨ towɨ--ridgepole
G. yi towɨ-- binder
H. ya yemi--rafters
I. suku nyungeyɨ--bamboo runners attached to hold ends of shingles
J. aka ngɔ̃yɨ-- runners to hold shingles
K. akɨ warunkɨ-- cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap.

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[804]

Posts are measured and cut and moved to the building site. To measure the correct length a bamboo is marked by lashing a chip at the desired spot. The diameter of a post is measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around the post and breaking the splint at the point of overlap. The measure is used as a guide in digging the hole. The posts are also measured as they are set to insure a level ridgepole.

The figure on the preceeding page shows the frame of a house, the center posts and half of the roof, and gives definitions for the labels. Following is the procedure used in construction the frame and house.

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1. Two nǫ̃ndɨ́ kwatɨ́ (b) (subsidiary central posts) are first set. The central posts (wǫ̃ndɨ́ kwat) stand at each end of the enclosed part of the house.
2. Tafɨ́ tompɨ́ (c) (side posts) are set.
3. Akɨ́ fayɨ́ (d) (plate) set.
4. A staging of log lashed from the tafɨ́ tompɨ́ (c) (sideposts) to the akɨ́ fayɨ́ (d) (plate) and lengthwise logs lashed on this. (For the house tamberan, a very elaborate staging is built-- subsidiary rafters are lashed to a temporary ridgepole up two-thirds way to the nǫ̃ndɨ́ kwatɨ́ (b) (subdisiary central posts).)
5. Akɨ́ towɨ́ (f) (ridgepole) lifted up and lashed. The main ridgepole extends only over the main room (akawɨ́). The smaller ridgepole extension (yi tow) extends over the porch.
6. Yayemɨ́ (h) (rafters) set and attached. Those on the porch end of the house are slanted forward toward the peak. (see figure below)

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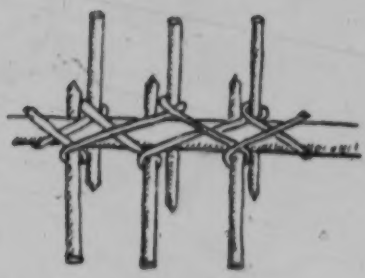
Method for binding rafters to ridgepole

[284]



Kwas sig, a room in which carved wooden images (sunilwas) are stored is made of cross rafters bound to the porch rafters. The room extends from the partition at the central post about 8 feet out, has a palm spathe floor and partition of uprights laced with maretta leaves. The outside cross beam is supported by split liana cord to the yi tow (ridgepole extension). The room is open on the end facing into the house.

7. Akí jirí (e) (stringer) set and attached.

8. Akí warunkw (k)(cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap) fastened.

9. Yi towí (g) (binder) attached.

10. Roofing. Palm spathes (ndofé) are most commonly used for roofing. Ndofokw fiju is preferred but less common and usually used for house temberans

342 The leaves (4) are stacked one on top of another, butts and points alternating direction, folded in the middle over the palm spathe slat so that the new bundle slightly overlaps the previous bundle. The leaves are sewn with an

[412] [283] overhand back stitch-- the needle a sharpened hollow stick, the thread split liana. The slat to which the bundles are attached is made from a split areca palm trunk, about five feet long and one half inch square.

342 193 [284] ngngwf yiju are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for akf ns (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akfwoyf ns, in the ground and lashing them to akf foyf (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niene, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the ouaside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (nomporirif) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nie room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [35] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine. 241 244

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling. [482] [462]

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe. 241 244 422 343 251

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight. 244 249 245

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does 000

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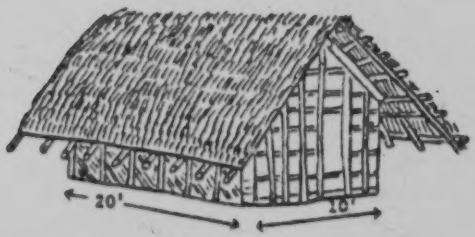

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her [252] [476] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the [340] hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [226] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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621 sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example,
578 had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A
[514] number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded
as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated
• [346] in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations
led to the formation of two groups who would not com-
promise. The smaller group left and moved to another local-
[648] ity to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some
years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expe-
dition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two
hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process
of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to
build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for
the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new
fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan
and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima ham-
let. There were not enough men in the other group to build a
house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and
were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions
as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreci-
ate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and
make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house
tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the co-
operative work of building dwellings and clearing garden
sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for
a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-
group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents con-
tinually stress their value.

593 A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his
578 wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to
them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than
she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own
kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very
[754] effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and
other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if
she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the
face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband
may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Kamb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Kamb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished [123] breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Kar and Kamb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost @ 346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Purari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an alter formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved 346 532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole alter was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 123 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that [562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We [858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer or they might [648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the [532] affair. We were then led up to the alter and shown each of the figures,

349 coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation
[177] brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The
262 natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we
123 were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.
[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the
[346] house tamberan so that the women and uninitiated children who would come into the
[198] front could not see the sacred altar.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, pasticularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
• 346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
798 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves. The mask near the front was called asambwarí, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abímakwa and belonged to Bangus (actually to the cicatriser). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawímayí. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulual" of Bangus, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wí with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

114 stationed at Ambunti) were very gracious to us. We relaxed, talked, played cards, and read. Tip went back Monday, but Max persuaded me to stay at the station until the sores on my legs were cleared up. I had gathered quite a number of these by scratching mosquito bites until they became infected. The sores were not bad, but Max was afraid that they might turn into tropical ulcers if they were not attended to. By Thursday I was completely cured and already had my luggage packed in the canoe when the gongs began beating at Malu, a couple of miles down the river, announcing a pinnace. I decided to wait in case there might be more mail. It was Townsend, the District Officer in charge of the whole Sepik area making a patrol of the sub-stations. Soon after he arrived another pinnace arrived. It was bringing Pursehouse, a cadet who was to accompany Townsend up the river to the Yellow River station. Counting McEachney, the engineer of Townsend's pinnace, that made six Europeans at the station--quite a remarkable occurrence. Max and George had to combine resources to seat us all that night for dinner. The mail situation was disappointing--only three Sydney papers and the September issue of the Pacific Island Monthly. I got a ride on the pinnace up to the lake below Maskuk. They towed my canoe; it was a much more comfortable mode of travel. Once, however, the pinnace turned suddenly to avoid a log, and the canoe filled with water and almost swamped. I held it up by the tow rope while the natives bailed it out. My luggage, however was soaked, but there was no serious damage.

796 November 9, 1936. Tip was in good health when I returned. There had been a 346 singsing while I was gone to celebrate the building of a new house tamberan. 346 (I will copy his notes) " The new house tamberan belongs to Soniyambi of the [illegible] sib at Bongue. It may be said to start when the l'xik' center posts (hwatd) and beams and rafters are cut and stripped of their

bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wank) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maretta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

"The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maretta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maretta to the refrain of a hogwasawit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hogwasawit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the vibs of Waskuk and Romrus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk iulusi, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

796 This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaliju). It seems to be a ceremonial
346 anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the
(192) singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpi' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwatí as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bongus.
[177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwat,
[537] representing the Rumbime, Wenyabenkura, and Duwus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwat throw themselves
[535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and
[533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the owi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leatherneck' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
796 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water "sac sac"
264 and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[262] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
[614] apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished, the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing is finished.

796 "The men return to the singing and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bangus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754
[796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'bamis' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This [538] [532] is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong [533] counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few [534] interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come, so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honqwan sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, [703] [178] however, were the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact [554] that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 and four inches in diameter. They were not ornamented. The usual method
534 of beating the gong was to stand at right angles to it, the right side of the body next to the gong, a beater held in either hand. The gong was pounded near, but on either side of the slit, the beater striking endwise. This method was, however, by no means universal, for sometimes the drummer would stand facing the gong, or sit on it and idly tap with the side of the beater. The most usual and accepted method was the former; the latter the most informal. There were also several intermediate methods.

796 The rhythm consisted of accented beats and unaccented beats in alter-
533 nation. At each gong one of the drummers would pound out the accented, another the unaccented beats. Further, each gong would produce the rhythm of one accented and three unaccented beats. These beats were alternated among the gongs so that the accented beat of one gong would fall on the middle unaccented beat of another gong. Thus -/---/---/--- and ---/---/---/ would result in -/-/-/-/, (total effect). The rhythm of the gongs was more or less followed by the singers and dancers. This rhythm was not the only one employed, and Tip says that even it is not right. That is something we will have to check up on.

796 We stayed there and observed until just before noon. The dancing
123 and singing had been continuous until this time and then the dancers stopped for something to eat. We all went out into the small clearing in front of the house tamberan. In front of us was a line of coconut trees and beyond that a short drop, and then the sago swamp. On our left was a path coming down the mountain, and on the right, jungle growth. In the left
349 hand corner of the clearing and on the further side from where we stood another construction had been built. It was a representation of a ship with a mast, laddered rattlins, and crabclaw sails represented by two

349 coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation
[177] brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The
262 natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we
123 were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.
[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the
[346] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the
[198] front court could not see the sacred altar.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

342 192 [284] koogwí yiju are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for akí ma (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akíwoyí ma, in the ground and lashing them to akí fayí (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niema, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (foku) on the outside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (momporirí) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nie room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [35] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk, with a finish/as their spokesman, declared timer that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably testing us out to see whether we were "missin" or not, for yesterday construction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed an outhouse for us.

342 Hamb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of strips bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Hamb is now making a bed. The uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles to the slats. Hamb is very proud of his house and considers it quite superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisep's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[483] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

796 346 778 [532] [237] around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center, were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were beautifully carved and painted in black, white, red, and green. At the top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves. The mask near the front was called asambwarú, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abimakwa and belonged to Bangus (actually to the sicatriser). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely matted fabric was called sawimwí. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands. [535]

796 346 417 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen. While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts, the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 533 [123] [352] After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singing would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around the altar while the "lulusi" of Bangus, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wí with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

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11. Process repeated for akd ne (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, akdwoyf ne, in the ground and lashing them to akd feyf (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niene, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nie (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the outside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (monporirid) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

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The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a 353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door 342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping, storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them. [592] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys [515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of [354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet [262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made [415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half [312] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears

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353 on a rock just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[237] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of
[126] the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice May took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. May did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaya looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinuwa approaching. She came up slowly with a large net bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. May came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaya if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinuwa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. May said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

342 192 [284] aongwí yilu are slats fastened to the rafters with a figure eight lashing. The bundles are arranged but not sewn as above. They are left to flap. This is the most usual method of roofing for dwellings.

11. Process repeated for ahé wa (porch extension).

12. Porch cap constructed.

342 335 192 The partition of the inner room is made by setting uprights (either round or split, shéwyí wa, in the ground and lashing them to ahé fawí (d) (plates) on the sides of the house and to a cross beam, kwas niawa, which also serves as an inside floor joyce for the kwas nia (see 6 above). These partitioning uprights are spaced about 4 inches apart and lashed with split liana cord (fokw) on the outside. On the inside the partitions are lashed with sago spathes (mbi) which are overlapped and lashed to the uprights with split liana cord.

A door (aomporirié) is made by a space left in the center of the partition, approximately 3 feet wide and 4 feet high. The door is encased by round sticks alternately parallel and upright to the ground and lashed with split liana cord.

342 353 352 Other finishing involves setting triangular shelves into corners here and there for storing pots. These shelves are about 3 feet from the ground. Under the kwas nia room floor, a couple of cross pieces are suspended from that floor joyce for storing spears, etc. The back porch is usually left unfinished.

342 [351] [352] Houses are usually built on flat ground and therefore a floor is not necessary. Sometimes coconut palm trunks are opened and flattened which serve as flooring. These would be found in houses raised above the ground, those that are built out of a hill, and some houses built on level ground.

The shingles are of sago fronds, attached to gross grids of split bamboo and lashed to the posts.

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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600

252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (abasambage, a rough dull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do [516] this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, [857] child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (nadyi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [354] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Ham came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Saw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

356 [357] with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chinuwa is finished. She did not give the sungeyaua (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

578 754

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

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123 593 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

[532] [778]

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Mr. Reed and I set out for New Guinea in the summer of 1936. We received extremely valuable practical help from Professor Hogbin at Sydney, and eventually arrived at Kwoma on October first. Mr. Reed collaborated with me until the end of February, when his project took him on a survey of the tribes of the Sepik area. I remained at Kwoma until the end of April, when I felt that, although my work was not complete, a period of diminishing returns had set in. 114

We used the usual techniques employed by anthropologists who work with the culture of a living society, combining participant observation with the questioning of informants. We kept a daily record of the events which occurred in the hamlet and of the happenings in other hamlets when we were able to observe them or were told about them. This record was scanty at first, but as our knowledge of the people and the culture grew the daily reports became fuller, until toward the end of our stay they contained some of our best information. 12

We also followed anthropological practice in establishing the reliability of our data, checking all statements with as many informants as practicable. In participant observation we employed a special criterion for discovering whether an act which we observed was customary or deviant. We found that if the act was customary, it would evoke no critical comment from those members of the society who observed it. On the other hand, if the act deviated from custom, the comments of those who observed it would reveal this fact. Thus, by paying especial attention to the spectators and recording their comments when an event occurred, we were usually able to determine whether or not an act was customary by the observation of a single instance. 123 124

The nature of the Kwoma settlement made our fieldwork difficult. The dwellings were loosely clustered in small hamlets of ten or a dozen houses each, so that it was impossible to find any vantage point from which to observe the life of the tribe as a whole. A further obstacle was the precipitous nature of the mountain on which the Kwoma lived. This 114 [361] [133]

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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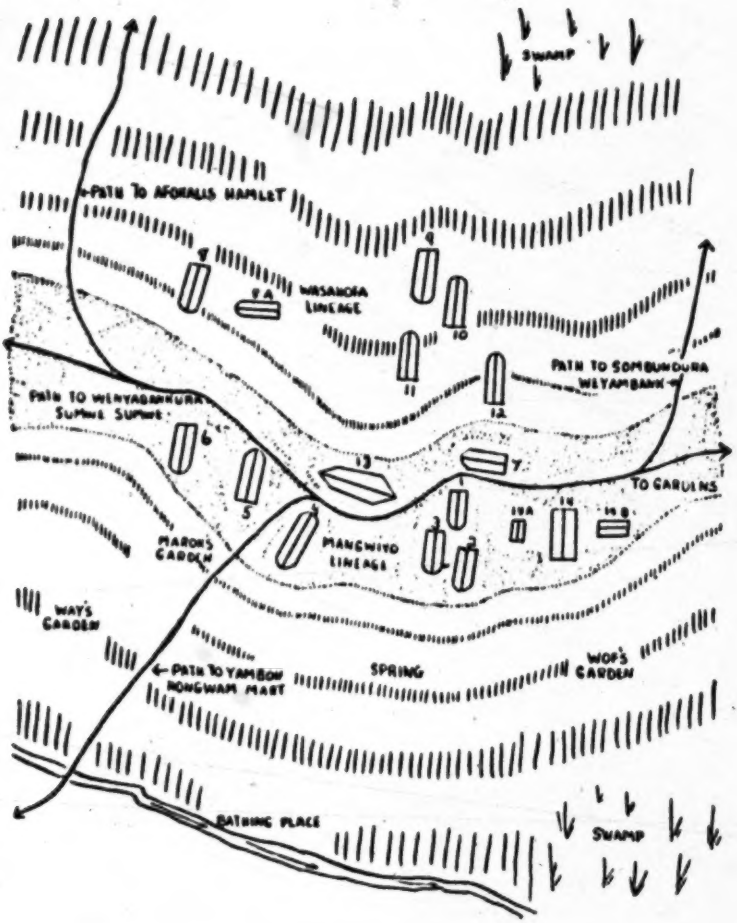

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] [156] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham[124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowai people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
[191] of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangvishamp, the
Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwom. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwom, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
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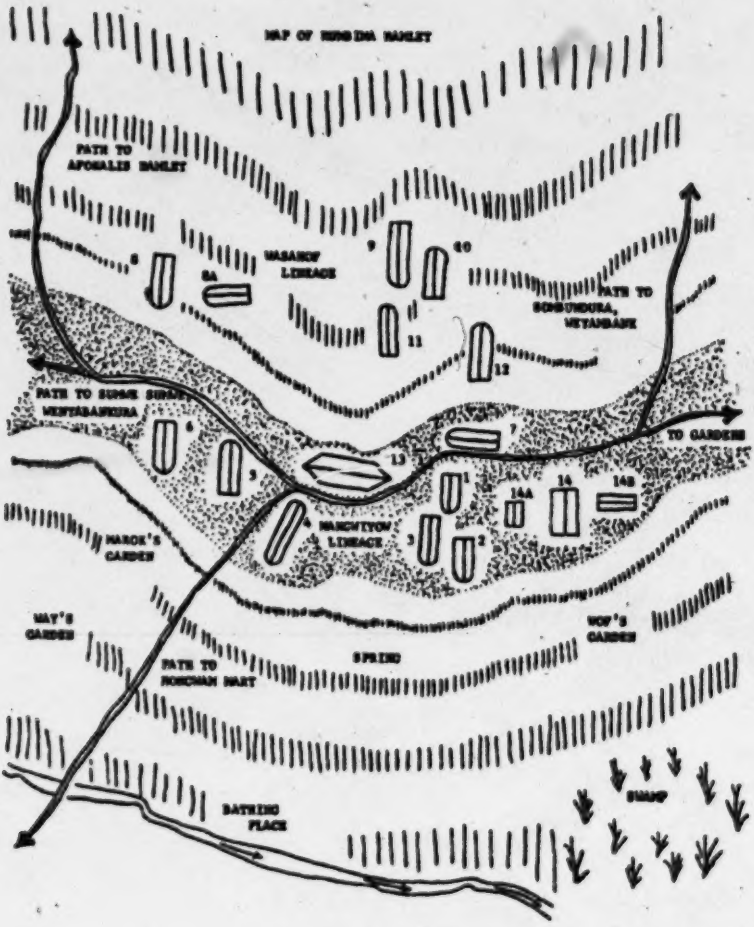
MAP OF SUNDIMA HAMLET
PATH TO APOSALIS HAMLET
WASAKW LINEAGE
PATH TO SUNDUNDURA, METAMBANE
PATH TO SUNDE SUNDE METAMBANKURA
TO GARDENS
MANCHIYOW LINEAGE
MAROK'S GARDEN
MAT'S GARDEN
WOP'S GARDEN
SPRING
PATH TO NORCMAN HART
BATHING PLACE
SWAMP

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Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Yowaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[i.e. Hard-Analyst]

621 Eriya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an
592 adolescent nephew of Wof's. Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, was a lad
361 just past puberty, not yet fully grown, but extremely intelligent, very active and had learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 3). With him lived his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka, and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok was in his middle twenties, the only male of his age group in the hamlet who had not left for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he was also the only one who spoke no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). Mar, the oldest, a man in his thirties, was a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He had the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, dancer, and a man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he had three children: Mana, and Maya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Kum, a nephew, about seven years old, also lived in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, an intelligent young man in his middle twenties, had just returned from working in the gold fields prior to our arrival and spoke pidgin English fluently. He had two wives, Difa and Yama, but no children. His, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and spoke pidgin English. He also had two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

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Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stood that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He was the only man in the hamlet who had learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and had also taken a head. He had two wives, Kafa and Gogo, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There were no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling was one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who had some reputation as a sorcerer. With him lived his wife Mwinkwi, his two adolescent daughters, Fumbe and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Marik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also had taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takwur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house was the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), whom about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He was slightly cross-eyed and had a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him lived his wife Mawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mas, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Timbe, who was the wife of Mas and a niece of Wof. * Mas had started to build a house for himself and Timbe near that of his father. There were no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Kwobina.

A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house was the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He was married to a woman named Ofo, and they had two boys, Angwadin, a young child, and Angamar, an infant. Kwal's

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* A theoretically incestuous marriage.

621 592 361 elder brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lived in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Hawoas, and two girl children, Kayamaka and Yaoaka. These two families comprised the second line of the Waashof lineage.

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessam. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempɛe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempɛe is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessam. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

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settle with the Hongwam. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

648 464 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 524 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection. [334] [372] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] [361] [252] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. Mar also spit and mumbled.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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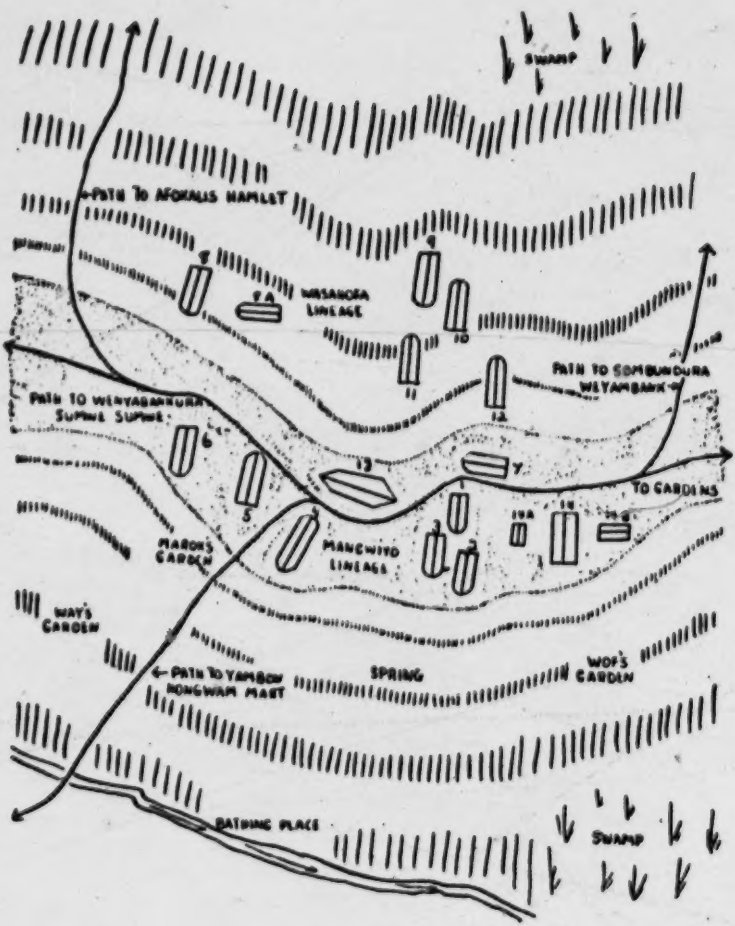

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OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[3]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

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[3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.

[4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.

[5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
[191] of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tengwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwem. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwem, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error.

[86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [562] and consequently does not affect the boys.[6] A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

[6] A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

123 There was an interesting occurrence when we were giving out the laplaps. We had just cut the last one that was wanted when up stepped Hamb, a youth of about seven who always went around naked as the others of his age. I couldn't help laughing at this and said, "Oh, come now Hamb, you don't want a laplap". The Washuk joined in the kidding and laughter, and as a result the poor boy was quite put out and began to look very hurt and tears came to his eyes. Whether or not the others would have kidded him without my starting it or not, I don't know. Anyhow, I felt sorry for him and gave him a small piece of cloth.

After the payment was all settled and everyone seemed to be satisfied; I walked down the hill to the stream to bathe. On the way, several of the Washuk "finished timers" spoke to me in a hushed voice as if they were telling me a secret of great importance. They said there was to be a "singsing" the day after tomorrow at Bongus and that we could watch it. I thanked them and am looking forward to the event.

October 13, 1936.

114 Yesterday passed rather uneventfully except that I tried to make a deck chair with a piece of canvas and some saplings bound together. I didn't have enough canvas to finish it, and the part that I did finish was rather rickety. Hamb said it was no good and to throw it away, and I guess he was right. At lunch, I was determined to try the gypsy stove which we had brought with us. Hamb had refused to use it, considering his open fire much better. I transferred some embers from the fire to the stove and tried to kindle them in the stove. Some of the Washuks were watching and took over after my unsuccessful attempts. To make a fire 372 they put a live ember under a little pile of dry chips, and after blowing on it, very shortly have a flame going. For firewood they use a very dry

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Kumb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Kumb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished [123] breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Ear and Kumb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost 346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Purari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an altar formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

796 come by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bongus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754 gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot
[796] of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was
coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went
to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however,
that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their
attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days
ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree
fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope
for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk
[123] gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe,
but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it.
They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not
to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all
a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better,
we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there
and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential
part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light
their cigarettes.]

that he was not a big man but a "wonki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

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578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [578] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afak and Pokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwe and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

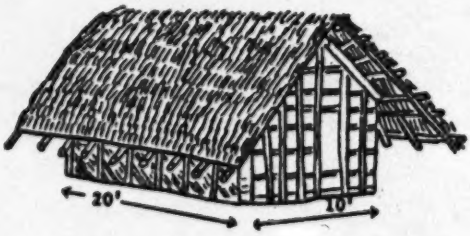
224 784 226 [177] Mas is now our shoot boy, as Naub has quit. Yesterday Mas killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mas realised that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Owiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Naub had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

Chapter V
Field Notes Not Previously Published

House and building construction

342 [428] [423] [372] Houses are not permanent enough to be important in inheritance. If a man dies, the remainder of the family lives in his house until it falls down or begins to leak. The house, however, is considered to be the property of the male children. A house may last ten years, and is abandoned when it falls apart. The available timber is used for other purposes-- firewood, for example.

343 342 The figure below illustrates a house for storing yams and taro (kayakd) but is identical in construction to a dwelling house.



There are two central posts at either end of the outside room. The roof overhangs in either direction. The construction is identical to the room of a dwelling house. The porches are extended from this frame.

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Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the nõnisí tree is peeled off in short strips (one to two feet long). These strips are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, kíndódí and nowí, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the nowí trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Hongwom through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

Paints

386 192 In addition to the berries used to dye twines, paints are made by various clays. Black paint, wŋd (kwild- pidgin) is made by burning wŋd wood. The charcoal is heavy and resinous, and when scraped with a stone is mixed with the sap of ŋŋawiyawŋ . Other colors are made by mixing clay with water. They are nowŋ kawŋ (black clay) ; ŋŋkŋ nowŋ (red clay); mbŋndowŋ nowŋ (yellow clay) ; nowuno (white clay).

532 386 [413] Hunilowas (carved wooden figures representing nowmbŋi used at the yam cult ceremonies) are painted with a small brush made from the frayed skin of a betel pepper fastened to a small stick. The black paint is applied all over the figure and dried in the sun. The other clay colors are applied over the black.

Other containers

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To make a lime gourd (waff), the stem of a green gourd is cut; the seeds are chipped out with a bamboo sliver, and shaken out with some of the meat. The gourd is then stuffed with leaves of a bush taro (kwasémbonkí) and filled with water. It is wrapped with breadfruit leaves and cooked for about fifteen minutes. Then it is removed, emptied, and scraped inside and out. Next it is put in the sun to dry. (If the taro leaves are not put inside, the gourd will turn black.)

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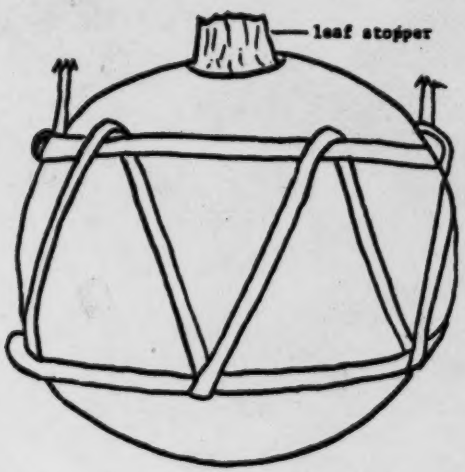
Gourd pot (nadrémpí)

This particular pot is used for storing the sap of kwar, a hardwood tree, used as a base for black body paint (kayi). A similar cradle is made for a long gourd.



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857 868 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

241 Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 [252] Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [962] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they are poorly constructed and rarely used. [223] A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, [224] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, [125] became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [411] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

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Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

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* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

October 25, 1936.

101 619 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [511] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberams and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

I noticed some spears
353 411 [239] on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 586 [721] Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance. The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 [126] November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.

[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal

583 591 611 595 794 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are

[532] [534] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either minisma or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

439 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Has and Qwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Hdowey house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
437 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in [311] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. [231] [43] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to do with Asanampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Pit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pole man". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from Wenyembemkura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga weni. They had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Hayamakwa present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Hamsoy to fight, but Hamsoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Sowal Urambanja of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent add that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

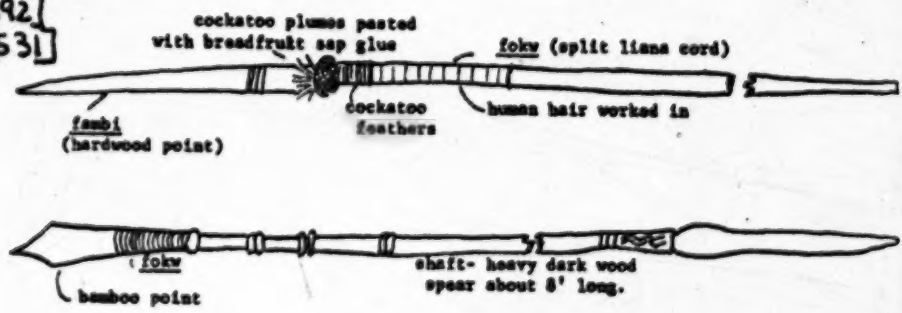
Spears

411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. These made
322 from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[824] [192] [53]



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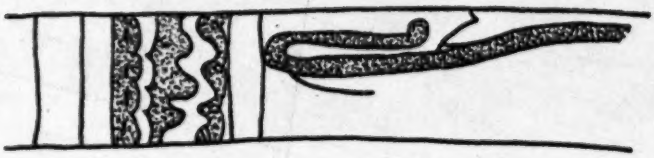

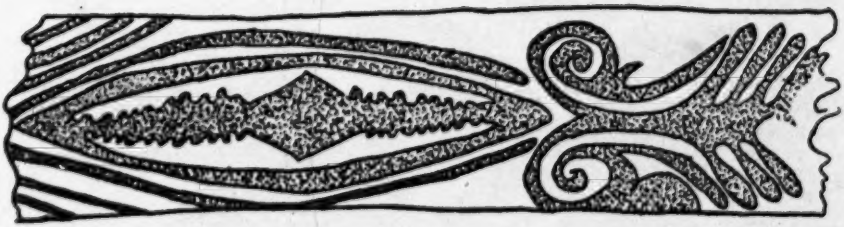

Tracings from spear handles (incised carving)

Bow and arrow

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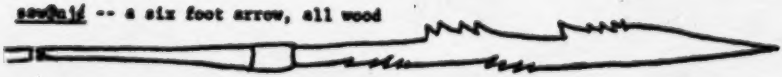
The bow (aŋ̃ũbə)is tightened by placing the lower point on the ground, while the left hand grasps the top, and the right hand the middle The left knee is then brought to bear against the bow and the fokw (split liana cord) slackens. The arrow is held against the fokw (in the right hand) between thumb and forefinger of the index finger. The palm of the left hand pushes out against the bow. The thumb circles the bow; the index finger arches over the arrow so that the latter rests in the crotch between the thumb and index finger. As the bowstring is drawn taut, the bow is raised until the arrow is just below the level of the eye. The left arm is straightened as the string is drawn back with the right.

Arrows are made from either wood or bamboo shafts. (See figures below).

minjé -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

kwond -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

sawũnjé -- a six foot arrow, all wood



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or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[28] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[28] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.* The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Y'enama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

* Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

• 412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskûk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[592] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
000

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One 847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 845 583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny. 591

611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are 794 [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] iniiena or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilewas (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Haw on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Haw. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Haw brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Haw who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at Hay and at Owiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent Hay for the chop sticks to make the sago.

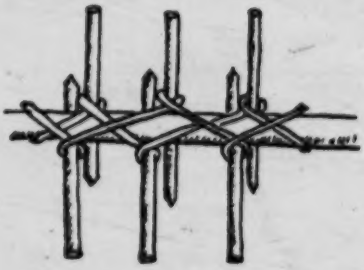
439 This morning just after dawn Bow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of He yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilewas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilewas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Has and Ouiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwam would take place at Hdowey house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwam wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

342
335 Method for binding rafters to ridgepole

[284]



Rwaa nig, a room in which carved wooden images (sunilwaa) are stored is made of cross rafters bound to the porch rafters. The room extends from the partition at the central post about 8 feet out, has a palm spathe floor and partition of uprights laced with maratta leaves. The outside cross beam is supported by split liana cord to the yi tow (ridgepole extension). The room is open on the end facing into the house.

7. Akd lird (e) (stringer) set and attached.

8. Akd warunkw (k)(cross trees between ridgepole and binder to hold cap) fastened.

9. Yi tewd (g) (binder) attached.

10. Roofing. Palm spathes (ndofd) are most commonly used for roofing. Ndofokw fiju is preferred but less common and usually used for house tamberans

342 The leaves (4) are stacked one on top of another, butts and points alternating direction, folded in the middle over the palm spathe slat so that the new bundle slightly overlaps the previous bundle. The leaves are sewn with an

[412] [283] overhand back stitch-- the needle a sharpened hollow stick, the thread split liana. The slat to which the bundles are attached is made from a split areca palm trunk, about five feet long and one half inch square.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwn) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asf). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadgng represents low gong; gadang represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwc laf

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

nawfnio

gadang gadong gading

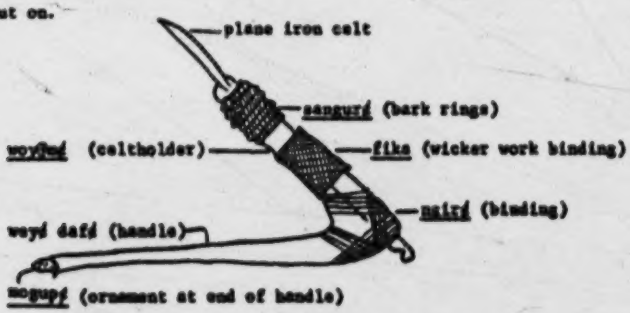
Tools

412
192

Adze (wore)

To make an adze, the celt holder (woyfuf) is shaped and split at the end. Preferred wood is wfudf (pidgin, kwild), but other wood is used. The handle has also been shaped and is made from any wood. A section is cut out, usually from a small tree where a small branch joins the larger or the main trunk, and is concaved to fit the slightly convex celt holder. A straight handle is preferred, but a slightly curved one is not disliked. The angle between the face and handle varies from about 50° to 70°. The iron celt (formerly stone) is slipped into the split in the celt holder. Bark rings (sangurf) which have been dried are slipped on from the top and forced down, holding the celt firmly in place. The wicker work is then woven into a sleeve and the handle is slipped into this. Hoops from prepared liana bark are also used to attach the handle to the celtholder. The hoop is measured to the collar of the celtholder by tying it in a half knot which is pulled tight. This is slipped off and the ends are tucked on either side of the loop until a twisted loop is formed four or five strands thick. The twists are laid carefully side by side, which causes the loop to thicken and therefore a lessening of the inner circumference so that the loop will jam when driven to the shoulder. When the handle has been attached, a final binding is put on.

[284]



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The handles for (adzes) wulya, especially those used to break up sago, are buried in the mud for a period of about two years. They become very hard and tough and have a high black polish. A stick (*[illegible]*) is also made this way and used in place of the stone blade for crushing sago pith. The cutting point is sharpened by pecking with a pig's tusk scraper into a cup shaped point. The wood is extremely hard after burying so it is shaped before putting it into the water.

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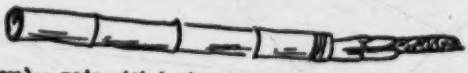
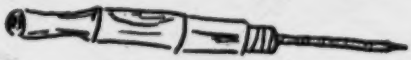
192

hammer (aboubo) -- made from heavy hard wood

coltholder (wayind)-- made with bamboo holder, plane iron colt



chipper (yonkwo)-- made with bamboo handle, iron rod with wedge chisel point. Handle about four feet long.



scraper (asi) -- bamboo handle, celt stone, about three and a half feet long.

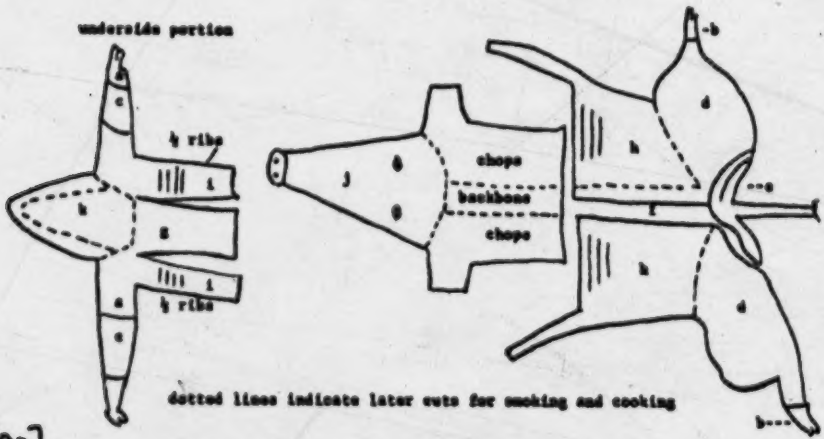
chipper (yonkwo)-- bamboo or wooden handle, plane iron chipper, attached by split liana cord (fiki) hoops, about three feet long.

chipper (yonkwo)-- made with wooden handle, attached by hoops.

Butchering a Pig

231
252
[412]

All the cutting is done with bamboo knives which are very efficient. About a half dozen knives, each eight inches long and one inch wide were prepared. The bones are broken with an ax. The hair or skin is not removed. The figure below illustrates the cuts of a butchered pig, how it is cut and labels the definitions which follow.

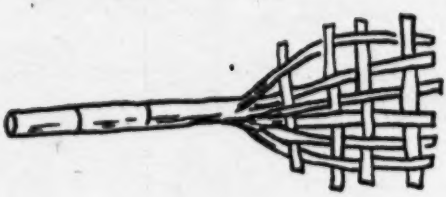


[192]

a. trotters-front (taʔí wbeyukerí)
b. trotters-hind (yatí ajoukwrí)
c. 2nd joint of forelegs (toiʔhaʔí)
d. 2nd joint of backlegs (kwaʔhwaʔ)
e. tail and tenderloin (kinyí sʔkí)
f. backbone (nangrí)
g. breast (kaku jokwinyí)
h. rear flanks (kokupaiʔ)
i. fore ribs (neri)
j. upper jaw and brain case (nesʔkí)
k. lower jaw (kwajung)

276 562 183 While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

249 412 [192] Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hind [illegible])



Paints

386 In addition to the berries used to dye twines, paints are made by
192 various clays. Black paint, wŋnź (kwild- pidgin) is made by burning wŋnź wood. The charcoal is heavy and resinous, and when scraped with a stone is mixed with the sap of ŋŋgwivewź . Other colors are made by mixing clay with water. They are nowź kavź (black clay) ; ŋkźź nowź (red clay); mbźndewź nowź (yellow clay) ; noguno (white clay).

532 Suitleves (carved wooden figures representing narmiii used at the
386 yam cult ceremonies) are painted with a small brush made from the frayed skin
• [413] of a betel pepper fastened to a small stick. The black paint is applied all over the figure and dried in the sun. The other clay colors are applied over the black.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37-53).

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error. [861] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass • [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and coöperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *paternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbinua hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her. 882 834

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers. 882 836 593 583 [348]

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger- 836

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device. [415] [291]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the altar. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them were these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" were laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 123 262 252 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. [415] [323] [439] (These pots are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty-two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] [317] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

764 [415] Next a bamboo filled with water (the usual method of carrying water) was carried up the ladder by Afalowanj, an old man; he was assisted by two other men in washing the body. Meanwhile the "savvy talks" broke the points of two spears formerly belonging to the deceased. There were passed up the ladder to the cubicle and lashed crossways over the body. The arms and legs of the body were lashed to the floor, and the burial was complete. The undertakers climbed down the ladder and went off to wash, saying that they would meet me at the house tamberan, where sortly[1] thereafter the gong tolled. As I was leaving, I heard one of the women inside of the house sobbing instead of wailing in the patterned manner.

754 Wof and some others were already at the house tamberan when I arrived. Later some of those who had officiated at the funeral came. The conversation once again turned to poison. Kwonai described the process by which he considered the men to have been killed. The group had calmed down considerably and now discussed the affair much more matter-of-factly than they had previously. They were still bitter toward the perpetrator of the deed and seemed to be afraid for their own safety. Kwonai told me someone had stolen a bit of food which the deceased had carelessly thrown away; the evil doer had then carried it to Koriyasi, who had performed a magical rite on it. They had put the leavings in a tall narrow pot, filled it half full of water, and let it boil away until only the sediment of the food remains were left. A bamboo of cold water was then poured into the pot and on the fire. That is followed by an explosion of steam. The food disappears, and soon afterward the men died.

114 October 28-Nov. 9, 1936. A week ago Friday, October 30, Tip and I went in to Ambunti to spend the weekend for the sake of a holiday. Bob Overall had brought the mail up the river that morning, so we were greeted with a very welcome packet of letters. George and Max (a medical assistant

[1] [i.e., shortly-analyst]

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Weskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping, storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[592] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
000

578 583 593 lage kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel pepers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 January 17, 1937. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awe wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Pit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awe gave 2 of her yams to Pit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [775] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's naremboi came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awe [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

578 [123] been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Ker says that he is fed up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not feel like working.

527 262 [754] [692] [252] Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mes and Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and [415] [262] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with [123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he [123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

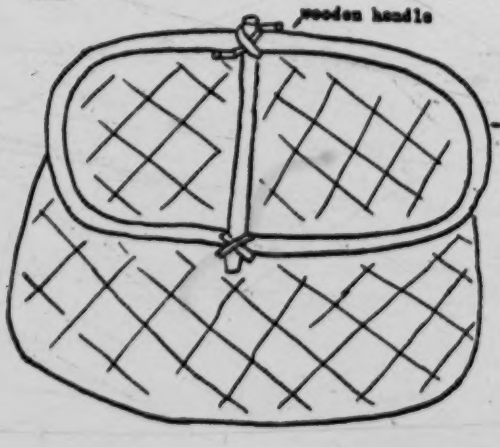
695 754 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayamas (a big man of Afokalisa) got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowinambi's (kinship term) and I will fight anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground [123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

Fishing

226 [462] Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (naye) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

Fish Net (naye)

227 [192]



• 415 [192]

Basket (hompd)

Made from palm spathe, sewn with afokwas needle and fokw, split liana cord, awl fashion.
Use to carry fish and other dry food.

252 of the distance from the strainer to keep the new unprecipitated liquid from running over and to prevent the bottom part from being stirred up. The sago has precipitated, excess water that has not yet gone through the strainer might be scooped from the top leaving the mass of sago slightly drier. The mass of sago is wrapped in leaves and carried home.

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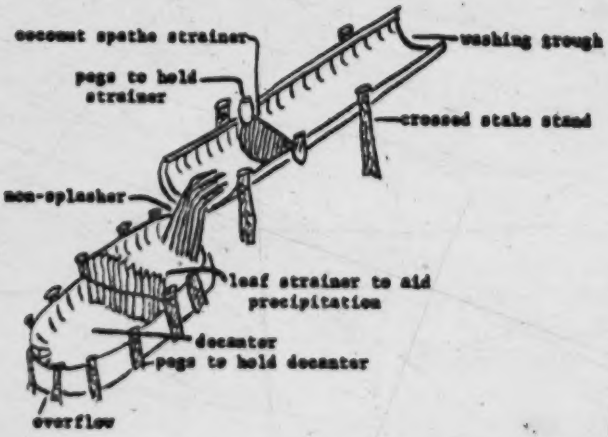
Sago Washing Trough



coconut shell dipper

Preparation of Boiled Sago

252
[192] To make boiled sago, water is heated in a pot over the fire with a half dozen seasoning leaves (yiffabfid) simmering in it (if the boiled sago is to be particularly tasty). A large lump of sago is then put in the bottom of another pot supported on the ground by a hoop of thin wood (the pots are round-bottomed). When the water boils, the leaves are skimmed off and put aside. The water is dipped into the other pot with a coconut shell dipper until the pot containing the sago is filled. It is stirred with the two "chop sticks" held in one hand. (See figures below). The water unites immediately with the sago and makes a thick gruel which becomes rubbery when it cools. This is stirred and tested until it has cooled sufficiently to congeal. The sticks are then held in each hand and rotated around each other and pulled out, dipped, rotated, and pulled out, about

ladle (magvivfwi)

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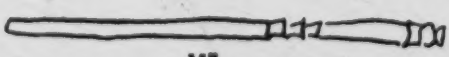
chop sticks (wuffivi)



262 of a pancake. Next it is placed on the palm spathe, on top of the first cake, cooked side down, and another handful is put on the pot, the palm spathe, etc. until the lump is finished. Then the process of frying the other side is begun. Water in a coconut shell or pot is sprinkled over the top of the last cake until it is damp. Then it is put back on the fire the damp side down, and the next cake is sprinkled while the first one cooks. Each cake is cooked about a minute then stacked on a leaf. When they all are cooked, the pile of cakes is wrapped in the leaf and put away until time for eating, or eaten immediately.

[415 192] A piece of betel spathe (tasa mambwa) is used to scrape the stirrer (nawuri), the chop sticks (wurifi), and the pan in order to clean them.

Other containers

322
415
[192]
[824]

To make a lime gourd (waf), the stem of a green gourd is cut; the seeds are chipped out with a bamboo sliver, and shaken out with some of the meat. The gourd is then stuffed with leaves of a bush taro (kwasabonk) and filled with water. It is wrapped with breadfruit leaves and cooked for about fifteen minutes. Then it is removed, emptied, and scraped inside and out. Next it is put in the sun to dry. (If the taro leaves are not put inside, the gourd will turn black.)

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192
[386]

Gourd pot (ndrimp)

This particular pot is used for storing the sap of kwar, a hardwood tree, used as a base for black body paint (kwi). A similar cradle is made for a long gourd.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[1] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[1] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

349 coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation
[179] brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The
262 natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we
123 were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.
[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the
[346] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the
[198] front court could not see the sacred altar.

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
778 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves.
The mask near the front was called asambwaŋ, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abʔmakus and belonged to Bangus (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawʔmaŋ. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singsing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulual" of Bangus, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wi with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly "savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its [754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up, [123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping ahold of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the [754] "kiop" and have him put in the calabouse. They said the dead man had been poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying [417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably [602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

(Again Tip).

796 December 17th, 1936./ The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong mari", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalis with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalis we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit [534] dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

252 of the distance from the strainer to keep the new unprecipitated liquid from running over and to prevent the bottom part from being stirred up. The sago has precipitated, excess water that has not yet gone through the strainer might be scooped from the top leaving the mass of sago slightly drier. The mass of sago is wrapped in leaves and carried home.

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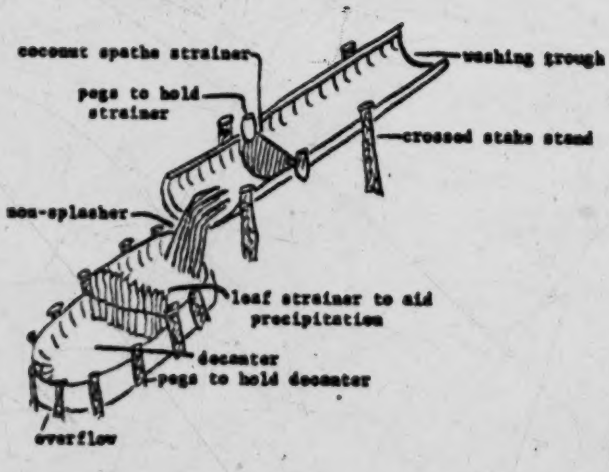
Sago Washing Trough



coconut shell dipper

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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

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[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

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462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

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619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
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Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its male members build their houses. The exact site is decided by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with respect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sections belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

The responsibility for defending property rights in land, produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life. He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowär, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Hay and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on Hay's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mam (mother's brother). It is also War's mam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his mam told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay mam at hant sugwiya. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine. 241 244

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling. [482] [462]

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe. 241 244 422 • 343 251

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight. 244 249 245

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does 000

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[13] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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241 476 514 262 [203] [621] relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

241 311 [317] [231] The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[5] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

241 476 [462] The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[423] [5] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

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[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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[15] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
Amiki and Sowei people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast,
separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
[197] call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Tambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors
of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
[191] people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language,
which the other understands.

619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [141] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus lulusi (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Korissi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his genealogy were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwom
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haymakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event. Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwam would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [391] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, May, Yit, Mar, Kum, and Gempi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Yip's nareaboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

Chapter V
Field Notes Not Previously Published

House and building construction

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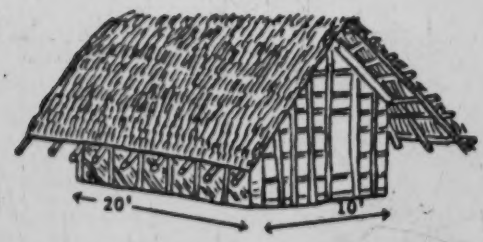

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173]

Sago Plots

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The division of the plots depends on the exigencies of the situation. If two brothers quarrel about the sago in an undivided section, their father or some older man whose decision they respect will divide the [476] plot. On the other hand, if two people are friends or close relatives, and their plots are adjoining, they may combine plots and work them together.

Mar and Gwiyap together work about a half dozen plots. Their grandfathers and fathers owned them in common--their grandfathers marked them out.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwom
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haymakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, bananas and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 826 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 226 231 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
and dogs are domesticated.

December 9, 1936.

*115 123 The day before yesterday Owiyap said that he felt sick. We took his temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual, [759] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next day, he was all-right.

578 *115 There is some talk of a feud between Howel (Sow's child) and Owiyap. Owiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Howel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 [736] Owiyap's yeka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.

[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others. Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerised Siyowa, and he died. [428] Before his death, however, he told Owiyap that when the pay came for Uka, it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalisation of normal inheritance). Since Siyowa's death, Merok had been looking out for Uka.

Chapter V
Field Notes Not Previously Published

House and building construction

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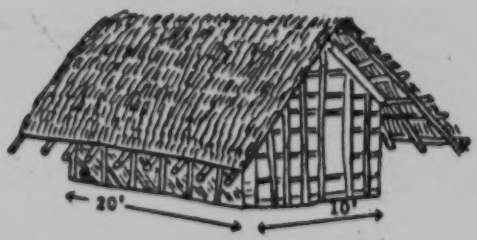

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tions. Since both threats and instructions have been analyzed, it is not necessary to discuss commanding in detail, but it should be stated that it is an extremely important method of teaching.

Providing rewards, the third general category of teaching techniques, is also employed by the Kwoma. It consists of providing a reward after a pupil has made a right response. A teacher may use this technique after he has motivated and guided the pupil, or he may use it when either the motivation or the guidance or both have been supplied by some other agency. The general category of rewarding may be subdivided into helping, giving, and praising.

Kwoma teachers take advantage of the fact that a pupil can satisfy but few of his drives, either basic or acquired, without the aid of another person or persons.[35] Being helped is thus in many cases the *sine qua non* for achieving a reward. Teachers may, therefore, employ helping as a means of rewarding the right response of a pupil. They use this technique primarily to teach the pupil coöperative habits. In other words, teachers most frequently help a pupil after the pupil has helped them. The technique of helping is thus one of the important methods of transmitting that part of the culture which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity.[36]

Giving is closely allied to helping as a technique of reward, being used in the same coöperative context. If a teacher gives a pupil something, it is significant as a reward because the teacher has done the work of producing or otherwise obtaining the gift, and thus relieves the pupil of the necessity of doing the same himself. Gifts in Kwoma are of food, tools, or shell money. Barter and exchange are a form of reciprocal

[35] Malinowski has shown that all cultural habits are an integral part of institutions which imply the cooperative efforts of an organized group of persons for the satisfaction of a need. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), no. 6, pp. 952-54.

[36] Hull has suggested a psychological basis for this in the principle of reciprocal reinforcement. C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. ix, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

The work bee is a good example of how both helping and giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[37]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[37] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialization since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialization continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialization as is the initial learning of them.

754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 [411] March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to [231] [431] do with Asenampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Hayemakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no mother pele mam". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwelump and a large gang from Wenyembankura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mwani. They had spears. Say came to Yet's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Hayemakwa present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yet grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Hemmoy to fight, but Hemmoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

124 against War if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Owiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Owiyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Owiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

1244 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Hviye and Awe were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awe who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafweesk -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awe urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a mat bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhwiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimuwa took it, saying it was better so. Aye is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.* The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

* Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

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224 [857] strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 262 [826] If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply. He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 703 237 223 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the lack of interest in small game. A man may expend considerable effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 593 885 [439] [476] [796] Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of both sexes. The technique which they master during adolescence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 462 [590] [433] [457] An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet. The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 462 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

123
114
23
[439]

Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Hamb thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "me go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dozen times since buying it from Max Mann when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached Sombundura, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that the pig had come for its morning meal. [439] They showed us what they were paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dozen two foot ropes of ¼ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks . In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Hamb and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the women still stood close by and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

114 [123] down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Men came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Verey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to baths, Kumb, Kar, Waf, Wer, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kamb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomorrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver, .44, a shot gun and the .22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kamb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

439 This morning just after dawn Bow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. May ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Mas and Gwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwam would take place at Ndowsy house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalmwanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kamb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwam wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the [437] [435] Tangwishampe asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Hamb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kim was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Owiyap and May who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Yas in maus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put 787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Owiyap sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Owiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. May, Mar, Owiyap, Mas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Hamb appeared and

000 is sold to us. When the Tangwishamp bring farcubi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 War, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga kafasmwani (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Gwiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Yit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Gwiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Gwiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Gwiyap heard that Gamwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urembanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Gwiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urembanj.

752 Kwos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

301 Nɔ̃ŋbali is a four row knitted ornament made with yasi shells.
286 The band increases in worth as further projections decorated with shells
237 are added to it. These projections are worn pointing up.

Nɔ̃ŋbayi is an ornament worn suspended from the neck, made from a net base and covered with yasi shells. It resembles a necktie. The [435] value of this ornament is about 2 shillings.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."

Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only exchange sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[695] [648] [619] [439] [436] [582] [574] [796]

[a] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Pokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting for Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "nonki nothing".

593 Since Nguseruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Aubunti with Owiyap, Yet, Nam and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also [123] [657] because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbim.

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had His act as go-between.

[123] The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Owiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. [436] [583] [123] (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his [123] decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

Ornaments

301 286 287 192 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (asvũnd) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).

[583] [439] [436] Shells, yasi (small cowrie shells) and asemanárá (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below, an ornament called nũ masíkí (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net bags.

[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (andagurí), shell ornaments (vanyirí), yasi, asemanárá and lofu wafé (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the nano.

301 [561] 301 237 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo fohu) is attached

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[796] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

439 628 532 534 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the "tunket" for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Has and Gwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Mdowey house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 439 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.

114 302 123 457 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted [435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 [411] [412] The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in; about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the [437] [435] Tangwishampa asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Hamb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinawa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Owiyap and May who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Fas in naus shit nuting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put 787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Owiyaps sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinawa and Owiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. May, Mar, Owiyap, Mas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinawa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinawa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Hamb appeared and

124 against War if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [952] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Tefalka came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mos had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mos and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mos has given up the work.

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838 123 439 576 Mos and Gwiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Nan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting for Gwiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yewaf, Difa, Mboren, Der, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Gwiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. Moy would have contributed something, but he is a "monki nothing".

593 Since Mguseruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerized. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

Preparation and cooking of yams

252 Yams are prepared for boiling by cutting off the skins with a cane knife. The yams are cut into chunks, the size of medium potatoes, and placed in a clay pot (about three quart size) to which water is added. They are boiled until they are soft, removed from the pot with yam sticks and placed on freshly picked banana leaves. A small amount of salt (wíg) is put on the leaf as well. [263] [192]

Salt (wíg)

263 192 [437] Salt is made by burning dried sago bark (punkú). The ashes are eaten. (It tastes like medicated salt.). Kost (pidgin) is trade salt, much preferred to the homemade variety.

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[921] Tengwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is
carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping
vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that
they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little
we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively
the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,
fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage
which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter
groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of
the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the
inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated
by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his
deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[26] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[26] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."[48]

648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only exchange sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[439] [436] [582] [574] [796]

[48] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my feet suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay feet to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, 123 and Marok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. 262 They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kick. (These pots 252 [415] are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) [323] They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty- [439] two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt [317] was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this. [648] Gwiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis. [821] When Tip touched it, Gwiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
21 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

443 The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the bared (canal) leading from the foot of the Waskuk mountain to the Sepik. [489] This varies according to the height of the river water. At high water canoes can come up to the very edge of the forest. At present the end of canoe navigation is 100 yds. out in the swamp grass.

"The market is held a few hours after sunrise for it takes more than an hour for the Waskuk to descend the mountain and about the same time for the Yambon to paddle up-river in their canoes. I reach the edge of the swamp grass shortly after 8 A.M. The Waskuk are before me, but the Yambon are not yet in sight. Four young men of Waskuk are seated on logs around a small fire. Twenty to thirty women sit in three groups apart from the [293] men without the benefit of the shade which the men enjoy. The women hold slabs of bark over their heads to avoid the sun and still wear their string bags even though they are sitting down. They talk among themselves as do the men with only a few remarks passing between the groups.

"After a few minutes wait, the heads of men poling in three canoes can be seen above the swamp grass. There are eight or nine canoes, but since the Sepik river women paddle sitting, these cannot be seen until they have reached the head of the canal. When they are all grounded and their paddles have been stuck upright in the mud alongside their canoes, the Waskuk women gather up their digging sticks and bark wrapped bundles of washed sago to walk through the ankle deep muck to the canoes. I follow shortly after with the men. The Waskuk women are busy setting up their digging sticks or, if they haven't one, a piece of bamboo of the same length. In front of these uprights each women deposits her forty to fifty pound bundle of sago and unwraps it. The food had about the consistency of roquefort cheese and stands up in a triangular lump when the bark wrappings [439] are removed. Its colour is grey or a dirty pink. The Yambon women now

443 start the business. They bring two or three bundles of small fish each.
439 The bundle is of narrow brown leaves about a foot long and two inches in diameter, and contains between one and two dozen minnows of at least three different species. They walk about looking over the different lumps of sago which the Waskuk women have broken up into pieces roughly six inches square. One "rope" of fish is worth one block of sago at the present rate of exchange. But there is some inspection of the sago on the part of the Yambons and a similar feeling of the fish bundles by the Waskuk. There is little talk during the exchange. A Yambon woman sees some sago that catches her fancy. She taps the woman who stands by it to gain her attention and offers her a "rope" of fish. The Waskuk woman pinches the fish, is satisfied, and hands her a block of sago for it. The Yambon carries the sago to her canoe and comes back with more fish. The Yambons now change their article of trade from fish to the native spinach, and betel nuts. A few ropes of beads are also offered for the little sago that remains. The whole period of actual trade had been about 15 minutes. The few men of Yambon and Waskuk who are present wander about on the edges and take no active part in the exchange. When it is finished, the Waskuk retire toward the forest with their mat bags only partly filled by the few fish and vegetables they have received. They all stop in a little pool in the swamp grass to wash the last bits of sago from the bark wrappers.

142 " The contrast between the Yambon and Waskuk women in physique is very clearly seen at this time. It is like looking at paintings by El Greco and Rubens side by side. Yambon women are short, spindly and undernourished looking. Their breasts droop and their malars stand out. Their colour is dark brown. Few of them would look out of place riding a broomstick,

648 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy
657 place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Max left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days
648 tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with
439 them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from
178 them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come
173 up one time with some of our Hongwem; and the Kwoma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Vorey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

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114
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[439]

Today was full of excitement for us here. Five men from Yambon have been up here for the last two days trying to capture and buy a large tamed pig, because as they say "no good blut bilong man 'e go down along pig". So our cook boy was requested to bring a shotgun and kill the beast for them. Mamb thought that my .455 English Service revolver would be better so he said "ume go wantime". I was willing although I had shot my small cannon only half dozen times since buying it from Max Mann when we first came up the river.

In the morning we started out for Marok's house on the most easterly spur of these mountains. When we reached Sombundura, his house tamberan, we found the men of Yambon sitting there waiting for word to be brought that the pig had come for its morning meal. [439] They showed us what they were paying for the pig: one axe, two 14" cane knives and the rest in shells. The latter consisted of one large polished clam shell, a half-dozen two foot ropes of ½ inch shell cylinders, a few strings of small cowries and an arm band and headdress of small cowries. The shells have definite values in shillings - and very high ones too. The single clam shell for example being worth 5 marks . In all there was about thirty shillings worth of shell money. "Something nothing" compared to the bride-price John was told.

Finally a monki came running down with word that the pig had come to the house. Mamb and I hastened along the path a few hundred yards to Marok's house. Here we found quite a crowd sitting quietly while a woman fed one of two pigs some sago. I was in a quandry as to which was the one to be shot, and there was such an under-current of excitement that I had trouble finding out. When I was sure, they kept whispering to go ahead and shoot, but the woman still stood close by and I feared hitting her instead of the pig. Finally she put down the sago and moved off giving us a

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwam
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Hayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

22 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event. Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man or his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

578 593 lege kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Baw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel pepers before they were ripe.

123 179 439 January 17, 1987. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Pit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Pit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [975] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's nareuboi came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wanyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told
[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, Moy, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially Moy and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
123 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
439 near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinam" (from Rumbim) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwem were
[24] friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwem always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
[23] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wiaspaiu -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Owiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Owiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Owiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Owiyap and Mar this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[560] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush [324] pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to [439] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his [685] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter [692] rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

439 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hey ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilewas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilewas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Hes and Owiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Hdowey house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayemakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way,
and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayemakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there.
The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him
before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time
I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangrishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betal pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's.
War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back
and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[593] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back,
[628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had
not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police
had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind
for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other
day and found that Bviyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

224 [518] made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and [648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Hayamakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 627 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dosen or so carrying spears stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Soubundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 241 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Ewal was cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Mey, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwums were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them nam but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

● 489 Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Mar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

732 123 Mwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpengay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwe, Yewaf, Difa, Mboren, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. Mey would have contributed something, but he is a "monki nothing".

593 Since Mgusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbina because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Hamb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Yambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Hamb would shoot o'gouris for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Hamb would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [461] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by [241] Owiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Owiyap and Hay said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 5, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Owiyap, Awa, and Ewiya there to finish [787] it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [123] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

262
192 Soups and other foods

foroku ndonku (pork soup) - foyí (pork), mboowí (taro), lofu (banana), mɔngisa (leaf greens), kow (yams), uku (water), mbirɸɸí (spinach) .

foroku ndonku-mɸwí (pork and coconut soup) -kow (yams), foyí (pig meat), lofu (banana) mbirɸɸí (spinach), mɔngisí (leaf greens), mɸwí (coconut).

wuairí mɸoa kuwutu (thick vegetable soup) -hiowí (a kind of vegetable), mbirɸɸí (spinach), mɔngisí (leaf greens), owí (sago grubs), kwinyí (pork).

afosɸupí ndonku (cassowary soup) -mbirɸɸí (spinach), mɸwí (coconut), mɔngisí (leaf greens), mboowí (taro), lofu (banana).

[252] afondowan and all smaller birds are roasted, not made into soup.

[263] [439] Fish that is bought from Yambon at the market is already smoked and is merely salted and eaten with sago.

Ornaments

301 286 237 192 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawŋ) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).

[583] [439] [436] Shells, yasi (small cowrie shells) and asimangirí (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below, an ornament called nŋ masíkí (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net bags.

[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (asingurí), shell ornaments (wanyiví), yasi, asimangirí and lofu wafí (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouris pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mapo.

301 [561] A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white 301 237 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo ŋolw) is attached

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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443 462 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has [685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 462 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 619 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest [721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle [715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present [648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this. [648] Gwiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis. [821] When Tip touched it, Gwiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

443 The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the bared (canal) leading from the foot of the Waskuk mountain to the Sepik. [489] This varies according to the height of the river water. At high water canoes can come up to the very edge of the forest. At present the end of canoe navigation is 100 yds. out in the swamp grass.

"The market is held a few hours after sunrise for it takes more than an hour for the Waskuk to descend the mountain and about the same time for the Yambon to paddle up-river in their canoes. I reach the edge of the swamp grass shortly after 8 A.M. The Waskuk are before me, but the Yambon are not yet in sight. Four young men of Waskuk are seated on logs around a small fire. Twenty to thirty women sit in three groups apart from the men without the benefit of the shade which the men enjoy. The women hold slabs [293] of bark over their heads to avoid the sun and still wear their string bags even though they are sitting down. They talk among themselves as do the men with only a few remarks passing between the groups.

"After a few minutes wait, the heads of men poling in three canoes can be seen above the swamp grass. There are eight or nine canoes, but since the Sepik river women paddle sitting, these cannot be seen until they have reached the head of the canal. When they are all grounded and their paddles have been stuck upright in the mud alongside their canoes, the Waskuk women gather up their digging sticks and bark wrapped bundles of washed sago to walk through the ankle deep muck to the canoes. I follow shortly after with the men. The Waskuk women are busy setting up their digging sticks or, if they haven't one, a piece of bamboo of the same length. In front of these uprights each women deposits her forty to fifty pound bundle of sago and unwraps it. The food had about the consistency of roquefort cheese and stands up in a triangular lump when the bark wrappings [439] are removed. Its colour is grey or a dirty pink. The Yambon women now

443 start the business. They bring two or three bundles of small fish each.
439 The bundle is of narrow brown leaves about a foot long and two inches in diameter, and contains between one and two dozen minnows of at least three different species. They walk about looking over the different lumps of sago which the Waskuk women have broken up into pieces roughly six inches square. One "rope" of fish is worth one block of sago at the present rate of exchange. But there is some inspection of the sago on the part of the Yambons and a similar feeling of the fish bundles by the Waskuk. There is little talk during the exchange. A Yambon woman sees some sago that catches her fancy. She taps the woman who stands by it to gain her attention and offers her a "rope" of fish. The Waskuk woman pinches the fish, is satisfied, and hands her a block of sago for it. The Yambon carries the sago to her canoe and comes back with more fish. The Yambons now change their article of trade from fish to the native spinach, and betel nuts. A few ropes of beads are also offered for the little sago that remains. The whole period of actual trade had been about 15 minutes. The few men of Yambon and Waskuk who are present wander about on the edges and take no active part in the exchange. When it is finished, the Waskuk retire toward the forest with their mat bags only partly filled by the few fish and vegetables they have received. They all stop in a little pool in the swamp grass to wash the last bits of sago from the bark wrappers.

142 " The contrast between the Yambon and Waskuk women in physique is very clearly seen at this time. It is like looking at paintings by El Greco and Rubens side by side. Yambon women are short, spindly and undernourished looking. Their breasts droop and their malars stand out. Their colour is dark brown. Few of them would look out of place riding a broomstick,

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, May, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 Wer and Sawingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

• 443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Waynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp. The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun mari" was dying and they were calling her relatives

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the criteria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband 581 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more industrious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy 883 lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im- 461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big, 581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or 832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly, were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, U'ka, a powerfully built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always mentioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her husband left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from relatives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies [584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents, but the boy and his family would not accept her because she was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy. When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs. When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms. If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus- 626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583]

* Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [496] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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121 861 431 gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

[476] [461] The work bee is a good example of how both helping and giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. [574] When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[37]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

121 861 If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[37] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialisation since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialization continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialization as is the initial learning of them.

765 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a maze of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to board them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Hau came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for me--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He has a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Hamb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Tambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Hamb would shoot a'gouris for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Hamb would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [461] [241] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by Owiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Owiyap and Mey said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 5, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Owiyap, Awa, and Eviya there to finish it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [787] [123] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error. [86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, • [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.[6] A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

[6] A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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857 868 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

241 Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 [252] Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [462] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] [223] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, [324] [125] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [414] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funer- als of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [331] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 252 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *paternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbiuna hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwai and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her [252] [476] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [226] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[5] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[5] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine.

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling.

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe.

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight.

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[857] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[939] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj. After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[269] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[562]

3½ bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying [483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wank) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maratta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

7½ "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally
3½ set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation,
[202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maratta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone
[533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maratta
[192] to the refrain of a hogwasmyit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hogwasmyit reaches the ends. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest
[462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it
[614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bangwis are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk tulnai, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwam
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Mayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

Division of Labor

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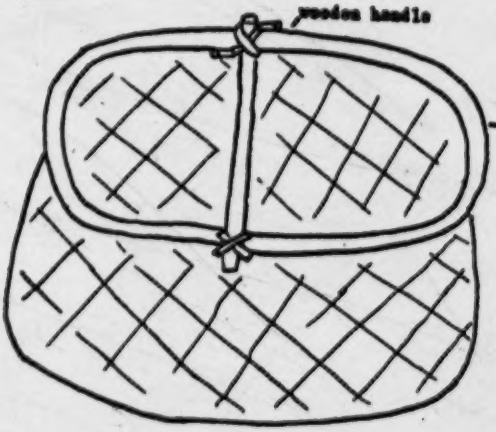
Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Fishing

226 [462] Fishing is the work of women. One method of fishing consists of damming a small stream to change its course and picking up the fish from the dry bed. Fish nets (meya) like the one shown below are also used. The women hold the net in the stream until the fish swim into it.

Fish Net (meya)

227 [192]



415 [192]

Basket (hompd)

Made from palm spathe, sewn with afokwag needle and fokw, split liana cord, awl fashion.
Use to carry fish and other dry food.

Other vegetables

244 [A2] Mbiraka, native spinach, is planted in between the yam hills. The seeds are simply broadcast on top of the ground. This is done just after the yams are planted. When the yams are ready to be taken out, all the spinach which has not already been gathered and eaten is pulled up, wrapped in a palm spathe, and stored in the house . The seed pods on these are now ripe. They dry in the house. When a new garden is planted, the dried stalks are taken to the field and shaken over the ground, and those seeds which have shelled into the palm spathe are broadcast by hand. The rain washes the seeds into the ground.

[192] Waru, is a variety of pumpkin which was(recently) introduced; it is planted by broadcasting the seeds on top of the ground. Meyon , a watermelon, is similarly planted.

245 192 252 [462] Bananas are planted by either men or women; the suckers are transplanted. There are several varieties grown: mbwiya, eaten raw or cooked; ngayawa, eaten raw or cooked; fayambiyaf, eaten cooked only; wasiffi, eaten raw or cooked; afojokwa, eaten cooked only; yayafa, eaten raw or cooked; ngarafaya, eaten raw or cooked.

249 [245] Betel nut, kwasa, and coconut are planted by either men or women. Betel peper , kwasa , is planted by both men and women near the house. Buds of the vine are clipped and inserted in the ground. The hole is made by a digging stick or dibble.

Sago-- preparation for cooking

245 The trunk of a sago palm is cut shoulder high. The wedge is taken
[462] out in the direction toward which it is wished the tree to fall. Both men and women cut the trees.

The felled log is then cut into sections, and the outer surface (xylem) is peeled back. A section ten feet long is enough to provide a day's work and about a three day's supply of sago.

252 A woman sits on the peeled bark and chops the log between her feet
[462] with a special adze-like tool with a blunt hardwood celt in such a way that a half inch section of pith is scraped off and crushed with each blow. This crushed pith is then piled onto the upper end of the washing trough (see figure
[462] below). The man helping pulls the pith down the trough until it is filled except for a space about two feet long from the strainer. Three or four dippers of water are then poured into the trough above the pith.

The pith is pulled up the trough, a double handful at a time, allowing the water to run down the trough and to be absorbed by the pith. If the water were first added at the bottom, near the strainer, it would run through without being absorbed into the pith.

The water-saturated pith is then pulled down by the handful and squeezed like a sponge. The handful of dry pith is then put back at the top of the trough, a new handful squeezed, put at the top, etc., until all has been squeezed. The strainer is then shaken back and forth and rubbed with the hand to force the water and sediment through it. The remaining pith is drawn back. Water is added again to the remaining pith, the squeezing repeated, the pith strained, and any remaining pith thrown out onto the ground.

The water and sediment run into the decanter which is placed so that the farther end is slightly lower than the nearer end. When the water begins to run over, a non-splasher is put into the trough about one third

252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (shasumbage, a roughtdull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] [516] [857] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (nafyi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [364] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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About a dozen of the Hongwam obeyed this command but said that it was impossible to take the luggage by land. The patrol officer scolded them because more had not come and told them that they lied about the road being impassable. He explained that two white men were coming to stay with them for a long time to learn their language and customs. He then ordered them to return home and gather as many men as possible the next afternoon at the foot of the mountain, where we would land after taking the river route by canoe, to carry our baggage. The patrol officer decided to go to Kwoma with us because it was an appropriate time to make his yearly visit to the tribe and because there was also a special matter to attend to. Several Hongwam natives had signed a contract to work on a plantation but had bolted back home before their time was completed. It was the patrol officer's job to make them fulfill their contracts. We were accompanied into Kwoma territory, therefore, by the patrol officer and a company of police boys. On the day after our arrival he commanded all the natives to assemble at Rumbima house tamberan near which we had camped. When they arrived he took the annual roll call and recorded births and deaths. He scolded the natives because many of them had not responded to the assembly summons. He said that the excuse of being away in their gardens was not sufficient and unless they all came on his next visit there would be trouble. Then he asked where the four runaways were. No one knew. He said that if they came with him to fulfill their contract all would be well, but that if they did not they would be hunted out and put in jail. In response to this threat one gave himself up, but the other three remained hidden. The patrol officer then announced to the assembled tribe that we had come to study their language and customs and were going to stay a long time. He ordered them to build a house for us and warned them that if anyone harmed us he would be severely punished by the government.

In order to complete the description of the status of a white man in Kwoma culture, it should be noted that white recruiters had on several occasions visited the tribe in person,

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or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[26] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[26] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[648] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[964] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing."[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[561] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sa-*
[196] *kana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell [464] through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent [838] girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, how- [839] ever, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in in- 834 tensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

123 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While
114 it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bongus and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
582 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

231 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite
123 a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the
114 pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>ngiliwas</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Mamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

754 Later Yat came up and said that Saw was all right. Someone had
648 admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat
464 and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

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648 Overall came, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yet and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yet, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see us and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755 [759 Mar did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerized along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabamara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. Mar asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kam up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Heal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mae talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his elder brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

was well.

January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a 'singsing' rhythm from Wenyebankura today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinam" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about 464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before [593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that 754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of 'making poison' against
754 Wer and Sowingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for 'poison.' Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wef's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Owiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Owiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a 'lapun meri' was dying and they were calling her relatives

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[560] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjema, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Mnski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
574 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[334] There was no embarrassement on the part of either. I gave him an empirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Kar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. Way also spit and mumbled.

*115 [125] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (5 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to [464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers [583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the [476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.

[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Hamb, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an [154] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 23, 1937.

*115 648 • 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Ovivap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
123 Neither Gwiyap nor Mey likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
775 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Haab. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a"monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwum again to sign on boys. Gwiyap
648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.
December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinawa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.
According to Gwiyap
/Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinawa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Kumbina who can be possessed by spirits.

476
534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Fwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mas, and Owiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwats ubonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[a]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[b] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[c] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[a] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[b] There were six gardening groups in Rumblima hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[c] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her [252] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of pre- [476] paring food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [492] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the [346] hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the [226] girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities [224] continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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882 602 578 [583] her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

882 602 An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever [574] [276] they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty [476] to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal* [561] *uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[591] [30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group cooperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[5] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[5] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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224 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is
602 available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial
626 in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to
[476] hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his
[461] hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer
[692] his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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224 [857] strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 262 [826] If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply. He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 703 237 223 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the lack of interest in small game. A man may expend considerable effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 593 885 [439] [476] [796] Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of both sexes. The technique which they master during adolescence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 462 [591] [433] [467] An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet. The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 462 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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591 and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work
342 for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually
476 slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the cen-
[351] tral post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young
[593] married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime.
[888] Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

885 Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma
781 adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adoles-
[224] cence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

885 As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *mar-*
156 *salai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains
794 enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he
796 shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at
554 one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[a] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[b] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[a] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[b] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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602 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for
578 her."

583 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you
607 going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interfer-
[574] ence in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat
[754] with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with
• [476] them economically.
602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult
591 man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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Coöperative work group constructing the house of the ethnographers. The roofing material is split limbom palm spathes. The construction is that used by the Kwoma in making bush houses, permanent dwellings having an enclosed room and sewn shingles. See Chapter VI, pages 129–130.

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[p.168-B]

Work bee dragging a log from the forest where it was cut to the Rumbima house tamberan. The log was later hollowed into a slit gong which Yat contributed to the community. The workers are those of Yat's relatives who answered his call for help. In return he will provide them with a feast.
See Chapter VII, pages 198–199.

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121 861 431 gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

The work bee is a good example of how both helping and [476] [461] giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. [574] When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[37]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

121 861 If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[37] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialization since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialization continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialization as is the initial learning of them.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chimuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the 'sac sac' (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognised him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[481] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[313] garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabunkura. A log was cut to the
[284] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of
[483] the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

476
534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mas, and Owiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwats mbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambapkura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and Wer had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouris pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marck, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chimawa, Kwiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting
[372] around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was
136 at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly.
[576] Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is con-
476 spicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 Chinuve and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work
863 room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 Mes is now our shoot boy, as Nemb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed
784 two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that
226 he could not eat any. Mes realised that he should not eat them because he
[177] had killed them, but Owiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Nemb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Pit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Daw put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Kwos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Kwos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tengwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tengwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] [464] [583] [476] [614] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.

January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tengwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Gwiyap, Hamb, Hoy and Mandik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tengwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] [784] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the sib of Hoe who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

Sago Plots

245, 423 Sago plots are owned either individually or by brothers or other close relatives in undivided shares. These plots are scattered widely without reference to nearness to the sib, except that there is usually one plot [428] at some point near the house in case of a sudden shortage. These plots are inherited patrilineally by the son or older brother's son.

The division of the plots depends on the exigencies of the situation. If two brothers quarrel about the sago in an undivided section, their father or some older man whose decision they respect will divide the [476] plot. On the other hand, if two people are friends or close relatives, and their plots are adjoining, they may combine plots and work them together.

Nar and Owiyap together work about a half dozen plots. Their grandfathers and fathers owned them in common--their grandfathers marked them out.

October 20, 1936.

114 Yesterday after breakfast Mar took us to the place where he and his father were planting yams. We had made the arrangements the day before; Mar had said that it was not very far away, and so, despite the rain, we decided to go. [134] [133] What a trip! The soil here is largely made up of a sort of greasy mica which is the next thing to ice in slipperyness when it gets wet. Further, almost the entire journey was either up or down slopes varying from thirty to sixty degrees. Occasionally the tree roots provided some foothold, or in the steepest places little niches had been cut into the mud. Most of the time we were 'skating'. At least a dozen times my foot suddenly went out from under me and I fell. Tip was wearing leather boots and therefore did not fare so badly [48] as I with my tennis shoes. Mar, barefoot, padded along with a knee bending, heel and toe gait which allowed most of the surface of his splay foot to be on the ground at one time. He never seemed to slip. After about two and a half hours, we finally arrived at the 'bush house', soaked by rain and mud from without, and sweat from within.

126 123 262 252 While we were taking notes on the material culture we found there, Mar, and Merok, who was already there when we arrived, cooked some yams for us. They were boiled in a round bottomed pot made without kiak. (These pots [413] [323] [439] are made by the coiling method and traded with the River people for shells.) They also cooked a bird of paradise which Tip had shot on the way with the twenty two. It was placed on the fire, feathers and all. By the time it was done the feathers had all burned off. The meat was then torn off and eaten. It [263] [347] tasted excellent; the yams with some salt on them were good too. This salt was some that we had given them, but they say that they have a salt mine in the mountains somewhere.

123 After our meal, Sof took us to his house. We stopped to smoke a cigarette and then expected to see some yam planting, but the natives said that unless

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578 231 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not seperated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

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224 spear for balance. The hunter approaches prey in this semi-sitting position
[481] by shifting weight to his left leg and then settling back again on the right. When the prey is within striking distance, he rises with weight on the right leg, draws back the spear at a level with his eye, and plunges it downward at an angle, following through with the weight of his body onto his left leg.

Another method used in pig hunting is to catch the pigs in pitfalls and spear them after they are caught. The pitfall is about four feet in diameter, three feet deep, covered with twigs and leaves, and dug near a sago swamp.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *paternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbiuna hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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244 beliefs about blood appear again to determine a
241 facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the
262 process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated
826 with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He [602] does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

241 After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weed-
244 ing need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the
[462] gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, [462] stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the [284] little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of • [492] each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of [417] the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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dener takes care not to place one stringer underneath the other, for this would keep sun and rain from the lower vine.

Once the vines have a firm hold on the stringers, nothing need be done to the garden until the time of harvesting. The gardening group digs the yams with a digging stick. The tubers are then picked up in net bags and carried by the women to the dwelling.

The produce from each section is kept separate so that each member of the gardening group has his or her own yams rather than a lien on a common store. Each person's share is put in a separate bin in the small storehouse, which is built near the dwelling. This storehouse is constructed like a dwelling but has no porch. It is floored with sago spathe to prevent the yams from rotting as a result of contact with the damp earth. The bins are also constructed of sago spathe.

Although yams form the bulk of the crop, the Kwoma utilize the cleared site to produce other vegetables as well. Taro plants are set out, and tobacco and spinach seeds are broadcast between the yam hills. Unlike yams, these latter seeds may be planted by any person—adolescent or adult. There is a belief, however, that if tobacco seeds are sown by women the leaves will be overmild. In order to take full advantage of the cleared site, the boss gardeners set out banana, plantain, and coconut trees which mature after the yams are harvested, but before the towering hardwoods grow up to shut out the sunlight.

In addition to planting a garden, the Kwoma man sets out numerous useful trees around his dwelling. He sets out betel pepper vines from clippings, plants areca-nut palms from sprouted nuts, and puts in seed of a small tree from whose bark thread is made. The orchard also includes two trees whose leaves are used respectively for the inner and outer wrappings for sago briquettes, a large tree which bears an edible berry-like fruit, another which bears a large oblong red fruit, a bush whose leaves are used as greens in soup, as well as a few banana, pawpaw, and breadfruit trees. As many coconut palms as space will allow are also planted.

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does

112 Pig hunting *Becoming a Kwoma*

Pig hunting is an occupation which a Kwoma male does for the first time as an adult. Women never hunt. A man usually hunts alone, although occasionally he will allow an adolescent boy to accompany him and watch. The bait-and-blind technique is considered the most effective method. For bait the hunter cuts down a sago palm in the swamp wherever pig signs are evident. He erects a blind of fronds alongside this, and on a moonlight night waits for the prey to come to eat the fresh sago pith. The hunter may crouch in the mud for several hours before the sound of sloshing footsteps, punctuated with deep grunts and the breaking of dead sago fronds, heralds the arrival of the game. If he is lucky enough to attract a wild pig to his bait, he edges slowly and soundlessly along the blind to a point opposite his prey and then rises slowly and thrusts his spear into the beast's heart.

The Kwoma also hunt with trained dogs. They walk through the swamp until their dog picks up the fresh trail of a wild pig. If the dog brings his quarry to bay, the hunter dispatches it with a spear. Wild pigs are also trapped. A hole about four feet in diameter and five feet deep is dug in a pig trail and covered lightly with twigs and leaves. The trapper visits this pitfall periodically.

After a pig has been killed it must be transported from the swamp to the hamlet. If the pig is not full grown the hunter lifts it across the back of his neck and carries it as a shepherd does a lamb. If the hog is full grown and fattened on sago pith, however, it is too heavy for a man to carry alone. He therefore, if possible, drags the carcass to a pool and leaves it immersed in water while he goes home to get help from his *brothers*. Kwoma theory believes that the meat keeps better immersed in water than if it is simply left where it falls. At least three men are required to carry a large hog. Two of them lift the burden onto the back of the third man, and he staggers as far as he can before the hog is transferred to the shoulders of another. By taking turns in this way the carcass is finally brought home.

The adult man of the hamlet who is most adept at butchering usually performs this task. The pig is laid on its back on

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

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482 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders. We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering. Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves, but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women [855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it [123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to [136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi, and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrised with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 947 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal

583 591 611 595 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] miniema or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 [613] [252] I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [582] She was carrying a heavily laden mat bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, [524] and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and Knos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

Work bee dragging a log from the forest where it was cut to the Rumbima house tamberan. The log was later hollowed into a slit gong which Yat contributed to the community. The workers are those of Yat's relatives who answered his call for help. In return he will provide them with a feast.
See Chapter VII, pages 198–199.

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Chapter II
Record of Events
Kwoma--Diary

October 12, 1936.

114 Yesterday was Sunday according to our figurings; it is the second Sunday
[123] since we arrived here. The Waskuk* with a finish/as their spokesman, declared timer
that no work was to be done since it was Sunday. They were probably
testing us out to see whether we were "missin" or not, for yesterday con-
struction went on as usual on our house boy's houses. The houses were
nearly completed, except for a few finishing touches. They also constructed
an outhouse for us.

342 Hamb's house is almost square, constructed in the same manner as ours
with frame and maratta roof. There are no porches on the gable end, but
instead, a low verandah or gallery formed by setting the side wall back
about three feet from the edge of the floor and under the eves on the
south side. The walls consist of stiff thick reeds bound together like
a weir of fence, and held together by two sets of strips bound to each other
352 with rattan wound spirally between each reed. Hamb is now making a bed. The
uprights of the house form three of its posts and fourth is stuck through
the floor in the middle of the room. He had bound cross pieces between these
posts and is now nailing slats across parallel to the shorter side. Over
this he intends to put a mattress of the same stiff reeds at right angles
to the slats. Hamb is very proud of his house and considers it quite
superior to anything that the Waskuk could construct.

342 Wisep's house is peculiar in that the roof was taken from an old
[483] tumbled down Waskuk house and was carried up bodily by about thirty-five
of the Waskuks and set in place--a no small feat since the only mechanical
device was two or three forked sticks which they used to extend their
reach when the top edge of the roof was lifted onto the ridgepole. Also
they set up a scaffolding of a pole lashed between the uprights.

[101] * Waskuk is the name by which the Kwoma were known by the Australian administration.

3½ bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying [483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wankd) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maretta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

7½ "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally 3½ set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, [202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maretta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone [533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maretta [192] to the refrain of a hogwasawit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hogwasawit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest [462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it [614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bongus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulwai, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 231 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof talking. It seemed Marok and Chinawe had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the "sac sac" (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 534 [574] In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed [481] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the [313] garden by the side of the road toward Wonysbunkura. A log was cut to the [284] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of [483] the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

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534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Twisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[242] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar, Mas, and Guiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwats mbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

857 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit.
752 About 3:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Gwiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 Hay, Afalowanj, Marah, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwama were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Gwiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sunviga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them man but use their name. His daughter, Hamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sunviga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Tambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Gwiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Gwiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Gwiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Gwiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Gwiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

[252] [476] An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [492] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [224] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

443 The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the barad (canal) leading from the foot of the Waskuk mountain to the Sepik. [489] This varies according to the height of the river water. At high water canoes can come up to the very edge of the forest. At present the end of canoe navigation is 100 yds. out in the swamp grass.

"The market is held a few hours after sunrise for it takes more than an hour for the Waskuk to descend the mountain and about the same time for the Yambon to paddle up-river in their canoes. I reach the edge of the swamp grass shortly after 8 A.M. The Waskuk are before me, but the Yambon are not yet in sight. Four young men of Waskuk are seated on logs around a small fire. Twenty to thirty women sit in three groups apart from the [293] men without the benefit of the shade which the men enjoy. The women hold slabs of bark over their heads to avoid the sun and still wear their string bags even though they are sitting down. They talk among themselves as do the men with only a few remarks passing between the groups.

"After a few minutes wait, the heads of men poling in three canoes can be seen above the swamp grass. There are eight or nine canoes, but since the Sepik river women paddle sitting, these cannot be seen until they have reached the head of the canal. When they are all grounded and their paddles have been stuck upright in the mud alongside their canoes, the Waskuk women gather up their digging sticks and bark wrapped bundles of washed sago to walk through the ankle deep muck to the canoes. I follow shortly after with the men. The Waskuk women are busy setting up their digging sticks or, if they haven't one, a piece of bamboo of the same length. In front of these uprights each woman deposits her forty to fifty pound bundle of sago and unwraps it. The food had about the consistency of roquefort cheese and stands up in a triangular lump when the bark wrappings [439] are removed. Its colour is grey or a dirty pink. The Yambon women now

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Namb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Namb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Kwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This was not expected by Namb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Namb had killed a gouria pigeon and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [123] [262] tin of dry peaches which Gwiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [137] [262] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] [276] [522] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and Nay. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Kwiya, Yamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Yit and Mey said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Ewiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Ewiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food 313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large mat bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Ewiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my mat. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dawas to attend the funeral ceremony. This is [593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was [262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
302 until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
301 raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
524 answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiap mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olataim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Knos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chimuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "mouki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbins because there is notone to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

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501 Yatakamps and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar went to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "gayaman along ui ol sain" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Yenakwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Hongwum. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their ruwa and Afokalis said yes he is ruwa to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but it would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Giwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

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593 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [613] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[892] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[515] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
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123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on [513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by [252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, [524] and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and Knoe had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

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501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mes and Mar want to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mes said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mes' persuasion.

123 I told May and Owiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "geyaman along mi ol saim" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Owiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Tenakwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Bongwam. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokalis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Owiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their ruwa and Afokalis said yes he is ruwa to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Owiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Owiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but it would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

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wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep by themselves.

After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Ariyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

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I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>smuto meni</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

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Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Marok's yams.

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Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that

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he was my <u>laka</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

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621 sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example,
578 had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A
[514] number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded
[346] as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another local-
[648] ity to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

593 A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his
578 wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very
[754] effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

323 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Eriya and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chiwuma came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Eriyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 38, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill
518 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerise him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

1244 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes
and sat down at Mar's. Eriya and Aya were there ahead of us; the others
had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Aya who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they
were kafwaak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Aya urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so
I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels.
Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were
eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did
not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause
sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. May was evidently
anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally
Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis
was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
291 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. May was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Maruk
will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Ngusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Umwiyim. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's
elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters
had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up
this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chinuwa took it, saying it was better so.
Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with
Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

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[P. 168-E]

Awa mending a fish net. She is repairing the hoop with a piece of split liana. Awa, Mar's real sister, was one of the adolescent girls of Rumbima hamlet. See Chapter V.

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[p. 168-G]

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Kum, the chief character of the weaning period. See Chapter III.

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[p. 168-H]

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Gwiyap, our best informant, wearing a laplap which he had earned working for us as a house boy. See Chapter V.

252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (wasambaga, a roughtdull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is reposted until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do [510] this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, [857] child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (nafvi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [354] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[3] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [3] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their coöperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decora'e, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and coöperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

114 (123) down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Men came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Verey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to bathe, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomarrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver,.44, a shot gun and the.22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwan were
024 friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwan always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
023 me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(<u>wisepeju</u> -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned.
521 Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration
648 purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikio had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikio got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikio who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

[123] [721]

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalio was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalio to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwama would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that, looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on [513] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by [252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [582] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and [524] Kwoa had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Heyamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Heyamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawaaj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 721 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yet came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Kwiyampa and Dowari and Mawendaya had broken it and

857 752 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit. About 5:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 484 [628] Hay, Afalowaj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwans were helping to carry their cargo.

602 571 754 [601] April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at hant sungwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the relationship. He will no longer call them nan but use their name. His daughter, Hamas, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sungwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 262 [251] Today there was a market with Yamboa. Yawaf carried a mat bag of sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 602 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

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April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wanyambaokura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1100. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awe and Hwiya boiled sago, and Wer had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The first course was soup. Wer had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a tin of dry peaches which Gwiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was a good deal of kidding around the point of selling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marek, Wer and Hay. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

April 5, 1937. Wer, Fit, Chiawa, Hwiya, Pamba, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Wer and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement [171] compared to the Hokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Mdunkwi of [301] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went [302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Hay who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was belaboring Fit with it. Later Hay came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Hay while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Hay had [522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Gwiyap and I were talking about it and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through [123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on [613] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by [252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [582] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the woman looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and [524] Knos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tauberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Kayemakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing [4048] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Kayemakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chimuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awe giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Owiyap. Awe and Kwiya were there. Owiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Owiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Owiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), Mar, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chimuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

574 476 [501] [252] April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago. Awa and Ehriya boiled sago, and Mar had his family make soup. This was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I [156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The [262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon [123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a [262] tin of dry peaches which Ehriyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it [197] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the [262] whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked. [521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betel, dozed, [276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was [522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and Hay. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chimawa, Ehriya, Fambe, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Fokotay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it''Rumbims calling with a new gong--do you hear me?] and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatsminj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Gwiyap just came in without his "lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Uha, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopement be postponed. Masuk was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. May came

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Yokatay, and Yafalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke,
[522] and everyone is amused.

752 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to
123 come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other
123 friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came
439 bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my
576 language)was his greeting for Owiyap.

436 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chimuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboren, Dav, War, and
437 Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "mouki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

*115 123 [574] [522] put his arm around me repeating, "Oh, master! Greetings!" several times. Mar's two sisters and three female children were around, and it may have been partly to show off to them. Such action fits in with Kwoma culture, in which embracing is the form of greeting. I asked Oriyap if one of the little girls were his nina (girl), intending to kid him, but he said, "No," and carefully explained her relationship to him. He was perfectly serious in this. I tried the same thing with May, with the same result; so apparently such kidding is not done in this culture. On the way back, Oriyap carried the rifle and led the procession although Wof, Mar and Marok, all older than he, were present.

October 21, 1936.

*115 648 He came in this morning, and we asked him for some words, which he gave us. Then, unbidden, he told us a story of a hanging he had seen several years before (three, according to Hamb). Some of the natives of Madeyakwa, a village in the bush behind Avatip, had wounded a police boy in the leg with a spear. The "kiap" had punished them by hanging seven of them and had brought in natives from the surrounding villages to observe this so that it would be an example to them. This is the second time he had volunteered stories of the killing of natives by white men. This time, as before, he told the story animatedly, as if he were telling a very interesting and exciting bit of news.

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854 him into a more comfortable position. If he seems to be crying because he is sick, she tries to distract his attention by
• [524] crooning to him, rocking him gently, and patting him. One mother, by putting a stone in a tin can, had invented a rattle which she used in these circumstances. Each time a mother reacts to her child's crying by discovering and removing the source of discomfort, she rewards this response in her child. The situation in Kwoma is such that, for the young infant, crying is followed by the alleviation of pain more frequently than is any other response.

When the infant begins to talk, he learns an even more efficient technique for securing help. A mother does not always know the trouble when her infant cries, but his words elicit immediate and appropriate help. A Kwoma infant who has learned to speak may say, "Mother, my back itches," or
[861] "I am cold; warm me." The mother rewards these demands by removing the source of discomfort. This indicates one of the advantages of learning language and hence why an infant is motivated to do so.

856 Thus during infancy the response to discomfort which is most strongly established is that of seeking help by crying or asking for it. Responses such as approaching the breast, moving to avoid pains, and other independent acts are also established. They form a basis for later learning, but hold a less important position in the response repertory of an infant than that of seeking help.

854 A motive which becomes strongly established during infancy is the wish to be near to and touch the mother. Almost all the pains and discomforts which an infant experiences are reduced while he is either sitting in his mother's lap or lying by her side. He is fed there, he sleeps there, and he is warmed and cooled, scratched and petted there—always while in bodily contact with his mother. The following case indicates the strong attachment that an infant has for his
854 mother's lap and how loath he is to leave it. Mbora one after-
866 noon was teaching her infant son Suw to venture from her lap. She was rolling a ball a little way from her and then

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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boys of this age even refrain from touching them while urinating.

I cannot say whether this prohibition also prevented private masturbation. I asked Ham, Fit, and Mey, all of them boys in the childhood group, whether they played with their penises when they were alone. All of them denied it with considerable embarrassment. They hung their heads, pretended not to understand me, and changed the subject as quickly as they could. This embarrassment suggests that they were guilty about masturbation, but it does not indicate whether they actually did not masturbate or whether they did and were afraid to admit the fact.

Boys who have not seen one another for some time rush together, throw their arms around each other, and hug and pat one another and rub one another's cheeks with their lime gourds. They exhibit this behavior with boys of their own age and sometimes with older men, but never with a female. Such an embrace is permitted between the sexes only when they are both aged and related. Mey, Fit, and Ham frequently chose to sleep together in my house rather than at their homes. They were often joined by adolescents. Although this was attributed to the advantage of mosquito proofing, they usually slept huddled together and often with their arms around one another.

Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connotations: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simulates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated "her." Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their "honor." When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month.

Boys often tease one another sexually when they sleep

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together. In a manner similar to that associated with the "homosexual" game, each claims that the other is his wife and will have a child by him. On one occasion Ham slept in the mosquito net with Wysep, one of my houseboys, when the latter's wife was away. The next morning Gwiyap and Mey began teasing Ham, saying that they suspected that Wysep had had sex relations with him and that pretty soon "his belly would swell up." Ham hotly denied the accusation, but the kidding persisted until Ham retired from the scene.

As far as I could observe, there was very little genital contact established either in the games or when the boys slept together. Sodomy is believed to be unnatural and revolting, and informants were unanimous in saying that anyone who would submit to it must be a "ghost" and not a man. Although this sanction theoretically applied only to the person who played the passive rôle, it seemed to be effective in restricting the practice.

The sexual training of a girl during childhood differs somewhat from that of a boy. Although she is punished for masturbating, in a manner similar to that of the boy, her conditioning differs in other respects, the most marked contrast resulting from the fact that the difference in her anatomy relieves her from the punishment which a male receives for having an erection in public. On the other hand, she is scolded by parents and older siblings for exposing herself unduly. She is taught to sit modestly with her legs stretched out together before her, and never to draw her legs up or sit with them apart. She is also warned not to lean over when a man is behind her unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her back. Furthermore she is told that a modest girl should step aside from a path if she sees a man approaching and stand with her back to the path until he has passed. She should not address him until he has gone by, at which time she may speak to him over her shoulder. When a girl is immodest, however, she is punished much less severely than is a boy. She is rarely more than scolded for such a lapse. The girl is also treated more leniently than the boy in that she is not restricted from looking at the genitals of the other sex.

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Older *brothers* scold younger *brothers* for showing a precocious knowledge of cult affairs, or for not heeding their warnings and younger *sisters* for annoying them or for not carrying out their household chores properly. 861 602

A boy is most frequently hurt by his older *brothers* in the course of games. The most popular sport consisted in kicking a pith ball up a slight slope against the side of a house and then, when it rolled down, kicking it back up again. In this, as well as in the dart-throwing and "homosexual" games, the older and bigger boys tease the younger one and knock him out of the way when he interferes. They order him to retrieve the ball or the pawpaw when it bounds into the bushes, or to throw the target rock for them. In the "homosexual" game it is the smaller boy who is usually at the bottom of the pile and who is called "wife" by the older boys. 861 524 • [602]

A child becomes adept at avoiding punishment from older persons by obeying, escaping, lying, and being secretive. He learns that if he does not do what he is told, a blow will follow; that if he persists in doing what he is told not to do, he will be beaten. Thus he not only learns to obey commands, but also to anticipate the commands, that is, to follow custom. He also learns that, if he has disobeyed, he can often escape punishment by running away from the person who has issued the command, or by lying if someone accuses him of doing something wrong. Finally, he learns that he can do things of which the older people disapprove, if they do not observe him. He therefore learns to be secretive. Smoking in the bush house is one example. Masturbation may be another. A child also learns secretly to beat cult-gong rhythms, being careful that no older person is present when he practices. Kwoma parents do not punish a child for lying or being secretive; they only punish him if the misdemeanor is discovered. Children therefore become very adept in these arts of deception. 861

A child has his first success in social aggression toward his younger siblings. They, being smaller than he, are easily overcome when they threaten or interfere with him. When they get in his way in games, it is not difficult to shove them 865 602

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wef's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Hem said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on [613] a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by [252] the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [621] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. [524] Hem and Hmos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--
524 while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an
522 abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about
831 it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He
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12.3 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss
685 about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123 namented with black paint and nano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
302 until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
301 raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
524 answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian gov-
ernment, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal
Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get
away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olatsim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind wearing the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had <u>namoed</u> (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, so he had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 Kum was playing this afternoon with May and began tapping him on the
524 leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. May clapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. May paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They
119 did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyakay; Gwiyap was older than
804 May. May says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as May when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

<u>Revision</u>

Gwiyap just went down and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuakai was older than he, that she was the same age as May who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas May has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because May was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: May was 5, Gwiyap and Kamaken were 4--Mar and Fit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mes is the same age as Mar.

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never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near Var's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[32] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[32] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
• 526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones.
They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their
wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could
throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was
amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about
twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in
various unsuspected places, particularly right over my head, where it came
through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when
the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It
will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost
an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had
died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while.
We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been
buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had
stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an
inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

600 was well.

529 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a 'singsing' rhythm from Wenyebankwra
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with [829] "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
123 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
439 near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinam" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted hai hai (food),

578 been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed
[123] up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not
me
feel like working.

527 Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what
262 they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to
[754] discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and
[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
[252] they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and
[415] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold
[262] it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with
[123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he
[123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayamas (a big man of Afokalisa) got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowinambi's (kinship term) and I will fight anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground
[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

223 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Mriya and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chinawa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Mriyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the porsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 28, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill
518 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerise him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

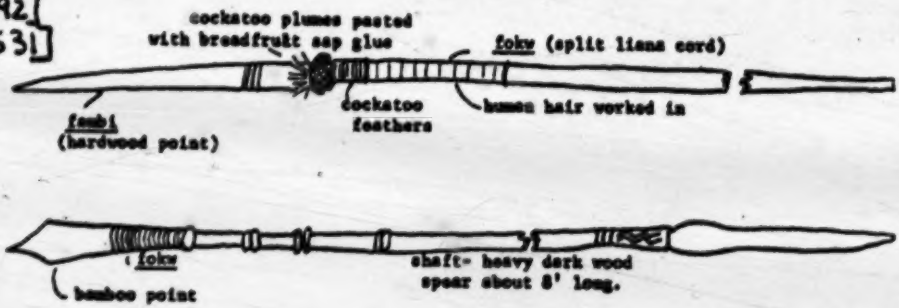
Spears

411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411 322 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. Those made from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[824] [192] [531]



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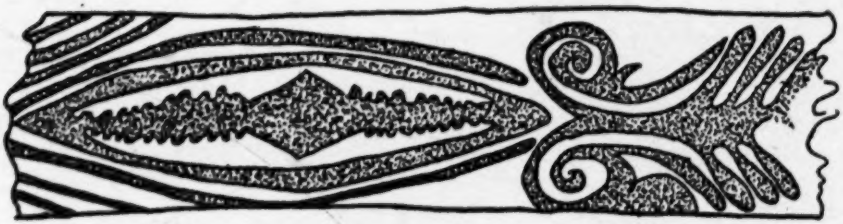


Tracings from spear handles (incised carving)

Preparation of Boiled Sago

252
[192] To make boiled sago, water is heated in a pot over the fire with a half dozen seasoning leaves (yifishdid) simmering in it (if the boiled sago is to be particularly tasty). A large lump of sago is then put in the bottom of another pot supported on the ground by a hoop of thin wood (the pots are round-bottomed). When the water boils, the leaves are skimmed off and put aside. The water is dipped into the other pot with a coconut shell dipper until the pot containing the sago is filled. It is stirred with the two "chop sticks" held in one hand. (See figures below). The water unites immediately with the sago and makes a thick gruel which becomes rubbery when it cools. This is stirred and tested until it has cooled sufficiently to congeal. The sticks are then held in each hand and rotated around each other and pulled out, dipped, rotated, and pulled out, about

ladle (nasvisfiw)

252
415
192
• 531

chop sticks (wasfiw)

323
531
192

Incised decorations on clay pots

wPaif (usually on top rim of pot)

suban

sbonfsbonf

niyi (eyes)
sumornii (nose)
kwinif (mouth)

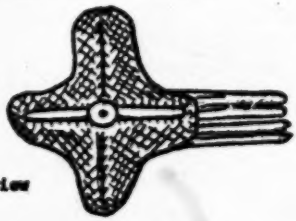
Some examples of cicitrisation around a woman's navel

304
562
• 531

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] ~~nasiri~~ niniŋ-- ornamental comb

• [581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikŋ) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fuld) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

Cicatrization symbolic of manhood

304
• 531
562
561

A. nákwa

B. wínjí

C. kwayí nbankí

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It
gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies
of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The
feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they
were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of
each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine
inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to
relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the
impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed,
the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and
red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed
around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were
smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had
featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped
and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with
red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer, or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies
except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose
of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "luluai" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the alter. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a mat bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like yagwuligwuligwuligo. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus wawa or awa, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with awa sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of wahowaho, dadohoha, or hahoiawa that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "a". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
778 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves.
The mask near the front was called asambwaŋ́, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abímakwa and belonged to Bangua (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawímaŋ́. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called mo maski (mo means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singsing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulual" of Bangua, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wí with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Har (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banis' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This [538] [532] is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honuvem sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] [178] [554] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, however, were the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that is is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One 847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is 845 bride price, patrilocal 583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny. 591

611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are 794 [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] minima or renama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me.

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Mar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimwe is finished.
754 She did not give the sungeywwa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Haymashwo men and Mas' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[798] diwai (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

437 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yeng. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tumkat" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilewas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tumkat' for exchange of sugilewas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Mas and Gwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Hdowey house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
489 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kamb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

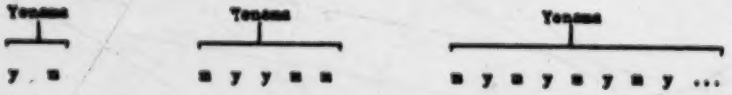
Paints

386 192 In addition to the berries\used to dye twines, paints are made by various clays. Black paint, wêwé (kwild- pidgin) is made by burning wêwé wood. The charcoal is heavy and resinous, and when scraped with a stone is mixed with the sap of sîngwiyewé . Other colors are made by mixing clay with water. They are newé kayé (black clay) ; sîkî newé (red clay); shêwiewé newé (yellow clay) ; nogwae (white clay).

532 386 [413] Sugilewae (carved wooden figures representing naramâi used at the yam cult ceremonies) are painted with a small brush made from the frayed skin of a betel-pepper fastened to a small stick. The black paint is applied all over the figure and dried in the sun. The other clay colors are applied over the black.

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mind survive (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A women whose husband has seen both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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882 794 • 533 eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

882 796 794 776 [534] [302] On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tamberan gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event. He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the prescribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[26] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[26] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their coöperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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796 posing rhythms become the orchestra leaders and may hum
794 out a new arrangement to be interpreted under their direc-
• 533 tions by the gong-players. "Let's try this one—'gading ga-
dong, gading gadong, kura kura, kura kura'," [26] he will say, and each player must know which part his gong should take and should be able to translate the words of the leader into the proper blows on the lips of the gong at the proper moment. Usually the leader merely suggests that a named rhythm be played, if the ritual permits such a choice, or, if not, simply directs the players. Good players are permitted to play only when the gong rhythms are the central part of the ritual, and the dubs and novices take their turn when the gongs are being used primarily to accompany the dancers, so that every member of the cult has an opportunity to per-
[554] form on the gongs at some time during the ceremony. While those who play well are praised, those who are clumsy and inept are teased, criticized, and ridiculed.

796 Dancing during the cult ceremonies also provides an op-
794 portunity for a man to gain status. He may be applauded
535 either for being a tireless, or for being a spectacular, per-
554 former. The man who can dance an entire night without ever sitting down to rest and smoke is spoken of as having "dry bones" and being "hard too much." Similarly, anyone who can join the dance with fervor when it is lagging and put new spirit into the performance is highly regarded. Once at a *Nokwi* ceremony, when a dance which had been going on for several hours had begun to lag, a man who had just arrived, adorned with particularly striking face paint and decorations, rushed into the circle balancing a spear over his head, stamping his feet on the ground, and shouting. The other dancers quickly caught his enthusiasm, the tempo increased, and loiterers joined in. Spectators shook their heads, smacked their lips, and allowed that he was indeed a man of parts.

794 Singing provides another means of self-expression during
796 the ceremonies of the yam cult. The men blend their voices
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[26] This is actually a formalized gong rhythm known as "the cassowary" and supposed to represent a hen cassowary and her chicks.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the alter. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a mat bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
● 533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly, and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like yaguliguuliguuligo. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus waa or aaa, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with aaa sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of wahowaho, dadohoha, or hahohowa that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "o". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

796 and four inches in diameter. They were not ornamented. The usual method
534 of beating the gong was to stand at right angles to it, the right side of the body next to the gong, a beater held in either hand. The gong was pounded near, but on either side of the slit, the beater striking endwise. This method was, however, by no means universal, for sometimes the drummer would stand facing the gong, or sit on it and idly tap with the side of the beater. The most usual and accepted method was the former; the latter the most informal. There were also several intermediate methods.

796 The rhythm consisted of accented beats and unaccented beats in alter-
533 nation. At each gong one of the drummers would pound out the accented, another the unaccented beats. Further, each gong would produce the rhythm of one accented and three unaccented beats. These beats were alternated among the gongs so that the accented beat of one gong would fall on the middle unaccented beat of another gong. Thus -/---/---/--- and ---/---/---/ would result in -/-/-/-/, (total effect). The rhythm of the gongs was more or less followed by the singers and dancers. This rhythm was not the only one employed, and Tip says that even it is not right. That is something we will have to check up on.

796 We stayed there and observed until just before noon. The dancing
123 and singing had been continuous until this time and then the dancers stopped for something to eat. We all went out into the small clearing in front of the house tamberan. In front of us was a line of coconut trees and beyond that a short drop, and then the sago swamp. On our left was a path
349 coming down the mountain, and on the right, jungle growth. In the left hand corner of the clearing and on the further side from where we stood another construction had been built. It was a representation of a ship with a mast, laddered rattlins, and crabclaw sails represented by two

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
778 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves. The mask near the front was called asambwarí, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abímakwa and belonged to Bangua (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawímawí. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singsing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulusi" of Bangua, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wí with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulusi and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Kumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

some low, and each rising and falling in the range of a few notes. Sometimes the sounds blended and at others the effect was a discordant jumble.

When we got back to the house, there was a group of six or seven sitting around in front of the house, talking about the death. Wof, who had just returned from his yam planting, seemed rather more upset than the others. The dead man belonged to his mother's sib. Sof also remained with set face and working jaws. The rest were all laughing and joking and gossiping, and were much amused when a little later Tip and I started a pole vaulting competition.

In the morning the wailing continued. One of the natives said that it had gone on all night although we hadn't heard it. Occasionally the gongs were sounded. After breakfast, Mar said he was going to the funeral and asked if we would like to go. Tip and I had decided to split our work and to take turns going on trips, so I went with Mar. Gwiyap and Mey came too. They suggested that I carry the .22, so I did. When we had almost arrived at the scene of the wailing, a house near where the singsing had been held, we saw a pigeon. I didn't want to shoot for fear of disturbing the mourners, but the natives insisted that it was all right.

Wof and another man were sitting in a house next to where the mourning was taking place. They were looking rather sad. We sat down for a few minutes and watched the women wailing. They were sitting under the porch extension, shaking their shoulders slightly up and down as they sang. There did not appear to be any words. Only one man was there--Mweje, a dilapidated old fellow with a withered arm and a scar on his forehead caused by some disease which had eaten away the flesh to the bone. He saw us and becked us to come over. When I came up to them, several of the women stopped their wiling to greet me as usual. Soon afterward, the wailing stopped. Some children

346 bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying [483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wank/) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maretta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

196 346 "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, [202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maretta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone [533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maretta [192] to the refrain of a hongwaswit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hongwaswit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest [462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it [614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bangus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulusi, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

796 This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaiiju). It seems to be a ceremonial
346 anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the
[192] singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpé' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwatá as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bangus. [177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwat, [539] representing the Rumbima, Wenyabenkura, and Dawus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwat throw themselves [535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and [533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the owi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leatherneck' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wonyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangua man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Kar, of Rumbina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruve (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distributim, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [533] [534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a maze of short, long and intermediate beats.

Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to beard them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post yielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the *banif* quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same alter set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the alter. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong [533] counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few [534] interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honqwem sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "sevi talks". These four, [178] however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact [554] that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Soubundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Bumbina said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement [171] compared to the Hohwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Hdunkwi of [301] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went [302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Hay who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was beleaboring Fit with it. Later Hay came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Hay while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Hay had [522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Guiyap and I were talking about it and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Haw in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through [123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Haw to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Haw, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Haw danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

533 Namb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. May and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to May and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wanya similar to the poison beatings. 685 [533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawa, Ambe, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a watokolai about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

123 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, 685 a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then May repeated the evidence against him. He [648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gamba).

May just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, im i no monki belong yu im i big felo man. im i no bilong muther felo bennis, belong Rumbiman dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child.

578 Yovalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumus'Sumus. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Ovivap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Ovivap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Yambon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbit" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Ovivap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Soubundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Ovivap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Ovivap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a yunilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a yunilawas of the Wanyi people.

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asf). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadgng represents low gong; gadgng represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwo ïaf

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

nauréaip

gadang gadong gading

533

sky

gadang gadang gajong gadong gading gading

gadang gadang gadong gadong gading gading

o a o a i i

fovi togito

gading, gadang, gading, gadang, gading

umrivf

gadanga, gadanga gadonga, gadonga

gading, gadang, gading, gadong

gading gadang gading gadang gading gadang

nano

gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gading, gading, gading

gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gading, gading, gading

gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadang, gadong, gadong, gadong

Songs, exhortations

539 Wail sung to mourn a death

533 hogwinamɨwɨffyevagɨt ahɨ — Who is looking for him?

764 gambe ge be sowahɨ — He is gone to the land of the dead.

afakw mete nɨ re ren hɨ — Father come and get him.

Wail sung to mourn a death

ewi hahɨhɨ — Mother come

nokwe ahɨ nahɨ — Give me sago

hogwi enhanahɨ — Give me meat

ɨlɨ hawahɨ — I am hungry

789 [792] Casting a spell (rambe menilio) is used to protect gardens from pigs and theft, to prevent rain, thunder, lightening, to quell the wind, etc., and for healing purposes.

789 539 533 Exhortation to mereslai to quell the wind. If all the snakes are killed, tied up and put in a hold, the wind cannot blow.

wɨnɨndɨrɨ sowigo	Kill the snake (a certain kind in each case)
nayawa sowigo	" " "
hoffma sowigo	" " "
hia hofi sowigo	" " "
verihof sowigo	" " "
nrumbɨrɨmbwajawɨ	Fasten him
nokɨ feritia jawɨ	Tie him up
kay wagawɨ	Put him in the hollow of a tree.

Magical verse to cure a boil

755
539
533

waíd kwiyé na foeo	Growth on breadfruit go away
mogwi na foeo	Breast go away
yatohé na foeo	Leg go away
tabag na foeo	Tobacco go away
krák na foeo	Penis go away
mandé aé na foeo	Testicles go away
hafohé né na foeo	Shoulder go away
uuvi né na foeo	Water go away

533 Songs are not only sung in chorus (hogwaliiu), but also with a leader
192 and chorus (hogwiseest).

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was [595] named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [597] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [154] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [305] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [177] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [113] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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869 with impunity, it would be extremely dangerous for children and women to be near the scene. In fact, a child is told that he would die if he entered the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. Cases are cited to the children of women and children who had joined the men at this time either willfully
• [534] or by mistake and who had died as a result. The initiated tell the children that the gongs, trumpets, flutes, water drums, and bull roarers that they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of the *marsalai* who are present. Hints that these are man-made sounds come seeping down from adolescents and the careless remarks of adults, so that the child has a fairly accurate knowledge of the ceremonies before he ever participates in one. Despite his scepticism about the origin of the sounds, he nevertheless is awed whenever a ceremony takes place, and takes care not to venture near the scene. Furthermore, he takes care not to reveal to the adults that he has any suspicion of what really goes on.

869 796 Despite a child's awe of these meetings of the yam cult, he senses the excitement which prevails in the whole subtribe before a ceremony takes place and eagerly looks forward to the time when he will be old enough to attend them. He hears his father, *uncles*, and *older brothers* talk excitedly about the coming event, he sees them carefully paint their faces, comb their hair, don their best ornaments, and depart for the house tamberan. Then he hears the rhythmic harmonies of the gong orchestra, the high-pitched shouting of the singers, and the weird and plaintive flute melodies. These thrilling sounds burst out sporadically during the whole day, increase in tempo and intensity as night falls, and continue unabated as long as he stays awake. Stimulated by these events,
[859] Kwoma boys make toy gongs from bamboo nodes and try to imitate the gong rhythms; they hum mimicries of the ceremonial songs; and they form miniature groups to practice the shuffling dance steps. Since they are not supposed to know these things, they do them in their forest playhouse or at times when there are no adults present.

869 789 Parents and older siblings also warn a child not to trespass in another person's garden lest he break out with boils. They

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882 794 533 eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

882 796 794 776 [534] [302] On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tamberan gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event. He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the prescribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[28] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[28] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "lulual" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the alter. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and fanlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" were laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly, and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like yagwuligwuligwuligo. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus wawa or awa, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with awa sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of wahowaho, dadohoho, or hahohowa that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "o". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

796 and four inches in diameter. They were not ornamented. The usual method
534 of beating the gong was to stand at right angles to it, the right side of the body next to the gong, a beater held in either hand. The gong was pounded near, but on either side of the slit, the beater striking endwise. This method was, however, by no means universal, for sometimes the drummer would stand facing the gong, or sit on it and idly tap with the side of the beater. The most usual and accepted method was the former; the latter the most informal. There were also several intermediate methods.

796 The rhythm consisted of accented beats and unaccented beats in alter-
533 nation. At each gong one of the drummers would pound out the accented, another the unaccented beats. Further, each gong would produce the rhythm of one accented and three unaccented beats. These beats were alternated among the gongs so that the accented beat of one gong would fall on the middle unaccented beat of another gong. Thus -/---/---/--- and ---/---/---/ would result in -/-/-/-/, (total effect). The rhythm of the gongs was more or less followed by the singers and dancers. This rhythm was not the only one employed, and Tip says that even it is not right. That is something we will have to check up on.

796 We stayed there and observed until just before noon. The dancing
123 and singing had been continuous until this time and then the dancers stopped for something to eat. We all went out into the small clearing in front of the house tamberan. In front of us was a line of coconut trees and beyond that a short drop, and then the sago swamp. On our left was a path coming down the mountain, and on the right, jungle growth. In the left
349 hand corner of the clearing and on the further side from where we stood another construction had been built. It was a representation of a ship with a mast, laddered rattlins, and crabclaw sails represented by two

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulual and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiop" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rambins, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wanyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangus man written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Kar, of Rumbina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwe (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [533] [534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

745 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a mass of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to board them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

794 The word sugilawas which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named yenengare, minjame, and nokwisugwi which are sugilawas "true". These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in yenengare his first son will be minjame, his second yenengare, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. Nokwisugwi seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abegalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for maris, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

(Again Tip).

796 December 17th, 1936./The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong mari", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalie with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalie we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by [534] both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banif' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come, so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Hoonwem sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] [178] [554] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, however, were the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

OOO yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They
were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the
grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden
cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece
is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of
Rumbima sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves
in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling
that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up
the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint
and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less
and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the
anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task.
So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for
Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps
a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing
which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

412 [492] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate.../There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 611 595 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] miniema or yoneme; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the
cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also
connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only
after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture
is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of
aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

775 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy
existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill
them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time.
In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

776 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks,
waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder,
lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are
disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
[794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated
are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of
the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and
others we have not.

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 Wer and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kumb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urembanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Waynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Gwiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Gwiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun meri" was dying and they were calling her relatives

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chimuma had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the 'sac sac' (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[481] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[313] garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabunkura. A log was cut to the
[284] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of
[483] the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

476
534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mes, and Gwiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwata mbonka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several gongs going at once and cries of Ha yang. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tumket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tumket' for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Nas and Gwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwem would take place at Ndowsy house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

Afalawanj came in this morning and sold us a clay bird.

February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could hear better. Kamb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwem wanted part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in; about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

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[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
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787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Naab to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar , Chinuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got nowhe ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Owiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Enjya, Chinuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chinuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and Moy, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong. 323 Mar was working headbank and cutting grass by the house tabberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

761 A man of Dunus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Khiya had brought back the roots of nank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Khiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Khiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Memoey came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their boxes and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Memoey beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide. so he did not get his pay.

123 685 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 752 Hoel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 578 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 271 Yetiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 685 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakela affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-aboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yelangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [378] [136] [576] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

426

123 863 Chinawe and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mas is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mas killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mas realised that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Owiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Fokotay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbime calling with a new gong--do you hear me"] and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 332 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asé). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadong represents low gong; gadong represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwo Isf

ka donga ka donga

donga donga donga gading

donga donga donga gading

dong gadong gading gadong

dong gadong gading gadong

navrfnio

gadong gadong gading

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Haiyamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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881 561 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who [608] [304] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three [292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[1] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three [535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. [786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[1] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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796 794 533 posing rhythms become the orchestra leaders and may hum out a new arrangement to be interpreted under their directions by the gong-players. "Let's try this one—'gading gadong, gading gadong, kura kura, kura kura'," [26] he will say, and each player must know which part his gong should take and should be able to translate the words of the leader into the proper blows on the lips of the gong at the proper moment. Usually the leader merely suggests that a named rhythm be played, if the ritual permits such a choice, or, if not, simply directs the players. Good players are permitted to play only when the gong rhythms are the central part of the ritual, and the dubs and novices take their turn when the gongs are being used primarily to accompany the dancers, so that every member of the cult has an opportunity to perform on the gongs at some time during the ceremony. While those who play well are praised, those who are clumsy and inept are teased, criticized, and ridiculed.

[554]

796 794 535 554 Dancing during the cult ceremonies also provides an opportunity for a man to gain status. He may be applauded either for being a tireless, or for being a spectacular, performer. The man who can dance an entire night without ever sitting down to rest and smoke is spoken of as having "dry bones" and being "hard too much." Similarly, anyone who can join the dance with fervor when it is lagging and put new spirit into the performance is highly regarded. Once at a *Nokwi* ceremony, when a dance which had been going on for several hours had begun to lag, a man who had just arrived, adorned with particularly striking face paint and decorations, rushed into the circle balancing a spear over his head, stamping his feet on the ground, and shouting. The other dancers quickly caught his enthusiasm, the tempo increased, and loiterers joined in. Spectators shook their heads, smacked their lips, and allowed that he was indeed a man of parts.

794 796 533 Singing provides another means of self-expression during the ceremonies of the yam cult. The men blend their voices

[26] This is actually a formalized gong rhythm known as "the cassowary" and supposed to represent a hen cassowary and her chicks.

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultui" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the alter. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and flatlike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
778 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves.
The mask near the front was called asambwarí, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abíwakwa and belonged to Bangua (actually to the cicatriser). The space between the masks on the top of the alter was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely matted febric was called sawíwarí. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no waski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singsing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the alter while the "luluai" of Bangua, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wí with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

996 This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaiiu). It seems to be a ceremonial
346 anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the
[192] singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpé' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwaté as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bangus.
[177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwat,
[537] representing the Rambima, Wanyabenkure, and Dawus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwat throw themselves
[535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and
[533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the owi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leathernack' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his kinagourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'benif' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tambaran there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come, so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honuwem sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] [178] [554] Koriasi Tangwishemp. Only four of these were "sawi talks". These four, however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

996 346 (192) This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaiiju). It seems to be a ceremonial anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

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he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta. When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[18] *Sumwe sumwo mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sakasa*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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835 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one
• 539 night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

839 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when
835 they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of prox-
602 imity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are
[262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior
[578] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[262] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds
192 him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he
196 committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

Songs, exhortations

539 Wail sung to mourn a death

533 hogwinaamb@ff@yeyag@t ahd — Who is looking for him?

764 aamba ge ha sowah@ — He is gone to the land of the dead.

afaku mata nd ye yan h@ — Father come and get him.

Wail sung to mourn a death

ewi nahdhd — Mother come

nokwa akd nahd — Give me sago

hogwi enhaanahd — Give me meat

yid hawahd — I am hungry

789 [792] Casting a spell (yambe mesilio) is used to protect gardens from pigs and theft, to prevent rain, thunder, lightening, to quell the wind, etc., and for healing purposes.

789 539 533 Exhortation to mesalai to quell the wind. If all the snakes are killed, tied up and put in a hold, the wind cannot blow.

wadnadrd sowigo	Kill the snake (a certain kind in each case)
nayawaa sowigo	" " "
hofdna sowigo	" " "
kia hofd sowigo	" " "
wayhof sowigo	" " "
apunkdrjabwajawd	Fasten him
nohd favitin jawd	Tie him up
kay wagawd	Put him in the hollow of a tree.

Magical verse to cure a boil

755
539
533

waíé kwiyé ne foso	Growth on breadfruit go away
mowi ne foso	Breast go away
yatoké ne foso	Leg go away
tabac ne foso	Tobacco go away
kryk ne foso	Penis go away
wandé aé ne foso	Testicles go away
kafoké né ne foso	Shoulder go away
yuwi né ne foso	Water go away

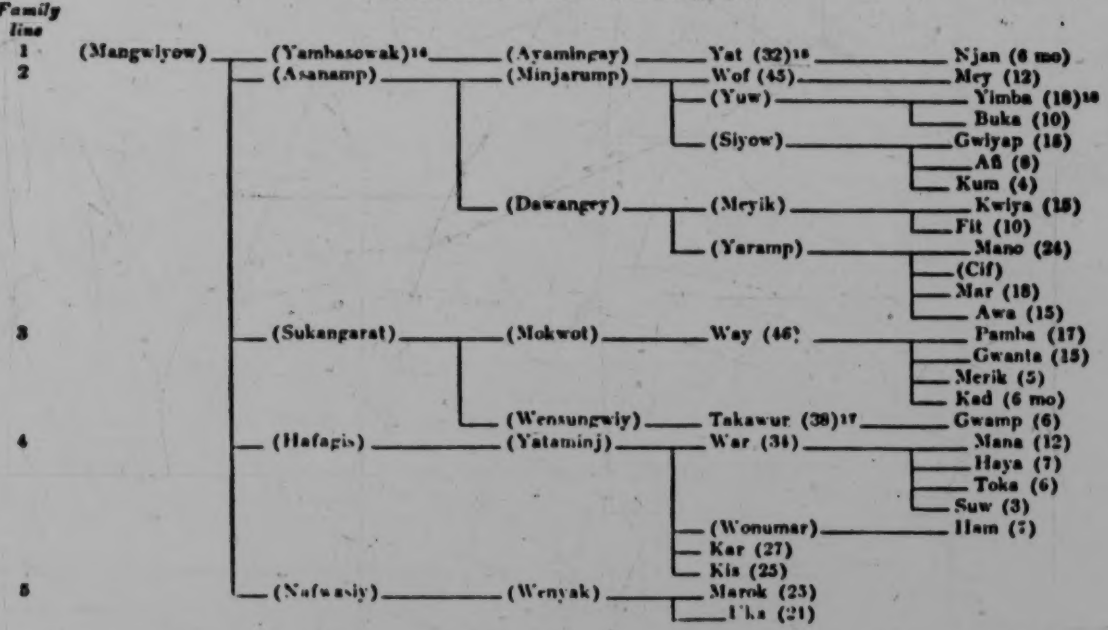
533
192 Songs are not only sung in chorus (hoywiiju), but also with a leader and chorus (hoywiswei).

Songéven - a myth.

539 Long, long ago when our great, great grandfathers were not even thought of, all the women were in control of the nerselai. They had a house tamberan built in the top of a tall tree where they would climb up and hold the rendmini and nokwi ceremonies while the men stayed home and worked hard cooking the food. Then there came a little man with light skin who was no more than a foot tall and carried a saw. His name was Songéven which is now the name of an insect that makes a sawing noise. The men talked to Songéven and gave him some raw (fresh) pig and a ripe banana. In return for this the little man burrowed under the bark of the sugwi tree, being careful not to disturb its outward appearance. He sawed and sawed at the wood until just a pencil width was remaining to support the tree. When the night of the women's ceremony came, all the women were up in the tree beating the gongs and blowing the sacred flutes. One of the men now went down to the water and made magic to bring wind. Then at the little man's suggestion they all lined up at the foot of the tree with their spears waiting. As the wind came up the tree began to sway. Some of the women were alarmed and looked over the edge of the platform, but the others quelled their fears, "The tree will not fall; there is nothing to fear." Any they went back to their merrymaking, but the tree kept swaying. Its arc became longer and longer and finally with a crash it fell to the ground scattering all the women. The men fell on them and killed them all. They took all the sacred paraphernalia and built a house tamberan on the ground and put in it all they had collected.

They kept this secret from all the young women who were left, and made them cook the food while they made the ceremony. Even since then the men have kept the nerselai secret ffom the women to pay them back for time when matters were reversed.

THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[13]



[13] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[14] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling;* he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling.*

[15] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yataminj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[16] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[17] Does not live in the hamlet.

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THE LINEAGE OF WASAHOF

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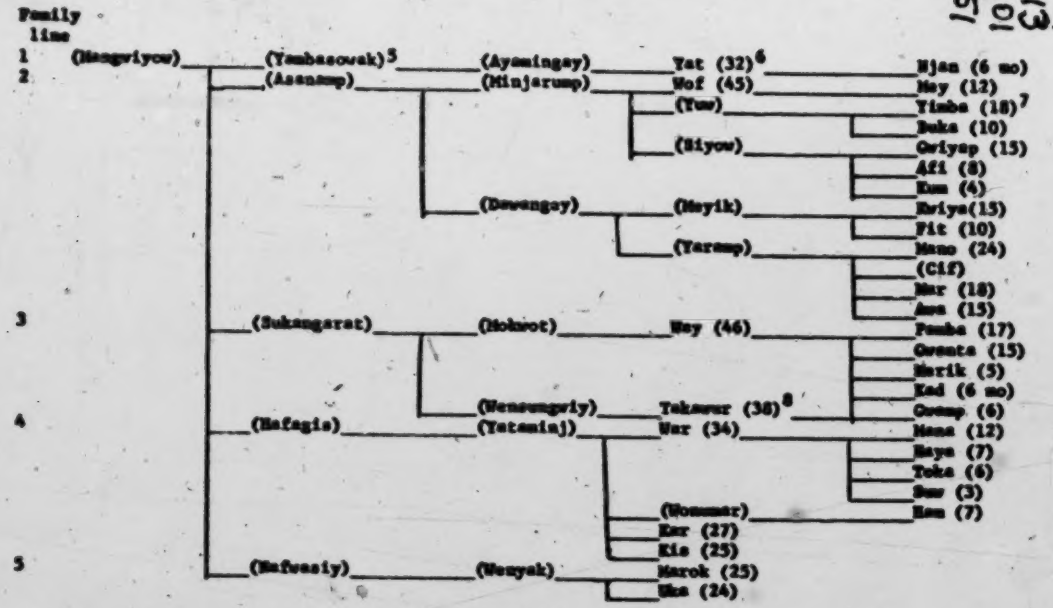
THE LINEAGE OF NAKWITOW[4]



[4] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate ages. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[5] The brothers in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a brother above him in the list older sibling; he calls a brother below him in the list younger sibling.

[6] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatamiaj, of Wof is Wofarage, of Ney is Neyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[7] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table. [8] Does not live in the hamlet.

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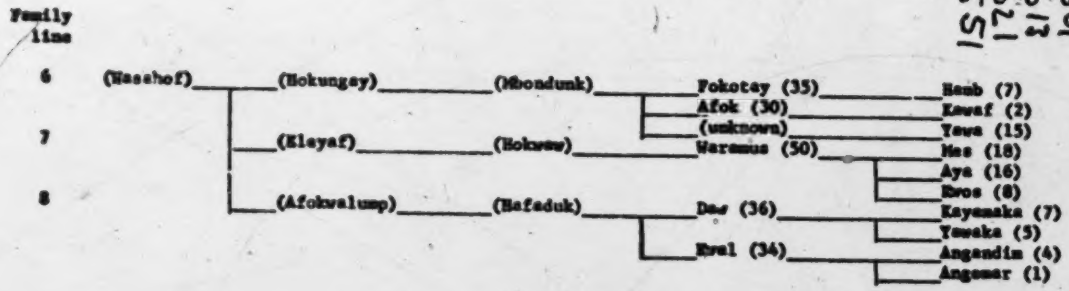
THE LINEAGE OF WASOHOF



Appendix 2

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Meaning of Personal Names

Asenempa	dog's fur
Awa	a leaf
Fit	a kind of hawk
Kis and Kar	mountains of Yasi
Kwiya	a fish
Mar	the digging stick of Karambakoco, the marsalai responsible for earthquakes
Marok	a hawk
Mas	a kind of red yam
May	milk ribs
Takawar	small fish (omakara)
War and Way	small fish
Wof	a marsalai, the son of Kiramabakoco
Wogahoko	the ringing of an axe
Yat	a marsalai dwelling in swamp

Appendix 3

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INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF RUMBIMA HAMLET

Note: The people of Rumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWARJ	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Ambe	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIN	4	Wasahof
ANGIMAR	1	Wasahof
ASAHAMPA	adult	Other.
Awe	13	Mangwiyow
Aya	16	Wasahof
Bora	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chinowe	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAWANGI	36	Wasahof
Dawi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Famba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKOTAY	35	Wasahof
Gege	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIFAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huwena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAF	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayamaka	7	Wasahof
KEWARI	adult	Other
KIS	25	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALUMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiya	15	Mangwiyow
KWONAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWONAYI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

Name	Age	Lineage
KWOS	8	Wasahof
LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Mana	12	Mangwiyow
MANO	24	Mangwiyow
MAR	18	Mangwiyow
MAROK	25	Mangwiyow
Mbwimbwi	adult	Mangwiyow
MEKIK	5	Mangwiyow
MES	18	Wasahof
MEY	12	Mangwiyow
MOKTSI	Old man of Hongwen - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
MUNDIK	young adult	Other
Nanaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nambomai.
NAMBOMAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
Nawa	adult	Wasahof
NAWARAMEN	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
Ngwiya	adult	Wasahof
NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
BOB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
Pamba	17	Mangwiyow
PWISAMBI	adult	Other
SOF	adult	Other
SOWINAMBI	adult	Other. Cicatriser
SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Sunga	adult	Mangwiyow
SUW	3	Mangwiyow
TAKAWUR	38	Mangwiyow
Toka	6	Mangwiyow
Uka	24	Mangwiyow
WAR	34	Mangwiyow
WARAMUS	50	Wasahof
WAT	46	Mangwiyow
WENYAMENJ	old man	Other
WINGAWI	adult	Other
WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
WIYANGAMC	adult	Other. Cicatriser.
WOF	45	Mangwiyow
Yama	adult	Mangwiyow
YAT	32	Mangwiyow
Yawa	13	Wasahof
Yawaka	5	Wasahof
Yimba	18 mos.	Mangwiyow

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 157 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He bagged persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent [191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned *115 593 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second 736 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young-- his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishampo. He was carried *115 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His 553 name was given him by the Malus with whom he stayed after the raid. His mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 726 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwem hid in the house except for a few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his 'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then, when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 123 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger co-operative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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[62] [592] dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in [156] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By [584] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of [595] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. [586] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young [564] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the [191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin [595] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year [31] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who [564] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has [727] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one [595] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[56] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household [756] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and [736] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his [584] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

[65] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who [564] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 1]

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him. 882 837 561

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits. 882 554 836

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried. 582 584

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since 582 842 [826]

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their coöperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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882 602 554 166 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their coöperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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796 794 533 posing rhythms become the orchestra leaders and may hum out a new arrangement to be interpreted under their directions by the gong-players. "Let's try this one—'gading gadong, gading gadong, kura kura, kura kura'," [28] he will say, and each player must know which part his gong should take and should be able to translate the words of the leader into the proper blows on the lips of the gong at the proper moment. Usually the leader merely suggests that a named rhythm be played, if the ritual permits such a choice, or, if not, simply directs the players. Good players are permitted to play only when the gong rhythms are the central part of the ritual, and the dubs and novices take their turn when the gongs are being used primarily to accompany the dancers, so that every member of the cult has an opportunity to perform on the gongs at some time during the ceremony. While those who play well are praised, those who are clumsy and inept are teased, criticized, and ridiculed.

[554]

796 794 535 554 Dancing during the cult ceremonies also provides an opportunity for a man to gain status. He may be applauded either for being a tireless, or for being a spectacular, performer. The man who can dance an entire night without ever sitting down to rest and smoke is spoken of as having "dry bones" and being "hard too much." Similarly, anyone who can join the dance with fervor when it is lagging and put new spirit into the performance is highly regarded. Once at a *Nokwi* ceremony, when a dance which had been going on for several hours had begun to lag, a man who had just arrived, adorned with particularly striking face paint and decorations, rushed into the circle balancing a spear over his head, stamping his feet on the ground, and shouting. The other dancers quickly caught his enthusiasm, the tempo increased, and loiterers joined in. Spectators shook their heads, smacked their lips, and allowed that he was indeed a man of parts.

794 796 533 Singing provides another means of self-expression during the ceremonies of the yam cult. The men blend their voices

[28] This is actually a formalized gong rhythm known as "the cassowary" and supposed to represent a hen cassowary and her chicks.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[30]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[30] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

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Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed to eat the soup,[49] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man is eligible to join *Nokwei*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwei* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwei* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[49] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

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Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

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ever a teacher applies it to a pupil. Since, moreover, a Kwoma teacher seldom punishes, scolds, or threatens a pupil at the same time that he praises him, *handombas* becomes a cue, reducing whatever anxiety may be present, and thus acquires further rewarding value.

A second phrase, *harafa ma malaka*, is applied to men of high prestige who have many privileges that the ordinary person does not enjoy. It comes to mean, therefore, the right to go to the *Nokwi* ceremonies, to have many wives, to have many helpers at work bees, to be deferred to at court meetings, and to be so formidable that no one dare threaten or attack you. When a teacher applies this phrase to a pupil, it symbolizes an advance toward the attainment of these goals and is therefore rewarding. Furthermore, if a pupil is called *harafa ma malaka*, he is never called *karaganda yikafa*, "little child," at the same time, as these are antithetical concepts. Since the latter phrase is used to scold pupils, the former symbolizes non-scolding and thus gains further reward value.

Praising may be exemplified by the following case. Yat speared two pigs in one afternoon, a remarkable feat since a man will often hunt for weeks without success. When he returned to the hamlet, he joined a group of men who were sitting in the house tamberan and told them of his accomplishment. The men praised him for his prowess, referring to his act as *handombas* and to him as a *harafa ma malaka*. Thus Yat was rewarded by these words of praise for whatever hunting technique led to his success.

In conclusion, the following summary of the results of the preceding analyses may be made. The assumption that learning principles apply to the process of culture transmission at Kwoma has led to an organization of the data observed, so that some of the factors which permit, and some of the forces which compel, a Kwoma individual to learn his culture have been isolated and defined. Furthermore, the application of learning theory has brought certain essential details of the process of socialization into sharper relief than might otherwise have been the case. It is evident, also, from the above

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796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions [554] are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can [562] become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings [786] toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

121 182 796 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banif' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the alter. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Hongwam sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] [178] [554] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Haub and Hamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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lets, when they hear this rhythm, rush to their own house tamberans and repeat the rhythm on their gongs. The *marsalai* must tremble, it is said, when he hears the thunderous command issuing successively from each house tamberan in each of the Kwoma subtribes. Doubtless he hastily shuts his mouth.

A Kwoma male must submit to the hazing of age-grade initiation even after he has reached adulthood. There are four occasions on which he attends this ceremony as an initiate, and, since it takes place only once every five years, there are normally three rites during adulthood when he must permit his *ceremonial father* to slash his tongue and penis. Thus it is not until a man is over thirty that he ceases to be an initiate. On each occasion he advances a degree in prestige and is permitted to wear a certain hair ornament that those of lower grades may not wear. Just as the newly initiated adolescent derogated the uninitiated children, so the adult derogates those in stages below him and struts about wearing his newly acquired headgear.

After a man has passed through the initiation cycle, he takes his turn as an initiator. He adopts a *ceremonial son* whom he sponsors through the cycle. Finally, at the age of fifty or more, after twenty years as an initiate and twenty years as an initiator, he attends the age-grade ceremonies merely as a spectator.

The attitude of an adult man toward ghosts differs little from that of a child. He still reacts to them with a mixture of aggression and avoidance. Kwoma men are quite loath to walk very far from their dwellings after dark, and if they do so they either carry a torch or wear a dagger made from a human thigh bone, both of which are supposed to frighten ghosts and make them keep their distance. In spite of these precautions, men not infrequently encounter what they believe to be ghosts. One evening I heard frightened shouting, then the patter of feet rushing by the house, and finally angry shouts and imprecations from the house tamberan. The next morning I learned that Kar and Marok had stayed late on a visit to another hamlet and had been forced to re-

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father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife*, *wife's brother*, and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband*, *husband's brother*, and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law*, for the parents of his or her spouse.

The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two further categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[a] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods, weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[a] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65-68.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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CHAPTER V

ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumbima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

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881 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place ap-
561 proximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who
[608] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes
[304] the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three
[292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[9] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three
[535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night.
[786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[9] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta. When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sakana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him. 882 837 561.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits. 882 554 836

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried. 582 584

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since 582 842 [826]

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their coöperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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sion[29] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[29] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[522] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[560] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

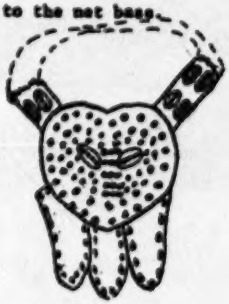
124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house"at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Soubundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawŋwŋ) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 Shells , yasi (small cowrie shells) and asimanagiri (larger ones), obtained
[583] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[439] function as money.
[436]

The figure below , an ornament called nŋ nasiki (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net bags.



[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (asinguri), shell ornaments (wanyiwi) ,
yasi , asimanagiri and lofu waki (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia.
The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (wano) are the most highly
prised for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can
wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the wano.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo foku) is attached
237

Cicatrization symbolic of manhood

304
531
562
• 561

A. nákwa

B. wánáí

C. kwayí nhaakáí

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575
244
562

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[For information on the Kwoma Yam Cult, sometimes referred to as a male secret society, see category 794.]

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CHAPTER V

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A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumbima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[3] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[3] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions [554] are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes [562] women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings toward women. [786] It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

121 182 796 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer, or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
[123] the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[177] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
859 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj. After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[269] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[502]

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

000 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by
482 carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags
with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men
carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder.
562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were
past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the
men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders.
We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know
whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They
always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering.
Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They
will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of
men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen
them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves,
but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women
[855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it
[123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or
five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of
biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel
confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there
132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their
violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to
[136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from
the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did
very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi,
and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Her (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys)
had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words
she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[784] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof
exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry
at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in
the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex.
What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Hawk, who is
probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of
striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously
when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When
we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all
on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Hawk) what sugilewas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask
which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This
suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib:
pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These
are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

794 The word <u>suailawas</u> which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named <u>yenengara</u>, <u>minjema</u>, and <u>nohwisugwi</u> which are <u>suailawas</u> "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have ambleps, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in <u>yenengara</u> his first son will be <u>minjema</u>, his second <u>yenengara</u>, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. <u>Nohwisugwi</u> seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for <u>maris</u>, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
128 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Sum; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigmarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, May, Pit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Sum was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found [443] [685] his canoe has been smashed by Brugnumi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[560] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yensma or Minjsma, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayendi would reach from
464 Rumbina house temberan to Soubundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and [562] Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harapa ne mayaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbima were there. The 123 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of 726 excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Urambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mwapi at Sow's.

584 Gwiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like 754 Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true"-- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to call her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- 583 the arrangement was that Mas would get Gwanta in exchange. Yatamanj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Daun and Afa would get Uka's.

Tobacco

276 993 Long, long ago, Sukugaratá shot Sokweygurá and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukugaratá made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (hin) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdengara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (niey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

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562
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While smoking is taboo to women a few, but not many were observed smoking. On one occasion, when offered cigarettes by the investigators, the women were refused by their husbands. And on another occasion, another man was observed offering a cigarette butt to one of his daughters.

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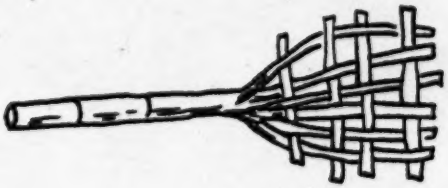
[192]

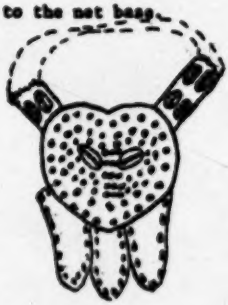
Split bamboo tobacco dryer (hind mafwtrewf)



Ornaments

301 286 237 192 [583] [439] [436] Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawfwé) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price). Shells , yesi (small cowrie shells) and asemangárá (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below , an ornament called nó nasíkí (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.



[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (amángurí), shell ornaments (wanyivé) , yesi , asemangárá and lofu wafé (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouris pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mapo.

301 [561] A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white 301 237 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo dokw) is attached

Some examples of cicitrization around a woman's navel

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Cicatrization symbolic of manhood

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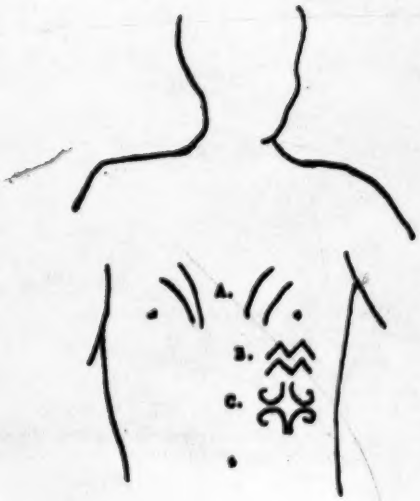

A. nákwe

B. wínáí

C. kwayí nbankí

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[37] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[38]

885 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who
• 571 may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still com-
593 mand and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now
602 the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[37] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[38] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an ada in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may [571] eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
179 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived, there was again a crowd of women in the house and [754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat [152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected [571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

857 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 Hay, Afalowanj, Horak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwama were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Peyap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hent suevigs, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them man but use their name. His daughter, Hamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hent suevigs. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

489 Today there was a market with Tamboo. Tawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him. Peyap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

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father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife*, *wife's brother*, and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband*, *husband's brother*, and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law*, for the parents of his or her spouse.

The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two further categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[8] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods, weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[8] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65-68.

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

• [572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

[572] [608]

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* [601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

• 572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is [881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [784] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term narembor we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[764] yet know. Later on when one's narembor dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwom. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

March 4, 1937.

115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

115 572 765 Owiyap inherithd Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kewes came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

524 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by aynas kaps (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[39] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[39] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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CHAPTER II

INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [575] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to • [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [423] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

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882 her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury
602 because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own
578 detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and
[583] the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

882 An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly rela-
602 tionship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *mater-*
[574] *nal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever
[276] they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty
[476] to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal*
[561] *uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[591] [30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this call and appear the next morning at the place where the work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the hamlet or in an outlying district.[5] If the garden is planted near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is normally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[5] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[43] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[44] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[43] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[44] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* [601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is [881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[45] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[45] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476]

602 Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the cooperative endeavors of non-relatives[a] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't 609 156 578 123

[a] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."[48]

648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma [439] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only ex- [436] change sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail [582] visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and [574] visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and [796] Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[48] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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121 861 431 gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

[476] [461] The work bee is a good example of how both helping and giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. [574] When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[97]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

121 861 If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[97] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialisation since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialisation continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialisation as is the initial learning of them.

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wonyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
• 504 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin", which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told
[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 123 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
439 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rambinan" (from Rambina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection. There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

578 Knob and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwe had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for <u>sunga</u> (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the 'sac sac' (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in
[481] diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[313] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[284] garden by the side of the road toward Wonyebunkure. A log was cut to the
[483] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

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476 April 4, 1937. Hamb called for help to pull his canoe to water, and
[501] fourteen men responded from Wenyambankura and Hayamakwa. They came about
[252] 1:00. Hamb's wife made a soup of yams and bananas thickened with sago.
Awa and Hwiya boiled sago, and War had his family make soup. This
was not expected by Hamb, but it was a gesture of friendship and graciousness. The feast was being held at Hayamakwa, and he wanted to help. I
[156] think he likes to think himself generous and to increase his prestige. The
[262] first course was soup. Mar had 2 pints, but they all consumed a sizeable amount. Then there was about a ten minute pause. Some got up and walked around; others sat and talked, chewed betel, and smoked. The second course of boiled sago and meat followed. Hamb had killed a gouria pigeon
[123] and brought a goodly amount of smoked fish from Yambon. I contributed a
[262] tin of dry peaches which Owiyap stewed. The older ones, particularly Afalowanj, were loath even to try it. They had to be told that it was like ripe bananas before they would taste it. Even then, they spit it
[197] out immediately. Only those who had worked in the gold fields and for the
262 whites ate them with relish. There is no really sweet food in Kwoma culture, and sweets are not liked--sugar, chocolate, etc., are disliked.
[521] After this, everyone sat around and smoked, talked, chewed betal, dosed,
[276] and drifted away one by one or two by two as night approached. There was
[522] a good deal of kidding around the point of calling each other their wives and some chasing around, especially Cimpangay and Marok, Mar and May. A standard joke is to call another person one's wife and make remarks about "her" genitals.

241 April 5, 1937. Mar, Fit, Chinawa, Hwiya, Pambe, Yawa, and Daw went to the garden. They left about dawn. Mar and Fit hung up vines; the women pulled up grass. They came back about 4:00.

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted hayrenb na ne yete (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Tenakwot from Hawi Tuk (Yessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'. The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mas came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bits to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white man and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

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[For information on the Kwoma Yam Cult, sometimes referred to as a male secret society, see category 794.]

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing
[648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awa giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Gwiyap. Awa and Kwiya were there. Gwiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Pit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Pit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Gwiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Gwiyap very funny but gave Pit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), War, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [576] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Yokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is con-
476 spicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 Chinuve and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work
863 room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 Mas is now our shoot boy, as Hamb has quit. Yesterday Mas killed
784 two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that
226 he could not eat any. Mas realised that he should not eat them because he
[177] had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Hamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes
and sat down at Mar's. Eriya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others
had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they
were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so
I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels.
Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were
eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did
not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause
sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. Hay was evidently
anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally
Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis
was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. Hay was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok
will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Ngusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Umriyin. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's
elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters
had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up
this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chinawa took it, saying it was better so.
Aye is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with
Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yefalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke,
[522] and everyone is amused.

752 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to
123 come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 Mas and Gwiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other
123 friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came
439 bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Nan toh (one who speaks my
576 language)was his greeting for Gwiyap.

436 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and
437 Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Gwiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "wonki nothing".

593 Since Nguaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbim because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

*115 123 put his arm around me repeating, "Oh, master! Greetings!" several times. Mar's two sisters and three female children were around, and it may have been partly to show off to them. Such action fits in with Kwoma culture, in which embracing is the form of greeting. I asked Gwiyap if one of the little girls were his nina (girl), intending to kid him, but he said, "No," and carefully explained her relationship to him. He was perfectly serious in this. I tried the same thing with Mey, with the same result; so apparently such kidding is not done in this culture. On the way back, Gwiyap carried the rifle and led the procession although Wof, Mar and Marok, all older than he, were present.

[524] [522]

October 21, 1936.

*115 648 He came in this morning, and we asked him for some words, which he gave us. Then, unbidden, he told us a story of a hanging he had seen several years before (three, according to Hamb). Some of the natives of Madeyakwa, a village in the bush behind Avatip, had wounded a police boy in the leg with a spear. The "hiop" had punished them by hanging seven of them and had brought in natives from the surrounding villages to observe this so that it would be an example to them. This is the second time he had volunteered stories of the killing of natives by white men. This time, as before, he told the story animatedly, as if he were telling a very interesting and exciting bit of news.

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[372] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

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[15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[10] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[10] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

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882 602 554 166 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[32] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[33] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual cooperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[32] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[33] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 381 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

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[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man." 882 609 836

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud. 602 578 [583] [626] [627]

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness. 882 584 602 578

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 584 602 578 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him, and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 836 602 578 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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685 next day Yat sent a message to Sumwe Sumwe, announcing
628 that he had discovered that his pig blind had been destroyed
• 578 and that if they trespassed on his land again there would be trouble. The Sumwe Sumwe returned an equally aggressive message to the effect that Yat had built his blind on their property and that he had better not try to rebuild it. Angry and insulting messages flew back and forth most of the day. A few days later Yat again visited his pig blind, and on the way he met Dowar. Both of them were carrying their pig spears. After an angry exchange of insults, according to Yat, he challenged Dowar to a spear duel, but the latter threw down his spear and ran. Yat picked up the discarded spear and broke it against a tree. Then he returned home and boasted of his prowess at the house tamberan that evening. The topic for gossip was again that the Sumwe Sumwe were a bad lot and, in addition, were cowards. Many tales were recounted of their sexual depravity. Yat felt that Dowar had learned his lesson and would not interfere again. He said that if the offense were repeated, he would take the case to the patrol officer.[19]

685 Another case involved theft within the house-tamberan
621 group. Kafa, Yat's wife, began shouting angrily one after-
578 noon at Mar's betrothed, Yawa, accusing her of stealing sago grubs from a tree on her husband's plot. Yawa, being a rather cowardly and unaggressive girl, made a feeble denial, but Mar's mother and *aunt* immediately took over her defense and shouted invective in reply. Yat's other wife then joined in the argument, and for almost an hour the four women kept up a stream of insult, accusation, and threat. Now and again other women of the neighborhood would make a point on one side or the other, but none of the men joined in the argument. I asked Mar what he was going to do about it. He replied that it was a woman's argument and no affair of his. He was not very fond of his betrothed, and felt that she was a lazy good-for-nothing who had been foisted on him. He commented proudly on his mother's sharp

[19] If the dispute had continued it probably would have actually been settled at a meeting of the subtribal court.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[21]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [578] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[22]

[262] [192] [196] [21] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[22] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal cooperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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621 sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example,
• 578 had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A
[514] number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded
[346] as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another local-
[648] ity to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumee sumee*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large cooperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

593 A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his
578 wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very
[754] effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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602 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for
578 her."

583 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you
607 going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interfer-
[574] ence in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat
[754] with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with
[476] them economically.
602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult
591 man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

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595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the chil-
dren of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common interests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[628] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the sub-
[619] tribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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maternal uncle, her *paternal aunt*, her *sisters*, and her *friends*.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[a] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[a] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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609 578 [56] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

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721 593 • 578 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[81] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even [302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her. [648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[81] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

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Ambunti, the government post. Some of the men present had seen six river natives hanged by the white government for head-hunting and did not relish the idea of being caught themselves. They said that it would be much safer to attack Sowal, a tribe far in the swamp which the whites had not yet visited. Wof, a *brother* of War, voiced another objection to the raid. He pointed out that his gardens adjoined Yelagu territory, and since they would be sure to retaliate, it would not be safe for him to work in his garden if the raid were carried out. The group disbanded, excited but undecided. 721 648

For two weeks there was a great deal of discussion among the men of the tribe. War and Wof argued with particular vehemence, War presenting over and again the reasons why it was a good idea to raid the Yelagu, and Wof countering with his objections. The two even broke relationship for a time because of the dispute. Neither visited the other's house, and they passed one another guardedly without speaking. The other men of the tribe, meanwhile, had been swayed by the argument that there was considerable danger of punishment from the whites if Yelagu were attacked, whereas Sowal involved much less danger. It was also reported that high water had driven the Sowal out of their central village, and that they were living on knolls in small isolated groups that would be particularly vulnerable. The pressure of these arguments finally forced War to give up his idea of attacking Yelagu, and he threw his weight into planning for the Sowal raid. He and Wof reëstablished their relationship. [578].

War and some of the older men of the hamlet began to incite the young men to go on the raid. He told them that this was their chance to become big men. In particular he played upon the emotions of Mes, because he, as my shoot boy, could use a gun. The effect of these incendiary talks put Mar in a strong conflict. One evening he came to talk to me about it. He told me that he had decided not to go on the raid. He was afraid that the raiders would get in trouble with the whites, and he was not going to have anything to do with it. Then he began talking about what he would lose by not going and started to weep. He sobbed: "Never mind. I'll

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessam. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempe is now situated at Wenyabumkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessam. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

648 Overall cons he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbina).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see us and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] [754] Mar did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerised along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wanyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. Mar asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 593 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kam up naw" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 3 minutes beyond Marck's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Ewai, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his older brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

578 of the house holding a large club, talking in a loud voice as was almost
593 everyone else of a group of about a dozen or so which had gathered. Daw's wife was near the center of the group with a digging stick in her hand. She is a strapping, good-looking young woman, and her eyes were shining with anger. Wof, Way, and Waramua, aside from the principals and the women, were doing most of the talking. Rwal went and sat inside the porch after a while; Daw, still trembling, dropped his weapon after a bit and told his wife to go back to her house. The houses are only about 20 feet apart and facing each other. It was rather difficult to find out what the trouble was, but as near as I could make out, Daw had been away all day and had come back to find his betel nut stolen from the tree near his house. This was the culmination of several thefts, and he suspected his brother, and accused him. His wife was evidently the leader in the accusation, for Rwal grabbed a spear and began belaboring her with the handle of it. At this Daw grabbed up a 1 x 3" slab of "limbon" about 4 feet long and cracked Rwal over the scull, breaking the skin and raising a nasty lump. What happened next I don't know, except as I was coming down the hill, I heard someone howling. The difference seemed to be settled, for everyone began to talk of other things. The two sulked while I stayed there about a half hour but joined a little in the conversation. After I had gone, I heard some more rather loud voices, but nothing happened. Nes, who came
[123] up afterward, said it had been settled. Rwal visited in the evening, and I put iodine on his cut. Gwiyap did not go down. Nes arrived before Nar and I. The people of Tug were also there. The doctor and Wenyemanj and a couple of others sat aside by themselves. Whether the accusation was just or not, I could not tell. I asked if it were usual for brothers to fight, and he replied that it was the custom of the tribe. The words

578 593 loge kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: He said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel pepers before they were ripe.

123 179 439 January 17, 1937. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [775] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring ambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's narambei came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 464 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Wayambank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before [593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 754 Mar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that [illegible] had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 754 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 464 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kumb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 114 January 28, 1937. Today Owiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 202 [534] January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked Owiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun meri" was dying and they were calling her relatives

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement [171] compared to the Hokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Ndunkwi of [30] Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went [302] by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by Hay who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was belaboring Fit with it. Later Hay came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed Hay while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. Hay had [522] scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Owiyap and I were talking about it, and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in 522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through [123] breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Markam (tribe from which Wisap [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwam understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Gwiyap, Wisap and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with
602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not
593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the
595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice Hay took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. Hay did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaya looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinuwa approaching. She came up slowly with a large net bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. Hay came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaya if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinuwa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. Hay said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked May if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to May, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Nemb, went up and greeted Nemb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tridd to pump May, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Crilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimawa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayemakwo men and Mas' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[728] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 231 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof talking. It seemed Marok and Chimuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the 'sac sac' (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 534 [574] [481] [313] [284] [483] In preparation for making a slit gong, Yat obtained food and announced a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabunkura. A log was cut to the desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the [437] [435] Yangwishampa asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Nemb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Owiyap and May who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Pas in waus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by Wer and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put 787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Owiyap sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Owiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. May, Mar, Owiyap, Nas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Nemb appeared and

223 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Kwiya and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chimuwa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Kwiyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 28, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Womma, War's younger brother. Womma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill
518 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

578 [123] been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not feel like working.

527 262 [754] [692] [252] Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mas and Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and [915] [262] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with [123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he [123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 754 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngeyamas (a big man of Afokalisa) got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sowambi's (kinship term) and I will fight anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground [123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white men (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[518] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Hayamakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinambara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Rwal was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Mey, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

754 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does
755 not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this,
the sick person will recover."

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in
[411] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him
coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind.
[231] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to
[431] do with Asenamps, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was.
War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned.
War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--
Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Owiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road
to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two
center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there
were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two
were put on in other directions and all four tied.

600 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking
ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May
says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man".
Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from
578 Wenyambankura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They
had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of
the day was that since there were no Hayamakwa present, it was they who were
responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on
Monsoy to fight, but Monsoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Kaysmakwe, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing [648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Kaysmakwe had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinawa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awa giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Gwiyap. Awa and Kwiya were there. Gwiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Gwiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Gwiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), Mar, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakela went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinawa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and May and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on May's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Qwiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mam (mother's brother). It is also War's mam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Qwiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his mam told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay mam at hant sunviye. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Herak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house temberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwums were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them men but use their name. His daughter, Hamna, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

489 Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

761 A man of Dusus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very affective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of wank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Owiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Owiyap's belt by playing with it. Owiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Owiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamsoy came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamsoy beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

123 685 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs to Rumbime--its bad business.)

224 752 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 578 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 271 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 685 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-abooss" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. Moy said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yalangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting
[372] around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was
136 at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly.
[576] Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Pokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is con-
476 spicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 Chinawa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work
863 room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 Mes is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed
784 two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that
226 he could not eat any. Mes realized that he should not eat them because he
[177] had killed them, but Owiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

578 Tevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumwe Sumwe. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Gwiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 787 Gwiyap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Yambon because they defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbit" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Gwiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 202 825 789 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokelis. Then Kaya called out to Gwiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yet, Way, and Gwiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasmanj, a gwailowga (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasmanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasmanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasmanj is a gwailowga of the Wamyi people.

000 May 14, Owiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afek came up, said that the talk has died over Bof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wonka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was 685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wog's 587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the 684 white man and died there --Awa, also of Sumwo Sumwo married his widow through 578 the operation of levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife 582 of Nyamatanp, Wajumbai, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wog's house late at night and set fire to it. Wog did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tangwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife had died.

578 Owiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaopyap came asking for theirs.

November 17, 1936.

115 [584] [123] Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly respected member of the sib, a man of about 50, and noted for sorcery. Aya [582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor, so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

November 21, 1936.

115 578 582 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed. He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

578 There is some talk of a feud between Howel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap.
*115 Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Howel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking out for Uka.

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
• 581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, U'ka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

[754]

241 Mwiye has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Koriasi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aya. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aya; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Koriasi whom he 'marked' a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

● 581 Then Mar complained about Yawa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik in bruk im". If she goes to break sago, she buts a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aya, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had nanced (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, so he had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 524 Kum was playing this afternoon with May and began tapping him on the leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. May slapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. May paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 819 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyokay; Gwiyap was older than May. May says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as May when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

Revision

Gwiyap just went down and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuakai was older than he, that she was the same age as May who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas May has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because May was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: May was 5, Gwiyap and Kamakan were 4--Mar and Pit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: Mey 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17, Mes is the same age as Mar.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

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584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed
• 582 against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed [754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re- [158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal* [602] *uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

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CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 A KWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiina hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common inter-
[628] ests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[619] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the subtribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."

648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma [439] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only ex- [436] change sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail [582] visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, [574] there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and [796] Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[a] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangus and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
582 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [191] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus <u>lulual</u> (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is <u>koromp</u>. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasolu ranges is called <u>nambu</u>.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[982] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Haymaakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Haymaakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

124 against Wer if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gviyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

• 582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tambaran, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came

[583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gviyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight

[752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was

123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gviyap

431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca

437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The

276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are

[262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 May 14, Oriyep 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Twisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was 685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wog's 587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the 684 white men and died there --Awa, also of Sumwa Sumwa married his widow through the operation of levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife 578 582 of Nayamatamp, Majumbai, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafaka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wog's house late at night and set fire to it. Wog did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tongwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife had died.

578 Oriyep said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaoyyap came asking for theirs.

November 17, 1936.

115 [584] [123] Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly respected member of the sib, a man of about 50, and noted for sorcery. Aya [582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor, so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

November 21, 1936.

115 578 582 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed. He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

#115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the mountain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left them to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

#115 [754] When Nar, Afok, Fokotay, Dewangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

#115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. [123]

April 15, 1937.

#115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gwanta and Yambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

#115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on
582 up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he
584 satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter
583 which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.
583

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has
648 signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and
464 Gwiyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned
[602] him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the
[754] sib, but Mar left nevertheless.
[614]

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, Uka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

602 582 842 Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] [838] [839] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 834 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 602 865 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usually obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 609 628 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
• 583 591 602 606 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjustment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 86 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved. 224 [692] [583] [439] [436] [764] [554]

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit. 223 [554]

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and 224 [857]

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

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already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride-price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mixture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or nearby households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

• 583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

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Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrised with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One 847 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is 845 bride price, patrilocal 883 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny. 891

611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 895 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are 794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [532] [534] nimiama or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and May and Awambaka went to Dranbaj to make payment on May's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting [602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his nam (mother's brother). It is also War's nam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his nam told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay nam at hant sugwiya. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gwiyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Kar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kamb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kamb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kamb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gwiyap, Fit, Afi, and Hay would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [982] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gwiyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Wey's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (herapa na mayaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbina were there. The

123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Uramban, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. Mey said he had been that way ever since punga wesni at Sow's.

584 754 Gwiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Male and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true" -- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to tell her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Mas would get Owuta in exchange. Yatamiaj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Down and Afa would get Uka's.

124 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Khiye and Awa were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwasak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a mat bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. Hay was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. His was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. Hay was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Mgwasaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Umwiyin. Her brother was killed by the police boys.

583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chimwa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong
mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride
price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased
and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for
fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his
mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind).
When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all
this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and
then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and
tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also
said that Yatsaninj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked
to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was
likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it
(evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help
him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyap just came in without his "lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the
women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed
and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Una, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi
and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very
much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopement be postponed. Hauok was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. May came

Chapter III

Case History- MAR

115 Mar is a tall and gangling lad of about 18 or 19 with a heavy moronic face. He gives the impression of not being very bright. He lives with his brothers and sisters in the house nearest mine while his mother lives in another a few feet away. She is an old woman, crippled so that she cannot walk, but with a keen awareness of what is going on and a sharp [583] tongue. With her lives Yawa who is Mar's fiancee. It is the custom for a girl to live with the family of her husband for several months before marriage. Yawa gives the appearance of being rather lazy and sullen.

Mar often comes to the house and is helpful in working with the language because of his patience but not because he can grasp a new idea very well. If he asks for something, one word of refusal is enough.--though in time this changed. Although unsatisfactory as an informant in many cases, he gave us the list of pronouns in the language very readily and with little prodding.

A joke is much funnier to Mar than to others. He harps back to something that has amused him long after the juice of the situation has been extracted by Owiyap and Hay.

[156] He seemed embarrassed because he did not attend the Ninjama yam cult ceremony, and the reason was that most boys of his age are already members of both Yenama and Ninjama, while he is only a member of the former.

October 24, 1936:

124 Yesterday we were asking Mar his genealogy. He said that he was engaged but that his fiancee was not good so he was going to get another one. He [114] said she was not strong and didn't work well. We have taken him on to help Hamb and Wisap, our non-Kwoma houseboys, by fetching water and firewood. He seems to be glad to do it. We sealed the bargain with a pipe and "lap lap."

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Gwiyap, Yat, Ham and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbims.

January 17, 1937.

Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to Mar, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked Mar directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had His act as go-between.

The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Gwiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

*115 unsuccessfully to get from me.
[125]

*115 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get
● 583 some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a
[587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
[464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers
[583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
[476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Hamb, Hay and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
[154] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerises people. Later
[241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

587 837 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away and was very indignant. She said Dagumur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new wife. This he did -- Gawas' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 786 During the Tenama ceremony a Tenama wife will make an appointment with a Minjama man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

#115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

#115 583 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*715 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Gviyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Owiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

578 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Owiyap.
*115 Owiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Owiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Una, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Una was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Owiyap that when the pay came for Una,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking our for Una.

115 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it
291 is a "gud felo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

115 Gwiyap heard that Gemwi, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

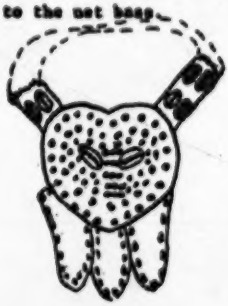
April 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, nd fender ye which is about
768 half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not
593 look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between
604 her brothers.

Ornaments

301 286 287 192 [583] [439] [436] Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (*nwfwd*) onto which shells are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide, narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price). Shells, *yasi* (small cowrie shells) and *sasmangfrí* (larger ones), obtained by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their function as money.

The figure below, an ornament called *nŋ masfkí* (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.



[562] [796] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is decorated with clam shell rings (*amángurí*), shell ornaments (*wanyivé*), *yasi*, *sasmangfrí* and *lofu wafé* (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] [703] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird of paradise (*mano*) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has [858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the *mano*.

301 [561] A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white 301 237 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (*afo fokw*) is attached

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, U'ka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[594] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[593] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

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584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 582 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed [754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re- [158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal* [602] *uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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and cons carefully. The principal arguments against the match were that the two were of the same sib and that Mar was already engaged to a girl of his own hamlet. Mar and his supporters countered that, although he and Aya were of the same hamlet, they were of different lineages and were not very closely related. "Close enough to make their offspring sickly," argued those who were opposed to the match. The fact that Mar's sister had married Aya's brother was brought up as precedent, but was discounted because they had not as yet had any children. Someone suggested that it was probably because they were so closely related that they had had no children. A telling argument in favor of the match arose from the fact that Mar had not received the bride-price for his sister, and that if he married Aya this would cancel the debt, thus relieving a situation which usually leads to trouble —unpaid debts within the hamlet. Another argument in favor of the match was that Mar was lazy and susceptible to sorcery (the Kwoma way of describing a neurotic), so that he might have difficulty in finding a girl who would marry him. It therefore seemed advisable to allow him to accept any girl who would have him. Mar rebutted the argument that he was already affianced to a girl in the sib by saying that she was no good and that he would never marry her. The upshot of the whole discussion was that Mar's *paternal uncles* agreed to support him if Waramus was willing. One of Mar's *paternal uncles* sounded Waramus out and discovered that, although he was not pleased with the idea, he would agree if Mar paid him a certain amount of bride-price in addition to canceling the debt owed for Mar's sister.

Mar was delighted with the prospect that the marriage might take place, and he became very friendly with Aya's brother. They went hunting together, helped each other gardening, bleached one another's hair, and even began to build a canoe together. Mar made plans to elope with Aya because he did not have enough money to pay the bride-price in advance as Waramus insisted. He arranged with two of his *sisters* to go fishing with Aya. He was to meet them, and then he and Aya would go to their bush house until Waramus

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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882 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day
584 he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him,
602 and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am
578 going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom
836 he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for
602 marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in
578 him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[1] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tambaran during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[1] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

412 [492] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowery bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pigred but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the naval. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 794 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] miniena or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Gviyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Ear came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be renewed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Gviyap, Fit, Afi, and May would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [752] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was 123 almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Gviyap 431 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 437 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 276 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are [262] either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 is sold to us. When the Tangwishamp bring <u>favombi</u>, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Mar, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for <u>sungs</u>
<u>hafasmeni</u> (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one
gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and
would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was
the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any
more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net
bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put
him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight
of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion
no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is
kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Omwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urembanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would
kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement
with the girl from Urembanj.

752 Enos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had
demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried
it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing
both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harape ne mayaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbima were there. The

123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Urambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. Hay said he had been that way ever since sunga mwani at Sow's.

584 754 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true"-- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to tell her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Mas would get Owuta in exchange. Yatamiaj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Dawa and Afa would get Uka's.

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Wey had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Gwimp said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely smuto maani (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister.
"Big fela more" --they had carried Mwy's pig and Mamk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup
to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my laka (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

[754]

241 Eriye has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Koriasi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aya. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aya; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Koriasi whom he 'marked' a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Tawa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik in brok im". If she goes to break sago, she buts a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aya, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Soubundura. Pokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Owanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Owanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa="nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Owanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Bowinanbi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chinawa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.

October 25, 1936.

115 Mar is becoming tired of our continued questioning lately and will sometimes pretend not to hear us when we call him to verify the pronunciation of some word. He is apt to walk out of the room the minute we pause in our questioning. Yesterday we spent half an hour trying to get the Kwoma word for nose, but could not make him understand what we wanted although we tried innumerable methods of trying to obtain the information.

October 29, 1936.

[584] This afternoon Mar went up the hill for a while. When he returned he was quite excited and said he had been looking at a woman whom he might later have for a wife. He was dancing around with a broad grin on his face.

November 15, 1936.

[123] Lately Mar has taken to calling us papa. This happened after we arranged a kinship relation with Gwiyap, May and ourselves, but Mar has done this without suggestion from us.

Yesterday there was talk of a fight with Tengwishamp. Most of the Kwoma men were gathered to talk things over, but Mar did not go. We asked him why not and he was quite positive about not wanting to fight.

[114] The other evening Yet was in, and we talked of going to Yesen, a river tribe above Yambon. Gwiyap said he would take us there. We asked Mar if he would like to come, but he said no. When we went to Ambunti, May and Gwiyap wanted to go with us, but Mar again said he would stay and take care of our house. Neither did he want to go to Wogu (a tribe across the river we were planning to visit) with us.

November 17, 1936.

*115 [584] [123] Mar asked me for a razor blade to give Aya. She has indicated that she wants to get married, and Mar feels he has a good chance of winning her. Aya is the daughter of War, who lives not far from Mar's house. War is a highly respected member of the sib, a man of about 50, and noted for sorcery. Aya [582] is an attractive girl of 17. Mar and Aya have no traceable common ancestor, so no incest rules apply to their relationship, but they are both members of the same sib, and marriage of such is definitely frowned upon.

November 21, 1936.

*115 578 582 Just after I had gone to bed, Mar began shouting excitedly back and forth with someone down the mountainside. Then he came in and sat next to my bed. He explained that he had been arguing with War. The latter found out about Mar's intentions with Aya. He had just shouted angrily at Mar, "You stay away from my daughter. You are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry someone from the same sib?" When Mar told me this he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater." I reassured him. Mar then bit his underlip, raised his hand and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, saying, "That damn War! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" "It's too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." The fight did not eventuate. (War's objection to Mar as a husband for Aya was that they are members of the same sib, and such a marriage is frowned upon.)

November 29, 1936.

*115 A week or so ago Oviyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did
[584] not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he
[123] gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed
123 medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiancee and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where
[754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not
*115 hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, War sent Fit for
123 nettle leaves. These he got and War arranged them in a sort of cone, held
755 them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or exortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. War then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

#115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Owiyap, Yat, Ham and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbims.

[123] [657]

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had Kis act as go-between.

[123] The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Owiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

[436] [583] [123]

[123]

*115 household and then had a long conversation with War's son, Mee, a lad of his own age.

[802] He and Mee put a bleaching mixture on each other's hair--lime, water
*115 and foyimake leaf. I did not see him look at Aye once nor did he speak to
584 her beyond a word of greeting. After we left and were out of sight he exclaimed excitedly, "Did you see my girl? Ai yo ha ha ha hoiyo," he shouted. Then he put his thumb in his mouth and danced on one foot and exploded in a loud voice, "I think I'll get her. Never mind about sorcery". Then contracting his brows and looking at the ground, "Yes, I think so. I don't know." Later after we had returned to my house, he spoke of his fiancee once again and said that she was good and had a good vagina (laughter). If he went away, another man might get her. If so, he would break his lime gourd and clay pot and go up to the house tamberan and beat the gong for that man to come. Then he would fight him, punch him in the nose and then in the ear. "Yes (as if I had said I did not believe him) if I stay I can look out for her, but this place is no good, and if I stay I will be sorcerised", Mar said. "What are you going to give me when you go--some money?" I told him yes and he added, "I guess I'll give it to War and then no one else can get her. She's a good girl. Oh! War. " Then I said something which he misconstrued as a suggestion to go to War's house and sleep with Aye. Mar exclaimed, "No, no; if I went there, War would shoot me with a spear. (Pause). I think I'll take your rifle and shoot War. Yes!" (As though I doubted it).

*115 Before leaving, Mar warned me not to sleep at night unless I have my rifle by my side as there were some strangers walking around today with spears. He told me to sleep, and he would leave, but I still had work to do so he decided to finish his pipe and then go. Mar started at a noise outside and in a loud voice he asked, "What is that, a ghost ? Who is that walking

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go
to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No,
I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't
intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There
was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested
a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he
returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw
a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went.
February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Waya, his fiancee. He replied that she
was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either.
March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion.
As we approached the house Mar called out for Nas who was not there.
Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if
he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Nas was not there. He
was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still
talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not
go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but
finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Degaramanu. When her husband died she went to live with
Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One
day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mrs.-analyst]

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mee has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mee (Mar has been joking with Mee alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinowe, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Mey and Fit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the mountain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Nar, Afok, Fokotay, Dawangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [643] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

[123]

April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gwanta and Pambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Oriyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

November 29, 1936.

115 883 584 About a week ago Oriyap and Tip were down at the market place watching the women trading. A girl came up to Oriyap and talked with him. He then told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a mat bag.

115 836 123 Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had intercourse. He was noncommital, "Me no savvy"; I mentioned that I had, and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

January 26, 1937.

*115 593 I asked Owiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Owiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Owiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his nen (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Owiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Owiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 *584 883 Owiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Soubundum. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

*115 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time
*584 he returned; if not he would marry her.
883

February 3, 1937.

*115 The sore on Owiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at
752 Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times
123 before he has suggested going in to the station. We was going in today
657 to meet Tip so I decided to send Owiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarise the culture
133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a S, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.
[132] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden
241 plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1520 ft. above sea level.

March 4, 1937.

115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

115 572 765 Owiyap inherited Yatafauf as a naremboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naremboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kavas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunga kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

#115 291 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it is a "gud felo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

#115 584 Gwiyap heard that Cawi, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs, said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

583 768 593 604 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, na fander ya which is about half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between her brothers.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride-price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mixture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or nearby households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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721 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was
593 undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning
578 in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's
• [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[81] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even
[302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her.
[648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[81] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[237] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "haka court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

761 A man of Duwus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[964] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house temberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Enriya had brought back the roots of nank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Enriya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Enriya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamoay came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their boxes and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamoay beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

223 531 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this afternoon and did card tricks for Eriya and Awa. Their reaction was to 123 201 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and forefinger and bite the lower lip. Chimawa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Eriyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and War came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and War must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 578 February 38, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to Wonuma, War's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill 578 the levirate with War. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. War had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this War beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerize him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

000 May 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was
685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wof's
587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the
684 white men and died there --Awa, also of Sumwa Sumwa married his widow through
578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife
582 of Hayamatanp, Wajumbei, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wof's house late at night and set fire to it. Wof did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tangwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife has died.

578 Gwiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaopyap came asking for theirs.

*115 unsuccessfully to get from me.

[128]
*115 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tengwishamp to get
583 some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's elder brother died and a Tengwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a
* [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Mar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
[464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his elder brothers
[583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
[476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tengwishamp accompanied by Mar, Ear, Oviyap, Namb, Hay and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tengwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
[154] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later
[241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Hee who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No, I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went. February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Waya, his fiancee. He replied that she was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either. March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion. As we approached the house Mar called out for Mas who was not there. Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but finally went in and sat down.

• 587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakous was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaremanu. When her husband died she went to live with Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaving

[i.e., probably Mas.—analyst]

587 837 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away and was very indignant. She said Dagwur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new wife. This he did -- Gawas' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 786 During the Yenama ceremony a Yenama wife will make an appointment with a Minjama man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

#115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

#115 583 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Owiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Owiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

• 587 This morning Wof married Owiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Owiyap must have know his intentions. When Owiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, but that he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Mongwem).

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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[10] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [10] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[36] [154] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham[124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
623 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
• 591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[857] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy. 834 885 888

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor. 587

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives. 768 583 [602]

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none. 595

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work, 591 342 476 [885]

[illegible] because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him. 000

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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
• [591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[42] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[43] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[42] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[43] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476] 602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

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595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common interests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[628] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the sub-
[619] tribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
pleited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is
584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the
initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does
not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One
847 There is
845 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate.../bride price, patrilocal
583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
• 591

611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
794 [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[534] ninjema or ryhema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hemb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwam would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, Hay, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was [443] [685] better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hemb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugmawi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's narembor, Mangwiyef, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyef said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyef had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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592.

RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

Mangwiyow Lineage

1. Wof = Kaya = Chinuwa[11]
   Uka Mey Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Fit
4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Difa = Yame Kis = Amba = Sunga[12]
   Mano Haya Ham Suw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gege
   Gwamp Njan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Famba Gwanta Merik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramus = Nawa
   (ha) Mes = Yimba Aya Kwos
9. Afok = Kumwe
   Kawaf
10. Fokotay = Ngwiya
    Hambo
11. Daw = Huwena
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwai = Gufo
    Angandim Angeyamar
13. Rumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters

[11] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chinuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Uka, Mey, and Kum are Wof's children.

[12] War, Kar, and Kis are brothers. The children are those of War.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

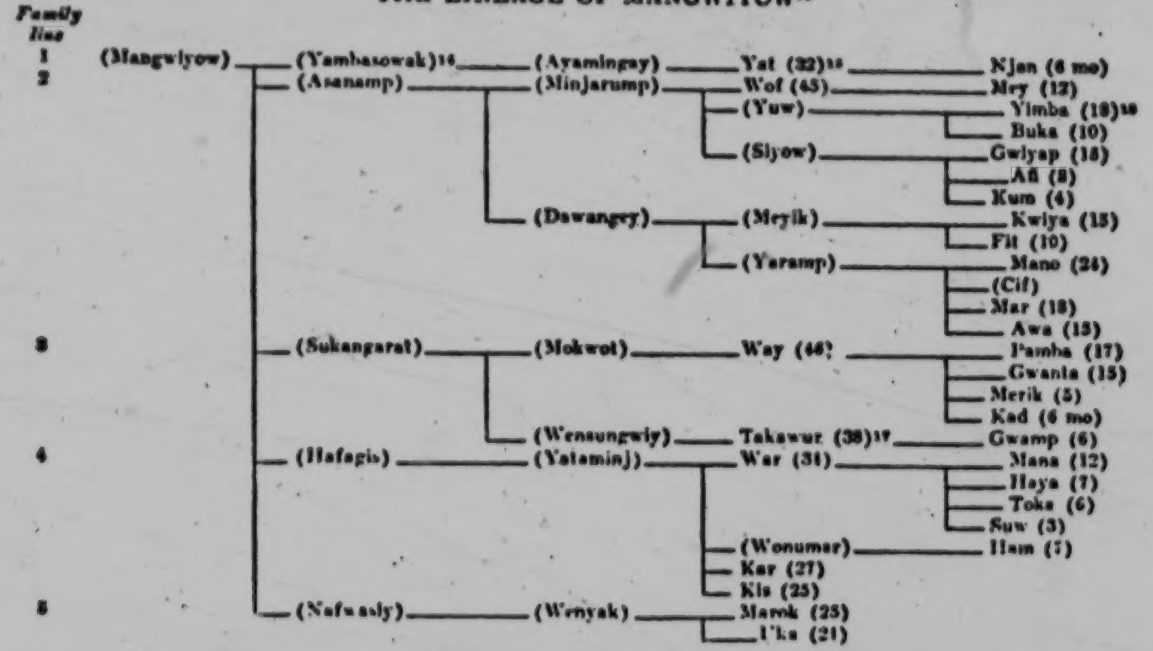
Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwei*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwei*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[15]



[15] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[16] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling;* he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling.*

[17] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatominj, of Wof is Wofarage, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[18] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[17] Does not live in the hamlet.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for sev-
765 eral months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a sec-
[534] ond funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a
[535] feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [587] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's
[754] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[305] [177] [13] [19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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[621] dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two
[592] wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in
[156] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By
[584] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of
[595] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son.
[586] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the house-
hold. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young
[464] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the
[191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin
[595] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year
[830] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who
[464] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has
[727] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one
[595] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[156] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household
[754] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and
[736] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his
[684] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

[165] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who
[754] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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[591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[361] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a [156] quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621
613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham[124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

KUSHIMA HAMLET (by household)

621 Mangwiyow Lineage
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1. Wof = Kaya = Chimawa[2]
   Buka May Kum

2. Youska Yawa

3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Pit

4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Di.a = Yama Kis = Amba = Sunga[3]
   Mano Naya Naa Saw Toka

5. Yat = Kafa = Gaga
   Gwamp Njan

6. Way = Mawimbwi
   Yamba Gwanta Marik Kadowaa

7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramwa = Mawa
   (8a) Mas = Yimba Aya Kwoa

9. Afok = Kamwa
   Kawaf

10. Yokotay = Ngwiya
    Kambo

11. Daw = Mawana
    Kayamaka Youska

12. Kwal = Gufo
    Angandin Angayamar

13. Rumbima house tamberan

14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters (Kamb and Wisap)

[2] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chimawa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Buka, May, and Kum are Wof's children. Names ending in a vowel refer to females, those ending in a consonant to males. This is an arbitrary distinction made for the reader's convenience.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwem subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayemakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbime hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayemakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line.
592 Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five
361 brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us
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[114] hut with his first wife Enya, his levirate wife Chimawa, his adopted son Hay (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chimawa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from time. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Yowaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

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[i.e. Herd Analyst]

621 Eviya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an
592 adolescent nephew of Wof's. Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, was a lad
361 just past puberty, not yet fully grown, but extremely intelligent, very active and had learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him lived his wife Dewi, his married sister Uka, and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok was in his middle twenties, the only male of his age group in the hamlet who had not left for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he was also the only one who spoke no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). Mar, the oldest, a man in his thirties, was a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He had the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, dancer, and a man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he had three children: Mana, and Eiya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Kam, a nephew, about seven years old, also lived in the household. Ker, the next younger brother, an intelligent young man in his middle twenties, had just returned from working in the gold fields prior to our arrival and spoke pidgin English fluently. He had two wives, Difa and Yama, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Ker, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and spoke pidgin English. He also had two wives, Bunga and Ambe, but no children.

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Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by Wer, Ker, and Kis, stood that owned by Yet (household 3, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Ker. He was the only man in the hamlet who had learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and had also taken a head. He had two wives, Kafe and Gogo, and one son, Hjan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There were no other members of Yet's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yet's dwelling was one owned by Wey (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who had some reputation as a sorcerer. With him lived his wife Mwiabwi, his two adolescent daughters, Fambe and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Marik, just weaned, and Kadewan, a few months old. Wey also had taken care of his nephew, Gramp, ever since the latter's father, Takwur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape Wer's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Wey's house was the dwelling of Waramma (household 8, family line 7), whom about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He was slightly cross-eyed and had a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him lived his wife Mawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mas, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Mwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who was the wife of Mas and a niece of Wof. * Mas had started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There were no other members of Waramma' line dwelling at Kambim.

A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house was the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. Kwal was married to a woman named Cafe, and they had two boys, Angwadin, a young child, and Angwaar, an infant. Kwal's

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* A theoretically incestuous marriage.

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older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lived in the adjacent house with his stepping wife Hawena, and two girl children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprised the second line of the Waashof lineage.

142 for their faces are drawn and their mouths turn down at the corners. The Waskuk on the other hand are big women. Their stomachs protrude before and their butts behind. Their bosoms are full to overflowing, and their round faces are usually split by an ear-to-ear grin. In skin colour they are noticeably lighter than the Yambons. Only one or two old women are present."

342 Yesterday afternoon (Nov. 12), I went down to Mar's house. It is a structure about eight feet high at the ridgepole with a fairly gentle slope to the roof which ends about two feet above the ground. The side walls and the back and front are made of sago bark sewed together. When dried, the bark is about the thickness and consistency of beaver board. About two thirds of the house is closed off by another wall of sago bark with only a small doorway about two by four feet, with the sill about a foot and a
353 half from the ground. This can be closed by a sago bark door. This door
342 is the only opening in the inner room, which is used for sleeping , storing their clay pots, their cooked sago, and their net bags. The latter are hung with a half coconut shell on the roof so the rats cannot get at them.
[892] In this room sleep Mar, his mother, his classificatory sister and two boys
[513] who are his classificatory brothers. They sleep with only a slab of sago bark between them and the ground. The beds are leaned up against the wall during the day. All of them sleep with their feet toward the door. Interestingly enough, Mar's wife sleeps in another house.

The third of the house not inclosed by this room acts as a sort of
[354] porch. Here a huge pot about two and a half feet in diameter and two feet
[262] high was braced up by stones over a fire and a sort of blood red soup made
[415] of a kind of bark and sago was bubbling. One of the boys dished out a half
[412] coconut full of this and ate it with a trade spoon. I noticed some spears
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619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[192] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[173] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

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464 or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade,
648 and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men
[593] leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer
[412] lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of
[439] stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

829 When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two
123 categories: government agents and recruiters.[28] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[28] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child cooperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

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returned the taunt, whereupon Fit hit him on the head with his fist. Mey scrambled up, grabbed a burning brand from the fire, and ran after Fit, who had started to flee. Mey managed to strike Fit twice on the back before the latter made good his escape. The next day Mey reported that Fit had stolen or destroyed the contents of his (Mey's) net bag and fled to his mother's house in another hamlet.[14] Fit did not return for a month. All went well for about two weeks thereafter. Then one afternoon the two began wrestling at a time when Fit had a razor blade in his hand. Fit lost his temper in the scuffle and cut a deep gash in Mey's lip. He then ran away, but, hearing indirectly that Mey did not bear a grudge, returned after a couple of hours. Two weeks later Fit stole a knife from Mey and again ran away to his mother.

A child is sometimes aggressive even toward his mother and father. For the most part, he expresses it indirectly in such ways as grumbling under his breath when he receives an order from them, or insulting them behind their backs. Sometimes, however, the tendency to aggression becomes strong enough to overcome fear of retaliation. Gwiyap reported that, when he was a child, he had been infuriated with his father for scolding him, had seized a spear, and had attempted to run it through his parent, but someone present had prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He also told of an occasion when he had struck his stepmother. She had been sitting by the fire cooking and had asked him to pass her a ladle. He delayed in doing it, and she began to scold him. He became angry at this and "punched her in the nose." She picked up a stick to beat him with, but he ran away. Mey reported a similar story of an occurrence several years before. He said that he was lying on a platform which was built shoulder high on the limb of a tree in front of his house. He had a sharpened stick in his hand and was lying in wait for his mother because he was angry with her. Finally, she came close to the platform and he jabbed her several times as hard as he could on her head and shoulders. According to

[14] Fit's father had died, and his mother had married a man of another sib.

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
• 593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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865 Social sanctions as well as fear of retaliation play a part in determining the manner in which a child will react to pain from the social environment. Custom as well as natural expediency dictates when it is appropriate to be aggressive, when submissive. Custom also specifies the manner in which either of these responses may be expressed. Members of the community stand ready to punish deviations from custom.

A child is punished for being too submissive. If he runs away when he has a right to retaliate, members of the hamlet who observe such action scold him for being cowardly. If he is afraid to join in the childhood games, he is teased for acting like a baby, especially if he runs away when both he and his brother are attacked. An instance of this occurred when Gwiyap, Mey, and Fit were playing the "homosexual" game. Gwiyap caught Fit and threw him down, and Mey ran away.
• [593] The boys' uncle, Yat, who was watching, scolded Mey severely for running away when his *brother* needed help. "If your *brother* is in trouble, it is your duty to fight for him."

Children are punished for being inappropriately aggressive. If a child is aggressive when he should be submissive, or more aggressive than the circumstances warrant, he is called to task by members of the community who observe it. Kwoma children may tease, punish, or scold a younger sibling, but
[602] may not actually injure him. A child is continually being lectured about the great value which his relatives will have for him throughout his life in terms both of defense and of economic aid. Parents say: "You and your *brother* are 'one blood.' If you hurt him, you hurt yourself." For a boy, the sanction against hurting a *sister* is more severe than that against hurting a *brother*. An aggressive act which, if made toward a *brother*, would pass unnoticed, is punished if made toward a *sister*.

The reaction of the community to the fight reported above between Mey and Fit illustrates the operation of the social
[602] sanction on aggressive behavior. Several older *brothers* of the two boys were sitting around the breakfast fire when the fight started. Their reaction was one of laughter and of egging the boys on. Soon after I asked Gwiyap, who had been

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the
incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male
informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache,
[593] stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[23]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[23] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

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882 602 554 156 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[32] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[33] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual cooperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[32] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[33] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 A KWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent 593 he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiina hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife coöperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[857] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a
[796] surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [613] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[26] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[26] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[27] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[28]

885 571 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 • 593 602 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still command and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[27] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[28] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an adz in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threat-
ened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal cooperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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621 sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example,
578 had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A
[514] number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded
[346] as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another local-
[648] ity to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

• 593 A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his
578 wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very
[754] effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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593 already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and [583] she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride- [842] price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out [586] to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

842 The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mix-
843 ture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

844 When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or near- [754] by households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[597] [39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
• 593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

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Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

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721 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was
• 593 undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning
578 in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's
[586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even
[302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her.
[648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Haub who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongsem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, Hay, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Haub went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

648 Overall cane, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see me and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerised along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "Tait i kum up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Hwal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his elder brother Dew was the other. He was standing in front

578 of the house holding a large club, talking in a loud voice as was almost
593 everyone else of a group of about a dozen or so which had gathered. Daw's wife was near the center of the group with a digging stick in her hand. She is a strapping, good-looking young woman, and her eyes were shining with anger. Wof, Way, and Waramma, aside from the principals and the women, were doing most of the talking. Kwel went and sat inside the porch after a while; Daw, still trembling, dropped his weapon after a bit and told his wife to go back to her house. The houses are only about 20 feet apart and facing each other. It was rather difficult to find out what the trouble was, but as near as I could make out, Daw had been away all day and had come back to find his betel nut stolen from the tree near his house. This was the culmination of several thefts, and he suspected his brother, and accused him. His wife was evidently the leader in the accusation, for Kwel grabbed a spear and began belaboring her with the handle of it. At this Daw grabbed up a 1 x 3" slab of 'limbom' about 4 feet long and cracked Kwel over the scull, breaking the skin and raising a nasty lump. What happened next I don't know, except as I was coming down the hill, I heard someone howling. The difference seemed to be settled, for everyone began to talk of other things. The two sulked while I stayed there about a half hour but joined a little in the conversation. After I had gone, I heard some more rather loud voices, but nothing happened. Mas, who came
[123] up afterward, said it had been settled. Kwel visited in the evening, and I put iodine on his cut. Gwiyap did not go down. Mas arrived before Mar and I. The people of Tug were also there. The doctor and Wonyamanj and a couple of others sat aside by themselves. Whether the accusation was just or not, I could not tell. I asked if it were usual for brothers to fight, and he replied that it was the custom of the tribe. The words

528 593 lage kumoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 18, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Daw was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 January 17, 1987. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [975] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Tip's narembei came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about
464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before
● [593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that
754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Markam (tribe from which Wisep [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwom understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Guiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with
602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not
593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the
595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Ham said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 [613] [252] I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [521] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Ham and [524] Kwee had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilawas (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at May and at Owiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent May for the chop sticks to make the sago.

593 [353] 123 There were several stored in the thatch. Twice May took down the wrong ones and she was very cross with him. May did not answer but looked sullenly resentful. Kum was standing just outside the house looking down the path. After a while he came up near me, and I took him in my lap. He looked at me very intently saying nothing. His eyes were steady and unwavering. One finger was in the corner of his mouth. As I came up he stood near me for a moment and put his finger on my fly.

132 Someone yelled down the mountain. We all listened. The shouting was that rain was coming. I looked over the plain toward the sea and saw there was a big storm coming. For some reason this seemed to upset Wof and his wife.

578 A few moments later I saw Kaya looking down the path with a look of intense hatred. Her brows were contracted, her mouth pursed tightly, and her eyes looked unwaveringly. I wondered what it was and looked around and saw Chinawa approaching. She came up slowly with a large mat bag of money which she started to unload. No one greeted her. Her presence was absolutely ignored, and Wof was glowering at the ground. Wof cursed and slapped savagely at a fly which lit on his leg. I felt rather uncomfortable because the situation was so intense. After a few minutes I left. May came with me, and when I got to the house, I asked what the matter was. It seems that Wof had found some of his food broken into and some of it taken. He asked Kaya if she knew anything about it and she said she didn't. Then he asked Chinawa if she knew, and she would not answer, so he suspected her of stealing it and carrying it to another man for the purpose of sorcery. Almost as soon as I left, Wof's voice came up loudly. May said he was trying to find out whom she had taken the food to,

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked Hey if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told us of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to Hey, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Hamb, went up and greeted Hamb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump Hey, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof
came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the
nothing.
diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ I said that if he had
something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just
like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungeyawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept
it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa)
was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it
will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of
firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up
a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way
to my house--three Haymakwa men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one
of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men
were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred
ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads
and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same
things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the Yangwishamps asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Hamb had tried 437 435 to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinawa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Owiyap and Hay who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Pas in waus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Weyakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put 787 out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Owiyaps sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinawa and Owiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. Hay, Mar, Owiyap, Mas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinawa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinawa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Hamb appeared and

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayemakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayemakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
754 in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Gwiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Bwiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 [411] March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He hald one spear poised in his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to do with Asenampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some "tambu" too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

[23] [43]

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Mar, Kumb, Mes, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Haysmakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

518 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Fit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from Wenyambonkura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Haysmakwa present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Nemsoy to fight, but Nemsoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yet came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and Mey said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Duwus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-abooss" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yelangu affair. It

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Haub and Hanaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Tafalke came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mes had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mes and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mes has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Knos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mes and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chinuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two mat bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "monki nothing".

593 Since Nguseruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbina because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

593 would be made at her brother's house. Tomorrow soup will be made of
[262] the pig and yams at Koriasi, and everyone will eat it.

202 The gong was beaten at Afokayisa. Mar asked me to be unquiet, even
594 though I wasn't making any noise -- and listened attentively and finally ran out and shouted kwyemb na wa yato (who is coming)? There was shouting all about the place for about a minute, when everyone seemed to have gathered the news. Mar came in and told me that Tenakwot from Nawi Tuk (Tessan) had come to Latai's, and this was a call for all who were interested to come and see him. I asked Mar if he was going, and he said 'I think' and then 'No, I guess not'/ The gong had announced that someone had come and issued invitations to come, but hadn't told the man's name, or rather Mar did not know the signal for the name.

123 Mbe came back with a gouria pigeon and a small pig -- less than half grown, that he had shot. I scalded, scraped and drew it, gave bith to various of the natives who were standing around. Afok was leaving, and I gave him a fore-quarter.

000 Soon after Afok left my house, a gong sounded. It was answered from Tug. Then shouting started which kept up until after dark or at least for a couple of hours.

593 It seems that Sof was angry with his wife because he suspected her of adultery or something, and hit her over the head with an axe. She ran away to her father this morning; Sof came and dragged her back this afternoon just before Afok came back. Fokatay is at his bush house. Afok shouted, "You have worked for the white men and have strong bones. You think I am a child, but you come and try me. If you had paid for the girl, there might be some excuse for it. I would have nothing to say. But you haven't." Sof evidently answered in kind, but so far nothing has happened beyond the talk.

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501 Yatakampa and some other kids came up from Afokolis with food. Mas and Mar went to work on the canoe despite War's forbidding them to yesterday. Mas said he was not going to wait until all the men came and helped him, then they could claim a share after he and Mar had done all the work. Mar hung back a bit, but finally agreed to Mas' persuasion.

123 I told May and Gwiyap the story of Othello, and they were very much interested and much incensed at Iago. In the afternoon, after I had forgotten about telling them, May came up and said that if my cook boy "gayaman along mi ol sain" (lied to me), I was not to hear him. Gwiyap seconded the motion. They were both quite serious and worried.

In the afternoon, War came from Afokolis with Yenakwot and four others from Yessan -- they came to see me, they said. They were very proud to show them that I was able to "talk place" (speak Kwoma). I got some information [124] from them -- the language was quite different -- the conversation was mainly in Nongwem. Two youths from Wanyi came with food. The Afokolis explained to the youths who they were -- father, mother, etc. Then they placed Gwiyap; his father was Siyowa who is now dead. Then the Wanyi said that he was their ruwa and Afokolis said yes he is ruwa to Wanyi.

After they left, I was sitting in the cook house with Gwiyap. It 513 was raining and cold. I asked him if he would like to sleep by a woman to keep warm. He looked at me in surprise and said "No, I would have shame if I did this!" I asked, "Why would you be ashamed?" and he replied, "It would be very bad because the big men like War would be cross with me. [593] It's their duty to look out for me and my wives and sisters." I asked, "Suppose you're married?" Gwiyap said, "Then it would be my business, but I would still be ashamed." Mar said that a man never slept with his

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[838]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Owiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>samuto mesni</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Manuh's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouria pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my <u>laka</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

114 Watakaup came in the afternoon with an invitation to come to Ambunti. I think I'll go.

April 22, 1937.. It was raining this morning, so I decided not to go to Ambunti but sent Mar and Mas to get kerosene, flour, etc. I went down to [284] War's to look at his house. The whole family was at home. The women were sewing mat bags, as well as War who was sewing a bag. Kis was working a wafa nasas from afosamp bone. Kar was lying on a bed sick.

I went up to the house tamberan to get its construction. Way was shaping the outside of a gong, but the mosquitoes drove me home. I sent 836 Owiyap and Hay to wash clothes. Owiyap came back full of excitement about Owanta. He had seen her on the way, and she let it be known she wanted to have intercourse with him. He bribed Owanta with 2 razors, one for him and one for her, to come and tell him when she next went down to get water so he could meet her there. He said he was going to ask her to come and sleep [593] with him at Wisap's house in his "klambu". She had suggested it the other night but her father had forbade her.

This afternoon he put on Mar's singlets and a brand new orange "lap lap" and went down the hill. He stayed all afternoon. Tonight he said he had called at Way's house. Owanta and her mother were there--they sat and talked. She was sitting on the bed, and he asked her if there were plenty of "nats nats." She said yes. Then he told her if they bothered her too much to come up and sleep in his mosquito net. She said she would. Owanb who was also there, said he would come too, but Owanta said no--how many people do you think the net will hold. Mar remarked that she did not call him by his name and that she told him not to go with us but to stay.

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go
to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No,
I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't
intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There
was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested
a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he
returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw
a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went.
February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of Mar and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Yaya, his fiancee. He replied that she
was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either.
March 3, 1937.

I went to Mar's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion.
As we approached the house Mar called out for Mos who was not there.
Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if
he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He
was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still
talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not
go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but
finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaremanu. When her husband died she went to live with
Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One
day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mos.-analyst]

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He
157 is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged
persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent
[191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned
*115 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second
593 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young--
736 his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishamps. He was carried
*115 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His
553 name was given him by the Malus with whom he stayed after the raid. His
mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all
726 himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out
in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men
and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the
house tamberan for a long time. The Mongwam hid in the house except for a
few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his
'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down
coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow
Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then,
when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the
bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had
123 gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We
ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Gwiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and Hay bothhbegen helping around the house, and since Hemb is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Gwiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gambo (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to draw a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 - 593 Today we told Gwiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Gwiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Gwiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Gwiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Gwiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

January 26, 1937.

*115 • 593 I asked Gwiyap if his father was a hard man. "Mm! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Gwiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Gwiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his nan (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Gwiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Gwiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 584 883 Gwiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Soubundura. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Pit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 191 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

#115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Khiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both nya (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her nawa or nawaleka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 13, 1937.

#115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

#115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

#115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Tumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 291 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it is a "gud falo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 Gwiyap heard that Gamri, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs, said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

583 768 593 604 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, me fender ya which is about half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between her brothers.

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7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs seperated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

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593
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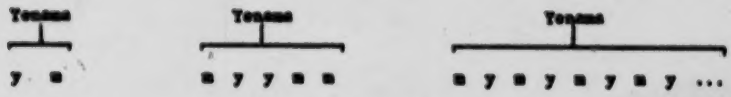
Division of parts to relatives

kwajumo	mother's brother
takŋhafi	father's sister
takimpi & sukw takwiyi	sister
masihi, amas	father's brothers
yati nakŋhiyi	brothers
manakŋi	wife and children
hokwasif	wife and children
mayi	wife and children
entrails	wife and children

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his eldest son will be Minjama, his next eldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mind nguvivi (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[13] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[10] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [10] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 18 1]

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CHAPTER II

INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [595] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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putting Súw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.* Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

* Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy. 834 885 888

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor. 587

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives. 768 583 [602]

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none. 595 •

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work, 591 342 476 [885]

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him. 000

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

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595 578 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the marriage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 [595] [601] A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

[582] [591] Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common interests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by [628] [619] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the subtribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children among her affines. [628] She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [191] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus luluai (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tongwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is korowa. Our attempts to get his genealogy were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

412 [402] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrised with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One 947 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is 845 bride price, patrilocal 583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny. 591 611

595 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 794 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] minisma or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Marham (tribe from which Wisep [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwem understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Ovivep, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with
602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not
593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the
595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mes who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

123 593 595 had stolen some of Wof's tobacco that morning and he had scolded him for this). "Stop wandering about the house, you little thief". Hum said nothing but soon announced that he was going and asked me if I was coming too.

123 [613] [252] I left and went down to War's house. He was asleep in the porch on a sago slab with a head rest when I got there. His wife was sitting by the fire frying sago fritters. War got up slowly and greeted me, putting his arm lightly across my shoulders. Then he brushed off the slab seat (also a couch) for me, and we sat down on it. His wife greeted me warmly. I asked about Kis and Kar; they were both still in the bush. A little later Kis's no. 2 wife came in. She is a well-built woman of about 19. [482] She was carrying a heavily laden net bag with coconuts, sugar cane, native spinach and large leaves used to wrap boiled sago. She sat down on a box [621] across the room from us and talked with War and his wife. The talk was of daily happenings. I could not understand it very well, but there was [522] an air of pleasantry and light laughter. Once she said something that struck them all as amusing, and she thrust her hands down over her genitals and rocked back and forth in glee. All the time they were talking, War sat with his back to the women looking out of the house. He never looked at her directly. She would look at me furtively every once in a while, and if I caught her glance, she would giggle and look away quickly. Hum and [524] Knos had brought a ball with them. Once it rolled to where Sungay was now sitting by the other fire frying sago fritters. I put my hand out for her [152] to throw it back. She became very embarrassed, laughed foolishly, looked away, threw it, and then covered her face with her hands , her breasts [522] with her elbows and drew her legs up. War and his wife laughed heartily at her embarrassment.

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked Hey if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife.
595 He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and
754 after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to Hey, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Hamb, went up and greeted Hamb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump Hey, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I
[854] stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The 'lapun' in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was
[231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

000 is sold to me. When the Tangwishamp bring <u>favorbi</u>, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Nar, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for <u>punga kafasawani</u> (sorcery court). Mas and Mey came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. Mey left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that Mey got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked Mey what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 Mey reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated Mey for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Gauwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambanj.

752 Knos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Gwiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Gwiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

*115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Kwiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 • 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ave (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amve or navelaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 13, 1937.

*115 291 Last night Gwiyap was sitting in the mosqeito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

*115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Gwiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

*115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Tumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Gwiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for sev-
765 eral months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a sec-
[534] ond funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a
[535] feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the
621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is
361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the
614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The
613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and
773 hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom
613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings
592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest
[114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few
[595] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife
[597] Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's
[754] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-
592

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[805] [19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are
[177] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual
[13] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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593 already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and [583] she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride- [842] price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out [586] to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

842 The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mix-
843 ture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

844 When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or near- [754] by households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[597] [39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

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beginning of the world. Each of these ancestors is shared by a descent group ranging in size from the children of a father to the descendants of a totem. 611

The Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type.[6] Parallel cousins are all classed as siblings while cross cousins are called *mother*[7] or *maternal uncle* if they are related through the mother (i.e., mother's brother's children), and *nephew* if they are related through the father (i.e., father's sister's children). Age distinctions are made between siblings of the same sex but not between siblings of the opposite sex. Thus a boy has two terms, *elder sibling* and *younger sibling*, to refer to his brothers but classes all his sisters as *sister*. A girl uses *elder sibling* and *younger sibling* for her sisters but uses *brother* to refer to her brothers. The same terms are used and similar distinctions are made between parallel cousins. In the parental generation the father and his brothers are divided into three categories: *father*, *younger uncle*, and *elder uncle*, while father's sisters are called by a single term, *paternal aunt*. Similarly a mother's sisters are classed as *younger aunt* and *elder aunt*, while her brothers are all termed *maternal uncle*. There are two terms for grandparents, *paternal grandparent* and *maternal grandparent*. All ancestors above this are called by a single term, *ancestor*. Own children and the children of *elder siblings* and *younger siblings* are called *son* or *daughter*. A man calls his sisters' children "*nephew*," and a woman calls her brothers' children "*niece*." Grandchildren and grandchildren of siblings are called *grandchild*. 601

The sons and sons' sons of the mother's brother are also called *maternal uncle*, and his daughters and sons' daughters are called *mother*. The children of a mother's brother's daughter or of a mother's brother's son's daughter (i.e., of a *mother*) are classed as siblings. The descendants of one's

[6] Described by L. Spier in "The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America," *University of Washington Publication in Anthropology*, 1, 69–88; and by G. P. Murdock (in MS.). [113]

[7] Italicized terms are the nearest English equivalent to the native term and refer to Kwoma kinship categories. Terms not italicized are used in their English sense.

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601 father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

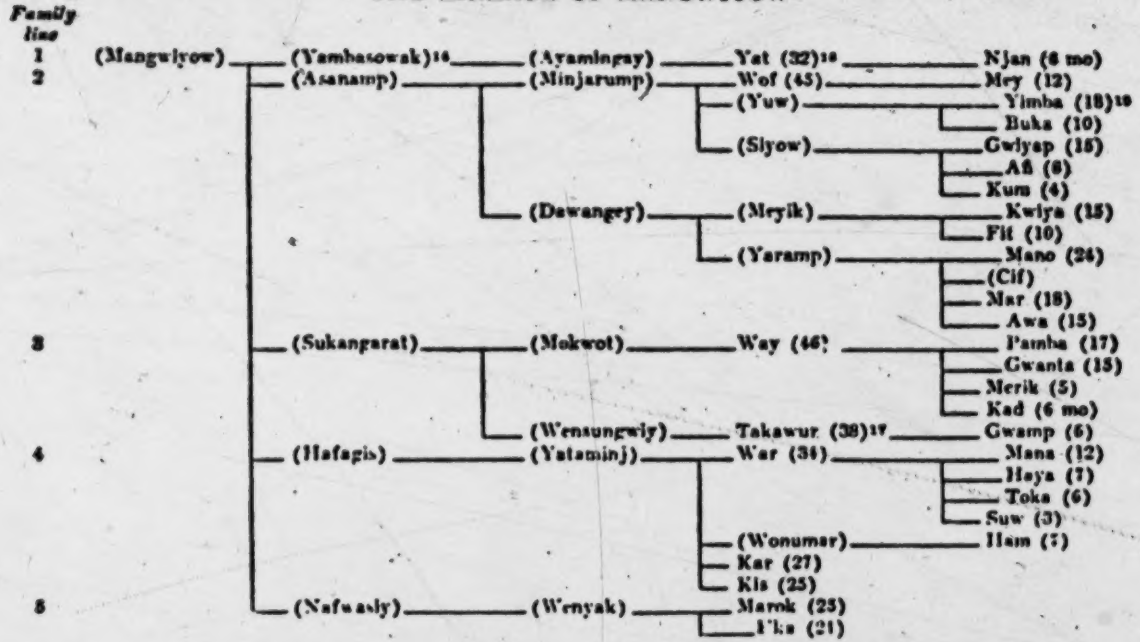
Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife*, *wife's brother*, and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband*, *husband's brother*, and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law*, for the parents of his or her spouse.

601 608 572 The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two further categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[a] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

561 The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods, weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[a] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 68–68.

THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[13]



[13] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[14] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling;* he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling.*

[15] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yataminj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[16] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[17] Does not live in the hamlet.

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THE LINEAGE OF WASAHOF

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw[9] up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

[9] A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[43] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[44] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[43] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[44] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother*
• [601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is
[881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though
[574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite
[754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos
[765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to
[764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common inter-
[628] ests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[619] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the subtribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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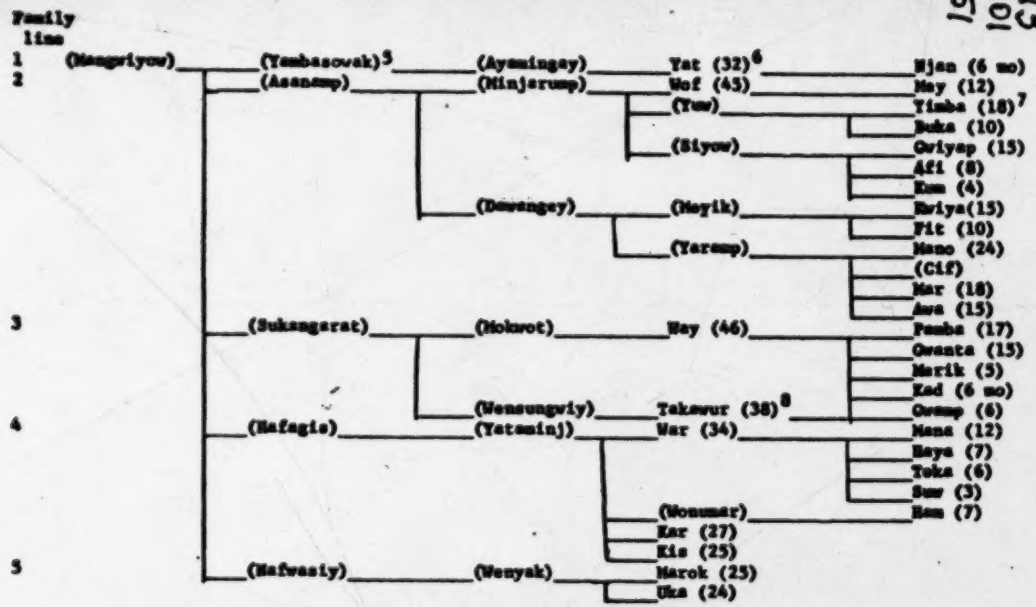
THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[4]



[4] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[5] The brothers in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a brother above him in the list older sibling; he calls a brother below him in the list younger sibling.

[6] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yataminj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of May is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[7] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table. [8] Does not live in the hamlet.

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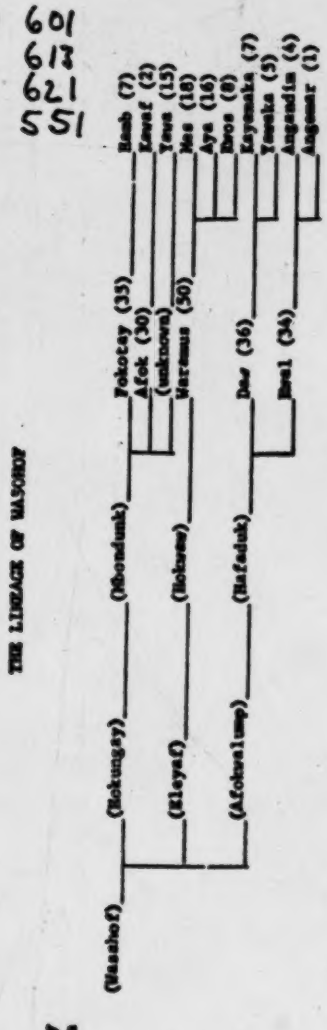

857 752 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit. About 3:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Gwiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowaj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp 484 [628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwana were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Gwiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at 571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now 754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the [601] relationship. He will no longer call them nan but use their name. His daughter, Mamna, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a marhat with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of 262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this [251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Gwiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Gwiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Gwiyap paid the 602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Gwiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Gwiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

#115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Kwiye or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ave (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her awa or newaleka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 13, 1937.

#115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

#115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

#115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Tumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

Appendix 1 GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

Key to vocabulary

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Vowels

ɨ = u in but (ɨ =<)

ə = a in bat (ə =<)

a = a in father

o = o in note

e = a in mate

u = u in rule

i = ee in meet

Consonants

f and b are bilabial

mb and nd are nasalised consonants

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Section II
VOCABULARY

afakɨ	now, today	afo kwasɨ mbɨkɨ	hair on the arms
afɨ kafɨ	soon, presently	afokwɨ	father or paternal uncle. The term refers to afi, amwa, and afo yakɨ If one is asked who his afokwɨ is, he will answer with the name of his afi. It is also used as andɨ afokw, meaning "I am of the older generation".
[601] afɨ yakɨ	father's older brother		
afiyangwat	variety of taro		
afo	a generic term for birds, butterflies, and bats	afokwɨ	old man
afo fɨpɨ	small bat	afo ma	cockatoo
afojokwa	variety of banana	afoma	white
afo jokwɨ	fowl	afo mbeyɨ	birds' eggs
afo kimbi	large bat, "flying fox"	afo ndowanɨ	gouria pigeon
afo kiyɨ	cicada		
afo kwasɨ	large fruit bat		

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afo ngwiyeyd	earrings
afo ngwo	a small bird
afo nyumd	rock pigeon
afo nyumeyd	large fish hawk or eagle
afoeambw	chisel made from pig's thigh bone
afo ofubd-	large cassowary. A girl calls a man's penis afo ofubd if she wants to have intercourse with him.
afoempe	variety of yam
afo sambd rukwd	a butterfly
afo senyd	nest of the bush fowl
afo sifd	small cassowary
afo wanjd	large black duck
afo wOwd	a bird's nest
afo wOyd	egret
afo yand	duck
afo vuyi	"bird canoe", airplane
afwa	greetings!
[601] agar (akdrd, a)	new
ajd	maternal grandparents (those who are addressed as laka or kumeu)
aka	house, dwelling
aka feyd	the enclosed part of a house
aka jifd	the side of a house
akama	house, home. Often used to refer to one's own hamlet or village
aka ma	the front part of a house
aka ngwerd	rat
akard	new, another
akd tewd	ridge pole
aka yin	rear of a house, porch
akO wOn	4" black lizard
akwd ecen	to swallow
and	bamboo
andrgurd	clam shell ring
andruknd	house fly
anaruka mana	fly trap
and yand	large bamboo with nodes knocked out. Used to carry water.
anbd	before, completed, done. Denoting completed action.
aniya	bring it quickly, come quickly, go quickly
anwa	father's younger brother
anandd	big
and	me, to me
andecwd	to agree, to speak
and mani yehdtd	to play
and jehdwd	taboo, prohibit
anjaba	bow

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ondá	I
ondá ye yawá	I dislike
ao	clay pot'
ao bówuto	to cook (biyato)
ao wará	a bilocaed saucepan
apaoaka	cassowary
arafá	large knife
asá wangárá	shells used for ornaments and money
aná	dog;scraper
aná fu	dog's tooth headband
ato	east
[601] atokwá	wife's parents, parent-in-law
awáfká	a kind of soup
awá	wild sugar plant
awambaga	a small palm
awo	mother
ayandá	moon
ayas	navel
ca wheyá wanda ofótá	masturbate (o). Phrase used to scold children.
cihác ofw ofórá	the same as this; as big as theirs
afeyá	hornbill
afi	father, ceremonial
ajahawa	hungry
aje	to have intercourse
aje hawá	to be hungry
aki (agi)	bone dagger
angi	my, mine
arí	penis
arí wandá ofótá	masturbate(o). Phrase used to scold children.
arambwá	grass spider
atá	this or that (demonstrative)
ayi	canoe paddle
fafa	stone
fafa afawa	white stone
fambi	hardwood point of a spear
fawá	leaf, young shoot
fawa kasaka	stem of a yam
fandáto	to wrap in leaves for roasting
feyámbi	areca palm, areca nut
feyambiyaf	variety of banana
fíhíto	to break fire wood
fíhndar	one
fíhrí jará	three
fíhrímá	them (dual accusative)
fíhrífá	they, they two
fíhretti	their (dual genitive)
fíhrito	to draw a design
fíhrí tawá	relation between two families(stop as one)
fi	blood, sap, milk

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kijɨ	you two (dual gen.)
kijɨnɨ	you two (dual acc.)
kiji	you two (dual gen.)
kikiyɨ	tiny
kin	pig's tusk scraper
kin iju	to sharpen, whittle, engrave
kinyɨ	tail feathers, tail
kirdeo	to cut or bruise
kis kis	side posts of a house
kiyɨ	flesh of pig or cassowary
kiyato, kiyɨto	to carry
kord kord	small marsupial
kordubɨ	man's house, sib
korowɨ	saw fish
kow	variety of yam
kowimi	½" red ants
kowɨ kukowɨ	to weed
kowtafa	subsidiary stem of a yam
kumbo	stomach, belly
kukiya	animal food
kumbo jeyɨ	orphan
kumbojeydal/ɨ o	thin, poor
kum ombɨd	palm
kumwo	younger brother
kurdhɨ	stingless honey bee
kurito	to curve, bend
kwer ongwiya	afternoon ceremony
kwɨ keto	to cut up meat
kwer	a hardwood tree
kwɨd	betel pepper
kɨbasa	a magic leaf
kwasikɨ	bushland, jungle
kwayɨ	tail feathers of a cassowary
kwajɨnbɨ	thigh
kwayɨ	good, well, hard (adv.)
kwinjɨ fofwayɨ	breath
kwinjɨ nafi	lips
kwo	net bag
kwo nas	behind
kwo wasɨkɨ	mountain
kwond	you (pl. acc.)/ 9" arrow
kwo na wo	whose, what, what is
kwofɨ	stinking, rotten
kwori	boil, ulcer
kwotɨ	you (pl. nom.)
kwotato, kwotito	to cut in a sawing manner
kwoti	your (pl. gen.)
na	man, husband
nafwɨ	first, in front
nagagoeitit	design cut through bark of a tree - Property marks
na kayɨ	burial platform
nagwiɨbɨ	ladle
na kayɨnbi	forehead

[601]

192 ma kiyafi jiju payment to deceased wife's maye family

mahifi long hair

mambi skin

mamboyi ear

mamboyi hawk

mana rat trap

managa oaha variety of taro

mandi testicles

mandi simbi pubic hair

mandowa variety of yam

[601] mangifi mother's brother

mank a swamp grown tree

mangi rawi ofki kidneys

mangrisa a tree

mangirikimpi an edible lizard

manhiri back bone

mangala comb ornament

mano bird of paradise

mari hafi little black mosquito

mara (mahuj- brain, soft bone on top of baby's head

Marailai ghost, spirit

maofki head, front

maofki nga grey hair

mase before, previously

maoyi minji comb

maya fish net

mayaka strong, large, old

mi/ finga wooden trumpet

mirihi white sago grub

mo crocodile

mofai you (sing. nom.)

mofagi tree

mofti you (sing. nom.)

mofti your (sing. nom.)

mombi shell ring arm band

mbani mbani nearby

mbanga word pig skin shield

mbee tinea; small lizards

mbasambaga a rough leaf about 1' square, used as outer wrapping for boiled sago.

mbamakiyato to return to one's house

mbayi ngoyi side

mbe egg

mbeyeja to be crazy, insane

mbi point

mbirihi spinach

mbiyuiw 1' lizard

mbom mouth

mbombo hammer

mbonhi taro

mbora wangi neck

mbos small lizard

mboyni a tree

192 mbonyi — old

mbǫ — belly

mbu — ground, earth

mbuhdawd — to refuse

mbuhu — a certain leaf

mbumboyo — something

mbutukgwafo — 2' ground snake

mbutuwi — variety of yam

mbuǫo — nothing, no, not

mbuiya — variety of banana

mo kambd — bush country to south, sago swamp

mo mbd yowd — hole in gong

[601] mom — mother's brother

mondayd — brother (woman speaking)

monjo, monjdwd — to hear, understand

mord — a tree (ficus)

mosaka — a tree

mosalaf — a tree

mo sǫkd — heart, fruit

mosdrimbd — gong beater

[601] moyo — rib bone

moyon — water melon

miji — a sago grub

mikwdndd — snake

mimd — wife, woman

[601] mimd yikafd — female child, daughter

minjdfoakiyd — 6" edible black bush lizard

minjd futu — to be sick

miyi — eyes

miyi mbonjd — eyebrow

miyi nambd — eyelids

mogo — nipple, breast, milk

mokd ojmbd — urine

moka — sperm

mokufi — milk

mokwd nambd — light brown skin, white skin

mokwi — the cicatrization on a woman's belly

moobo — bamboo beheading knife

moobd asd — comb

moogwi yoogwd — rubbish

morinjd — a white sago grub used to bait hooks

mosoyago — variety of banana

mowd sǫkd — large tree with fine grained wood. Tambons use it for canoe making.

mowi — sister

moyi — large fish

moya — " "

mugriyoyd — bamboo cage

mwonjd — court of older men who decide on crimes and sorcery.

mwonjd mbatu — to talk

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aa	imperative particle
aanda	body of yam or taro
aanbé (bared)	creek
ampa	small roots or spines of a yam
aangwé	something
aarimboyi	friend, blood brother
[601] aarumé	brother's sister's wife
aawa i	go!
aawaké	large white ground snake
[601] aawé yaké	father's older brother's wife
ayabéo	water snake
ayimé ŋ̃né	red, light brown
ayimbi	yaar
[601] ŋ̃ŋ̃é	dry, ripe
ŋ̃ŋ̃dicu	to hold in hand
ŋ̃ŋ̃dré, ŋ̃ŋ̃aré	yellow
ŋ̃ŋ̃driyawé	to be well
ŋ̃ŋ̃aké	feathers, hair
ŋ̃ŋ̃aié kwat	central post in a house
aaŋ̃ayŋ̃war	2" black house lizard--inedible
ŋ̃ŋ̃angawaaé	small black bush mosquito
ŋ̃ŋ̃awé	to howl (dog)
ŋ̃ŋ̃waŋ̃né	moon
abajaoak	variety of yam
adangi yaakwé	small bug which supposedly kills a man if it gets in his ear

aŋ̃ŋ̃iré	first two units in counting
aŋ̃ŋ̃iré	four
aŋ̃ŋ̃iré karé	three
aŋ̃ŋ̃é	here, at this spot
aŋ̃ŋ̃abali	four row knitted ornament
aŋ̃ŋ̃agaré	a piece, bit, part
aŋ̃ŋ̃agato	to cut up
aŋ̃ŋ̃ti	this
adompé	short
adowŋ̃ay	rat
adowar	a plant
aonyawé	earthquake
aonyé	yam
aayi	wife's sister's child
agambé	ghost; ornament, markings on a pot
agambŋ̃rungwonyé	small tree bat
agarafaya	variety of banana
agawé	pith
agayawa	variety of banana
agayana	lizard sneer
Agayé Agayé	original inhabitants of Kwoma
agayafafa	variety of yam
agayé	sago swamp
agiui	fried sago fritters
agŋ̃rato	to shave face

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ngβrd ngβrd	an ornamental betel stick
ngβrisiju	to peel, part of process of scraping sago pith
ngβsd	tally which records the amount of bride price; lime spatula
ngβyd	fried sago fritters; a small bush lizard
nginyd	toy used to imitate sound of gongs
ngola	a plant
ngowd	bone of "flying fox" used for needle
ngoro	long
ngowd yβkis	orange bodied mosquito
ngowomi, ngowimi	large orange ants
ngumbetawomi	cross beam
ngumbu	sedge
ngumbwiyo	sweet potato "tapioc"
ngungwinyd	marrow
ngwantomyd	spider
ngwayd	long bamboo pole used to hang runners on yam plants
ngworo	high, long
ngwoto	to fill up
ngwβtd fnhβto	to empty
ngwimbihofo	2' ground snake
ngwusi	tortoise, turtle
ngwuyamp	sago needle
[601] nirjohw	daughter's husband
nonomokd	large clam shell
nokwd-	sago
nomboujo	broken
nijd nβngd	evening
nijengd	morning
niji	night, dark-
njimbi	comb ornament
nje	banana leaf paper
nogwoko	variety of yam
nogwiod	Australian
nokwa	vegetable food
nokwa songo	long, ribbed leaf
nokwangora	hot water
nokwifd	many
nokumokd	large clam shell suspended from necklace
nokwdngord	boiled sago pith
nokwd nβwd	paw paw
nokwa	raised scars which are a symbol of manhood
nokwis	white man
noubo	road
nomboujo	broken
nond	us (pl. acc.)
nosafd	ground
notd	we (pl. nom.)
noti	our (pl. gen.
nowd	ground, earth; tree, the berries of which are used for dye

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wurúnbeyí	wooden sleeping slab
wus	salt
ya wongwo	middle of the night
yantʃhá	lunch
yar	on a level
yarífahá	day after tomorrow
yasi	shell used for ornaments and for money
yatá wandrá	shin bone or shin
yatá wá	toe
yatámberanj	calf of leg
yatámbiaá	toe nail
yatámbonku ngurá	knee cap
yatá winjá	lame foot (also proper name)
yatámiyi	ankle
yatá wofu	sole of foot
yato	marry, come, bring
yifámbáhá	seasoning leaves
yeyamá	rafters
yeyofa	variety of banana
yŏkiaá	generic name for insects, applied chiefly to mosquitoes, but not to flies
yŏráhá	yesterday
ye icu	to carry
yukwá	to pull down, to cut down
yumbáru	ax
yuná kwat	back central post in house
yunáminjá sugriyá	yam cult ceremony
yunásafá	tobacco pouch; tree from which tobacco pouch is made
yurá	cross rafter
yusogwat	to lift up
yuyi	paternal grandparent; young shoot on tree or plant
yuyiawu	to go down
yiaá	they (pl. nom.)
yiai	their (pl. gen.)
yicu	to sit down, to put or place, to be situated
yikafá	child
yikafa	son, ceremonial address
yiná	them (pl. acc.), the
yinyá	then
yi tow	ridge pole extension
yiyi	their
yo	top, up
yofu	banana
yokwiaá	razor
yoma	a kind of palm
yonga	spear
youkwo	long handled chisel

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

[P. 24]

CHAPTER II

INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [595] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.[4] Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

[4] Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may [602] [571] eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[3] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [3] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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867 264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man • [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[3] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 859 261 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [3] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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861 123 children in the hamlet, saw me doing this, stole some shells, and tried to do it himself. His older brother, Mes, saw him and told him that shells were dangerous and that he had better not fool with them. Kwos paid no heed. He tried to light the shell, but it did not go off and he looked to see what the trouble was. At that moment the powder exploded, seriously burning one side of his face and closing one eye. Mes scolded him severely: "I told you not to play with those shells. Why didn't you heed me?" His father also scolded him: "You will probably go blind, but it is your own fault. Why didn't you heed your brother? He told you not to play with the shells." No one in the hamlet expressed sympathy for Kwos's injury; everyone blamed him.

861 The number of punishments that a Kwoma receives from other persons increases markedly in childhood. He is frequently beaten and scolded by his parents and other persons of their generation. They order him to do household chores and scold him for being lax about them. They shout at son or daughter, nephew or niece, to stop yelling and rushing around the house when they are resting or trying to carry on a conversation. They scold the child for snooping into cult secrets, for not helping a *brother* who needs aid, or for damaging the household property. One afternoon Ham was wandering about under the porch of Wof, his *paternal uncle*. The latter, irritable because of an argument that he was having with his wife, roared at Ham to sit down. Ham dropped as though he were shot, and Wof began scolding him severely. He accused Ham of being a little thief and of trying to steal something. Ham began to cry and as soon as he dared got up and ran home. The incidents of Wof beating his daughter for not getting the firewood, and that of Kwiya scolding Mey for not passing the proper mixing sticks, have already been reported.

861 •602 A child is kicked and beaten, scolded and teased, by his older siblings even more than by his parents. Older siblings imitate their parents, commanding, scolding, and punishing their younger *brothers* and *sisters*. Older *sisters* punish a boy if they see him with an erection, a girl if she sits immodestly.

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Older *brothers* scold younger *brothers* for showing a precocious knowledge of cult affairs, or for not heeding their warnings and younger *sisters* for annoying them or for not carrying out their household chores properly. 861 602

A boy is most frequently hurt by his older *brothers* in the course of games. The most popular sport consisted in kicking a pith ball up a slight slope against the side of a house and then, when it rolled down, kicking it back up again. In this, as well as in the dart-throwing and "homosexual" games, the older and bigger boys tease the younger one and knock him out of the way when he interferes. They order him to retrieve the ball or the pawpaw when it bounds into the bushes, or to throw the target rock for them. In the "homosexual" game it is the smaller boy who is usually at the bottom of the pile and who is called "wife" by the older boys. 861 524 [602]

A child becomes adept at avoiding punishment from older persons by obeying, escaping, lying, and being secretive. He learns that if he does not do what he is told, a blow will follow; that if he persists in doing what he is told not to do, he will be beaten. Thus he not only learns to obey commands, but also to anticipate the commands, that is, to follow custom. He also learns that, if he has disobeyed, he can often escape punishment by running away from the person who has issued the command, or by lying if someone accuses him of doing something wrong. Finally, he learns that he can do things of which the older people disapprove, if they do not observe him. He therefore learns to be secretive. Smoking in the bush house is one example. Masturbation may be another. A child also learns secretly to beat cult-gong rhythms, being careful that no older person is present when he practices. Kwoma parents do not punish a child for lying or being secretive; they only punish him if the misdemeanor is discovered. Children therefore become very adept in these arts of deception. 861

A child has his first success in social aggression toward his younger siblings. They, being smaller than he, are easily overcome when they threaten or interfere with him. When they get in his way in games, it is not difficult to shove them 865 602

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865 aside nor dangerous to command them to get out of the way.
• 602 If they jostle him when he is about to throw a dart into a pawpaw, he can kick or beat them without fear of effective retaliation, and he is rewarded for doing so when they thereafter keep out of his way. If younger *brothers* or *sisters* take some food which he intends to eat, he can force them to give it back if he catches them at it or prevent a future recurrence by punishing them after the event. When younger siblings tag along despite his wish to be with boys of his own age, he can command them to stay behind and back up the command with a blow if he is not heeded.

Such is the success of aggression toward younger siblings that a child often expresses it even when they do not threaten or annoy him. Kwoma boys and girls continually tease their younger *brothers* and *sisters* and order them about apparently for the pure joy of it. Presumably by so doing a child both reassures himself that he is in a position to be successfully aggressive toward these younger children and at the same time finds expression for the aggression generated by older persons which he usually dare not manifest.[12] Thus he gains practice in expressing aggression toward persons who are not responsible for producing it—a type of response which he frequently employs in later life.

Toward the end of childhood, when social aggression has been greatly strengthened by success with smaller persons, a child may sometimes express it toward those older than he. If he does so, he usually escapes immediately afterward. It is, so to speak, "hit and run" aggression. Fit's feud with his older *brother*,[13] Mey, exemplifies this. One morning Mey was teasing Fit as they were eating breakfast. Fit lost his temper and cursed Mey by telling him to cohabit with his sister. Mey

[12] As soon as a child learns to be aggressive in response to a threat, this behavior tends to assume ascendancy over avoidance, because in the former case the goal of the activity in progress need not be given up, whereas in the latter it often has to be. Thus a child should develop a wish to be aggressive toward his parents rather than to obey them, but, since he dare not do so, he takes it out on his *brothers* and *sisters*.

[13] Mey was only slightly older and bigger than Fit. I should guess twelve and ten as their respective ages.

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returned the taunt, whereupon Fit hit him on the head with his fist. Mey scrambled up, grabbed a burning brand from the fire, and ran after Fit, who had started to flee. Mey managed to strike Fit twice on the back before the latter made good his escape. The next day Mey reported that Fit had stolen or destroyed the contents of his (Mey's) net bag and fled to his mother's house in another hamlet.[14] Fit did not return for a month. All went well for about two weeks thereafter. Then one afternoon the two began wrestling at a time when Fit had a razor blade in his hand. Fit lost his temper in the scuffle and cut a deep gash in Mey's lip. He then ran away, but, hearing indirectly that Mey did not bear a grudge, returned after a couple of hours. Two weeks later Fit stole a knife from Mey and again ran away to his mother.

A child is sometimes aggressive even toward his mother and father. For the most part, he expresses it indirectly in such ways as grumbling under his breath when he receives an order from them, or insulting them behind their backs. Sometimes, however, the tendency to aggression becomes strong enough to overcome fear of retaliation. Gwiyap reported that, when he was a child, he had been infuriated with his father for scolding him, had seized a spear, and had attempted to run it through his parent, but someone present had prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He also told of an occasion when he had struck his stepmother. She had been sitting by the fire cooking and had asked him to pass her a ladle. He delayed in doing it, and she began to scold him. He became angry at this and "punched her in the nose." She picked up a stick to beat him with, but he ran away. Mey reported a similar story of an occurrence several years before. He said that he was lying on a platform which was built shoulder high on the limb of a tree in front of his house. He had a sharpened stick in his hand and was lying in wait for his mother because he was angry with her. Finally, she came close to the platform and he jabbed her several times as hard as he could on her head and shoulders. According to

[14] Fit's father had died, and his mother had married a man of another sib.

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
• 602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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865 Social sanctions as well as fear of retaliation play a part in determining the manner in which a child will react to pain from the social environment. Custom as well as natural expediency dictates when it is appropriate to be aggressive, when submissive. Custom also specifies the manner in which either of these responses may be expressed. Members of the community stand ready to punish deviations from custom.

A child is punished for being too submissive. If he runs away when he has a right to retaliate, members of the hamlet who observe such action scold him for being cowardly. If he is afraid to join in the childhood games, he is teased for acting like a baby, especially if he runs away when both he and his brother are attacked. An instance of this occurred when Gwiyap, Mey, and Fit were playing the "homosexual" game. Gwiyap caught Fit and threw him down, and Mey ran away. [593] The boys' uncle, Yat, who was watching, scolded Mey severely for running away when his *brother* needed help. "If your *brother* is in trouble, it is your duty to fight for him."

Children are punished for being inappropriately aggressive. If a child is aggressive when he should be submissive, or more aggressive than the circumstances warrant, he is called to task by members of the community who observe it. Kwoma children may tease, punish, or scold a younger sibling, but • [602] may not actually injure him. A child is continually being lectured about the great value which his relatives will have for him throughout his life in terms both of defense and of economic aid. Parents say: "You and your *brother* are 'one blood.' If you hurt him, you hurt yourself." For a boy, the sanction against hurting a *sister* is more severe than that against hurting a *brother*. An aggressive act which, if made toward a *brother*, would pass unnoticed, is punished if made toward a *sister*.

The reaction of the community to the fight reported above between Mey and Fit illustrates the operation of the social [602] sanction on aggressive behavior. Several older *brothers* of the two boys were sitting around the breakfast fire when the fight started. Their reaction was one of laughter and of egging the boys on. Soon after I asked Gwiyap, who had been

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

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262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [83] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[1] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[2]

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252 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities.
• 602 While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[1] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[2] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[a]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[b] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[c] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[a] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[b] There were six gardening groups in Rumbima hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[c] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her [252] [476] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [492] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the [226] girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities [224] continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore, he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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he had had sexual experiences, but feared punishment or disapproval if he confessed, so I told him that boys of his age in America had intercourse and cited several examples. He was much interested, and asked if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him that the boys kept it a secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that Americans had a means of preventing pregnancy. He expressed his amazement at this, and the subject was dropped. The next night, however, when we were discussing other matters, he brought up the subject again and mentioned six girls, three of them his *sisters*, with whom he claimed to have had sexual relations. One of them was Awa, Mar's sister. He recounted his experiences with great gusto, but warned me not to tell Mar about them, especially about his affair with Awa.

About two months later Gwiyap appeared with his hair combed and a new laplap around his waist and told me that he had a date that afternoon with Famba, a girl of his own generation and lineage, whom he addressed as *sister*. After playing ball for a while with some of the other boys, he departed. That evening I asked him how he had fared. He answered that his "shitnothing" *brother*, Fit, had followed him to the tryst. He had told him not to come and finally had chased him back with a stick, but when he finally met Famba he had not dared do anything because he was afraid that Fit had sneaked after him and was spying.

Two weeks later while I was sitting with Gwiyap in front of my house, Kwiya came by carrying firewood. She was a girl of about the same age as Gwiyap who lived in the same house and belonged to the same lineage. As she passed he exchanged bawdy remarks with her, as is the custom between *brother* and *sister*. Then he said to me that he thought he would go to America with me when I left because so many girls liked him and asked him to cohabit with them that he would certainly get in trouble if he stayed at Kwoma. He then recounted his sexual experiences. There was Kwiya, the girl who had just passed, and Awa, Mar's sister, both of whom were his household mates. Then there was Famba,

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[948] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[964] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[86] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sa-*
[196] *kana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

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584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed
582 against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed
[754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re-
[158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in
• [602] his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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882 602 554 156 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly relationship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[32] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[33] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual coöperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[32] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[33] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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882 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening
• 602 relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged
578 to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy
608 into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet
381 who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates
628 him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic dis-
000 tribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard; and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man." 882 609 836

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud. 602 578 [583] [626] [627]

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness. 882 584 602 578

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 584 602 578 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him, and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 836 602 578 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives. 882 836 584 602 578

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed. 882 721 648 609

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects. 882 562 [224] [881] [781]

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so. [754]

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group coöperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
628 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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244 241 262 826 beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. He [602] does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

241 244 After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the [462] gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, [462] stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the [284] little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of [482] each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of [417] the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.[a] The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

[a] Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [496] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is [692] normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all 423 lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties 621 apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a 692 member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be 578 settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they [602] are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way [613] property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved.

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus deter- 423 mined by a man's membership in the various groups de- 611 scribed above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and 428 hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some cooperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [578] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[262] 192 [192] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none.

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work,

[1] ... because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had ... he stayed, War might have killed him.

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761 take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer
754 will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the
[648] next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was
[764] hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited
[123] voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[34] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

• 602 The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear
764 of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the
[765] corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[34] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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clay or mud, and give up some preferred article in their diet during the interval between the first and second funeral ceremonies. Whether a person makes such manifestations of sorrow depends more on how close a bond of friendship or dependence he has established with the deceased than upon formal kinship ties. 602 • 764 [765]

Beliefs about ghosts, as well as fear of sorcery and the feeling of bereavement, determine Kwoma death customs. It is thought that the ghosts of the relatives of the deceased come to escort his soul to the land of the dead. It is further believed that they are attracted by the corpse and hover near the body both while it is in the house and when it is on the funeral platform, and do not leave until the bleached bones are finally buried. If a Kwoma does not express sufficient sorrow for the death of a relative, the ghost of the deceased is likely to become angry and either frighten or possess the unappreciative man or woman. Thus those who are not motivated by personal feelings for the deceased may still mourn to avoid antagonizing his ghost. 775 765

A corpse is allowed to lie in the house until a burial platform is built. Early in the morning of the day following the death, the relatives erect near the house of the deceased a covered platform set on stilts about ten feet from the ground. When it is finished, the corpse is placed upon a wooden shield carried by several of the male relatives and lifted to the platform with the aid of a ladder. The body is then washed, and three of the spears of the deceased are placed across the neck, abdomen, and legs and lashed to the floor of the platform to prevent the corpse from falling. The points of the spears are broken so that they will not be stolen. These rites are performed by any old man who is willing to play the rôle of undertaker. All who have had contact with the body wash themselves immediately as a prophylactic against the sickness which they believe would otherwise result. 764

A corpse is allowed to stay on the burial platform for several months. During this time the relatives who have chosen to go into mourning continue to fast and to daub themselves with clay. At the end of this time a second funeral is held, 765

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765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[27] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[28]

885 571 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 593 602 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still command and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[27] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[28] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an adz in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[43] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.[44]

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[44] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[43] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[44] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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602 [601] A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 608 [881] A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him. It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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monial father and a *ceremonial son*. The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the *ceremonial father* and the *ceremonial son* also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a *friend*, and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the *friend-friend* and the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476] 602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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dominant. By this time the other adult women of the hamlet also belong to it by marriage, and her status is thus at least as high as theirs. There is considerable rivalry and dissension between the wives of *brothers*, arising both from sexual jealousy and from economic disputes. Aggression between a woman and her husband's *brother's* wife is usually on the verbal level, but in this sphere she is considerably more expressive than her husband. In any dispute between two households, the voices of the women usually rise above those of the men. On the other hand, a woman depends on the wives of her husband's *brothers* for much of her intimate social participation. In the afternoons and particularly in the evenings, these women visit one another and gossip of the day's events.

An important social relationship which a woman experiences but a man does not is that between a woman and her co-wife. Although the culture rules that they should not fight one another, but live together amicably and cooperate in the household duties, there is considerable antagonism between them. A woman seldom expresses her anger directly toward her co-wife, for to do so would bring punishment from her husband. If his wives fight he stands ready to beat the one who was responsible or both of them if he cannot decide who is to blame. Sexual jealousy and the difficulty of fairly allocating the economic tasks of the household create a strong pressure in opposition to this sanction. The following case demonstrates one of the techniques which a Kwoma woman uses to express her aggression toward a co-wife. Wof, a middle-aged man, had one wife, Kaya. Shortly after I arrived he inherited his deceased brother's wife, Chinuwa, by the rules of levirate marriage. Kaya was not pleased with the prospect of having another woman share her husband and protested vigorously to Wof. On the eve of the wedding she argued vociferously with her husband and, when she could not dissuade him, wailed bitterly. After Chinuwa came to live in the household, the two wives seldom spoke to one another, and when they did, they were coldly polite. Instead of being openly aggressive toward Chinuwa, Kaya disparaged

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595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common inter-
[628] ests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[619] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the subtribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the cooperative endeavors of non-relatives[*] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[*] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[23]

Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[23] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[26] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[27]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[26] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[27] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone [123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had [602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly
"savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its
[754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein
as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up,
[123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping hold
of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation
in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the
[154] "kiop" and have him put in the calabousse. They said the dead man had been
poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned
me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at
it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying
[417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably
[602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[192] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Korjasi, Hongwom, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwom is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house temberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house temberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house temberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Marham (tribe from which Wisep [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwom understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Qwiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with 602 his net bag, (hilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not 593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the 595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mae who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

231 Bwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told us
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and
Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong
to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just
[766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had
[262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a mat bag and hung in a tree. If
Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and
caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing
it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Way and Awambaka went to Uramaj to make payment on Way's
wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his nam (mother's brother). It is also
War's nam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants
reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect
right to the sago since his nam told him he could cut it. He has decided that
what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of
obligation to pay nam at head survive. He is afraid that if he does not pay
War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He
thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark
from me which he considers to be enough.

857 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 Hay, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwems were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hent survige, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them nam but use their name. His daughter, Hamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hent survige. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Tambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

761 A man of Dusus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunge (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tambarans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of nank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at War's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. War and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamaoy came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahek who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamaoy beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

*115 584 [759] This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking in a loud voice. He said that Mas has agreed to act as a go-between to ask Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mas (Mar has been joking with Mas alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 787 602 753 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables. His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinowa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Mey and Pit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 787 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
602 753 of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left them to get
it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.
April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Ear, Afok, Fokotey, Dewangi and Tat went to blow flutes, Mar and
Mae decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and
had to work--get firewood and wash sago.
April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said,
"No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know
I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman,
that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able
to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind."
He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mae asked
me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.
April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Ouanta
and Pambe to get Mae' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want
me to tell Mae and thinks I should protest him again Mar if he makes a
fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Tat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it
was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aye until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mbe marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aye is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aye; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mbe and Gwiyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Oviyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

#115 Oviyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwem carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Oviyap finally found that another Hongwem had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "hiop" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Rwiya came by carrying firewood and Oviyap yelled something bawdy
#115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Oviyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
#115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Rwiya, Awe, Way's older daughter, Mee' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bone nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mee' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mer about having intercourse with his sister (Awe), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awe in their house. Mey came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want Mey to know, for he might tell Mer.

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7. Long muscle on either side of backbone is cut away from front and is left attached at the tail side.

8. Lower jaw chopped from upper on either side.

9. Shoulder joint cut through-- skin on lower half remaining.

10. Cut made in from second rib from back to the break in ribs nearest backbone and along this break out to mouth, thus removing breast bone, part of ribs, lower jaw, and first two joints of forelegs.

11. Backbone chopped and cut through at second rib from back and head, upper jaw, shoulder, and half of back removed.

12. Ribs are chopped close on either side of backbone.

13. Tail and tenderloin cut out and two hind legs separated along back bone-- back bone and tail remaining on left side.

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Division of parts to relatives

kwatuwe	mother's brother
takwheffi	father's sister
takimpi & suku tokwiyi	sister
wasfyi, wupe	father's brothers
yeti nafwhdiyi	brothers
wenafiyi	wife and children
hakwenif	wife and children
weyi	wife and children
entrails	wife and children

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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

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1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

867 264 [592] lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[8] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

• [604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 859 261 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [8] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

January 26, 1937.

#115 593 I asked Gwiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Gwiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Gwiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had prevented him. [604] Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his nan (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

#115 787 Gwiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angorem, where we got onto the Montoro, which Gwiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

#115 584 883 Gwiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Soubundum. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

*115 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it
291 is a "gud fala fashion."

April 16, 1937.

*115 Oriyap heard that Gamei, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Oriyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

583 Oriyap has not paid the large indemnity, nd fandar ya which is about
768 half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not
593 look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between
604 her brothers.

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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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882 602 865 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usually obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[47] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 609 628 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except 583 591 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust- 602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has • 606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 86 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[47] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 A KWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. [608] She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiima hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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[Since the Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type, information on kin terms applied to affinal or consanguinal relatives on an actual or classificatory level of relationship will be found in categories 601 and 602.]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476] 602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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601 father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife, wife's brother,* and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband, husband's brother,* and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law,* for the parents of his or her spouse.

601 The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two fur-
• 608 ther categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category
572 of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[8] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

561 The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by
862 relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods,
882 weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[8] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65–68.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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881 561 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who [608] [304] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three [292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[1] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three [535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. [786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[1] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a • [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the *in-group*, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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882 602 578 ***sister's son*** **(i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[24] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[25] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.**

882 • 608 881 628 **Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[26] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[27] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the**

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[24] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[25] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[26] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[27] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

[614] [621]

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 AKWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbiima hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[865] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother*
[601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
• 608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is
[881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though
[574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite
[754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos
[765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to
[764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son*****. The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend*****, and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[10] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[11] Later in the evening I asked him if

[10] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[11] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[55] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[55] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their coöperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[1] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tambaran during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[1] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
• 609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
623 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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609 578 [166] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a [626] man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[13] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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beginning of the world. Each of these ancestors is shared by a descent group ranging in size from the children of a father to the descendants of a totem. 611

The Kwoma kinship system is of the Omaha type.[6] Parallel cousins are all classed as siblings while cross cousins are called *mother*[7] or *maternal uncle* if they are related through the mother (i.e., mother's brother's children), and *nephew* if they are related through the father (i.e., father's sister's children). Age distinctions are made between siblings of the same sex but not between siblings of the opposite sex. Thus a boy has two terms, *elder sibling* and *younger sibling*, to refer to his brothers but classes all his sisters as *sister*. A girl uses *elder sibling* and *younger sibling* for her sisters but uses *brother* to refer to her brothers. The same terms are used and similar distinctions are made between parallel cousins. In the parental generation the father and his brothers are divided into three categories: *father*, *younger uncle*, and *elder uncle*, while father's sisters are called by a single term, *paternal aunt*. Similarly a mother's sisters are classed as *younger aunt* and *elder aunt*, while her brothers are all termed *maternal uncle*. There are two terms for grandparents, *paternal grandparent* and *maternal grandparent*. All ancestors above this are called by a single term, *ancestor*. Own children and the children of *elder siblings* and *younger siblings* are called *son* or *daughter*. A man calls his sisters' children "*nephew*," and a woman calls her brothers' children "*niece*." Grandchildren and grandchildren of siblings are called *grandchild*. 601

The sons and sons' sons of the mother's brother are also called *maternal uncle*, and his daughters and sons' daughters are called *mother*. The children of a mother's brother's daughter or of a mother's brother's son's daughter (i.e., of a *mother*) are classed as siblings. The descendants of one's

[6] Described by L. Spier in "The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America," *University of Washington Publication in Anthropology*, I, 69–88; and by G. P. Murdock (in MS.). [113]

[7] Italicized terms are the nearest English equivalent to the native term and refer to Kwoma kinship categories. Terms not italicized are used in their English sense.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute.

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved.

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids.

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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[18] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [18] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

412 [402] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 611 595 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [531] miniema or yenama; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

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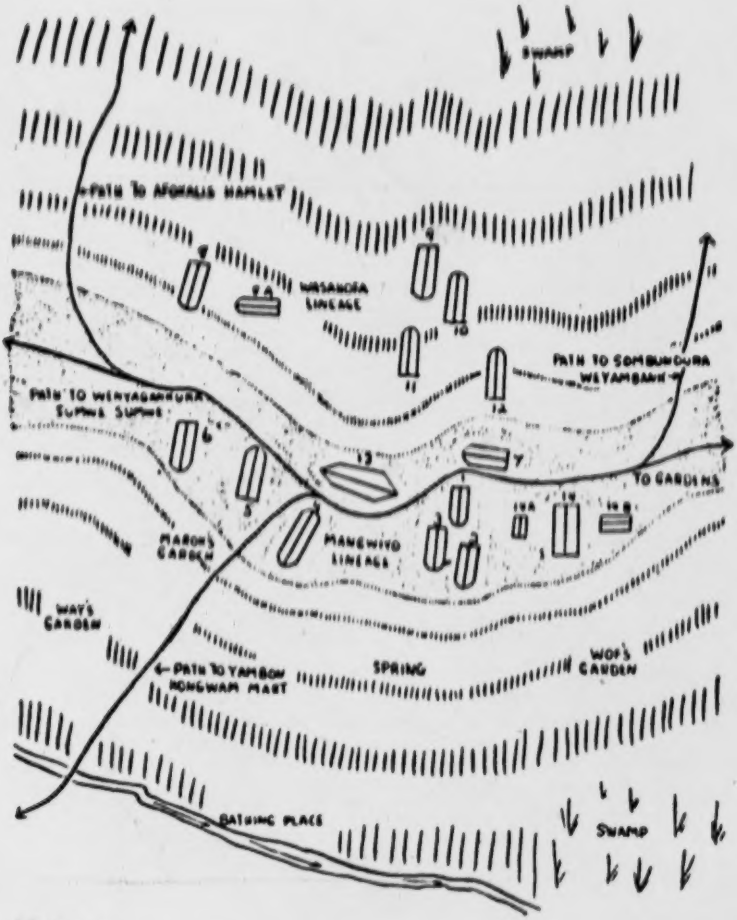

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RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

Mangwiyow Lineage

1. Wof = Kaya = Chinuwa[1]
   Uka Mey Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Fit
4. War = Bura = Kuma Kar = Difa = Yame Kis = Amba = Sungai[2]
   Mano Haya Ham Suw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gege
   Gwamp Njan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Famba Gwanta Merik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasuhof Lineage

8. Waramus = Nawa
   (8a) Mes = Yimba Aya Kwos
9. Afok = Kumwe
   Kawaf
10. Fokotay = Ngwiya
    Hambo
11. Daw = Huwena
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwal = Gufo
    Angandim Angeyamar
13. Rumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters

[1] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chinuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Uka, Mey, and Kum are Wof's children.

[2] War, Kar, and Kis are brothers. The children are those of War.

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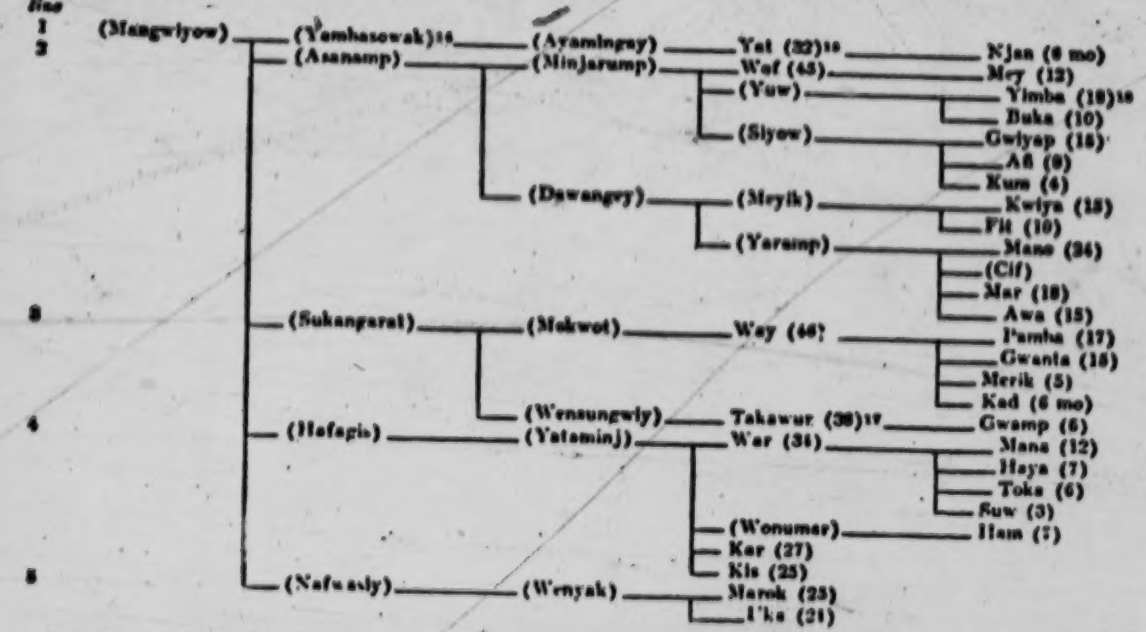
THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[13]



[13] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[14] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling*; he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling*.

[15] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatsminj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[16] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[17] These not live in the hamlet.

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1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [595] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife [597] Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [154] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell- 342

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [105] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [177] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [118] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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THE LINEAGE OF WASAHOF

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621 592 [591] a niece of Wof.[22] Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house [361] is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a [154] quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [191] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[23] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[22] A theoretically incestuous marriage.

[23] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house, plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its male members build their houses. The exact site is decided by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with respect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sections belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

The responsibility for defending property rights in land, produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life. He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[15] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[15] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

KUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

621 Mbogwiyaw Lineage

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1. Wof = Knya = Chimawa[2]
   Buka Moy Kum
2. Yawaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Matya Awa Fit
4. Wur = Bora = Kawa Kar = Mi.ka = Yawa Kis = Amba = Sanga[3]
   Mawa Maya Mam Sar Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gaga
   Gamap Mjan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Yamba Gwamta Marik Kadawam
7. Maruk = Mari Wka
   Afi

Waambof Lineage

8. Waramwa = Mawa
   (Sa) Mas = Yimba Aya Mawa
9. Afok = Kamwa
   Kwaf
10. Yokotay = Mgwiya
    Kamba
11. Daw = Mawam
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Mwal = Gufa
    Angandim Angayamar
13. Rambima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters (Kamb and Wiwap)

[2] = denotes marriage, i.e., Knya and Chimawa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Buka, Moy, and Kum are Wof's children. Names ending in a vowel refer to females, those ending in a consonant to males. This is an arbitrary distinction made for the reader's convenience.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwum subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayemakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tuk, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbima hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayemakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 592 361 [613] [114] Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son May (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Yowaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[i.e. Hard-Analyst]

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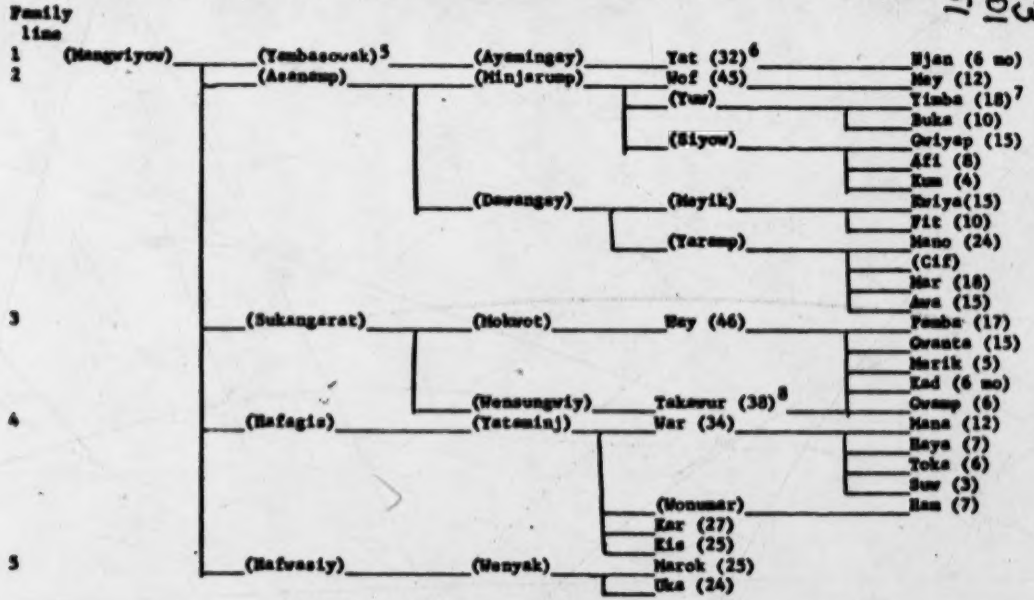
THE LINEAGE OF MAROVITON[4]



[4] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[5] The brothers in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a brother above him in the list older sibling; he calls a brother below him in the list younger sibling.

[6] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatsminj, of Wof is Wofsraga, of May is Maysmukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[7] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table. [8] Does not live in the hamlet.

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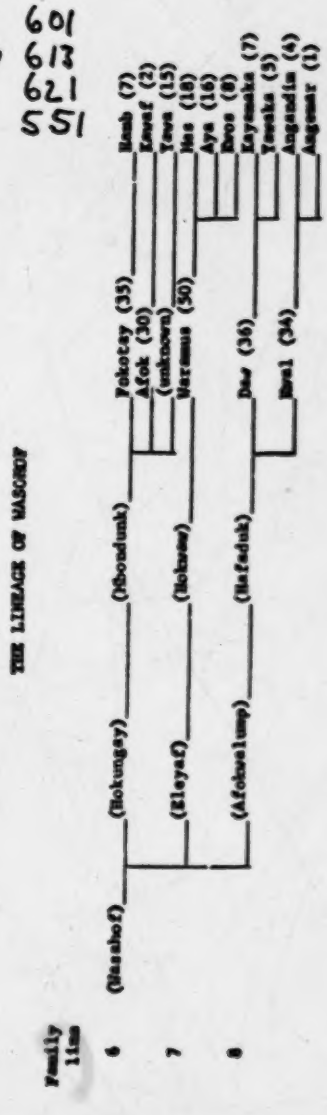

Appendix 3

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INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF RUMBIMA HAMLET

Note: The people of Rumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWARJ	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Amba	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIN	4	Wasahof
ANGEMAR	1	Wasahof
ASAHAMPA	adult	Other.
Awa	15	Mangwiyow
Aya	16	Wasahof
Bora	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chimuwa	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAWANGI	36	Wasahof
Dawi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Famba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKDYAY	35	Wasahof
Gaga	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIFAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huwena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAP	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayamaka	7	Wasahof
KEWARI	adult	Other
KIS	25	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALUMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiya	15	Mangwiyow
KWONAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWONAYI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

	Name	Age	Lineage
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621	KMOS	8	Wasahof
162	LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
	Mana	12	Mangwiyow
551	MANO	24	Mangwiyow
• 613	MAR	18	Mangwiyow
	MAROK	25	Mangwiyow
	Mbwimbwi	adult	Mangwiyow
	MERIK	5	Mangwiyow
	MES	18	Wasahof
	MEY	12	Mangwiyow
	MOETSI	Old man of Bongwen - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
	MUNDIK	young adult	Other
	Nemaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nembomai.
	NEMBOMAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
	Nowa	adult	Wasahof
	NAWABAMEN	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
	Ngwiyo	adult	Wasahof
	NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
	ROB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
	Pambe	17	Mangwiyow
	PWISAMBI	adult	Other
	SOF	adult	Other
	SOWINAMBI	adult	Other. Circumciser
	SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
	Sunga	adult	Mangwiyow
	SUW	3	Mangwiyow
	TAKAMUR	38	Mangwiyow
	Toka	6	Mangwiyow
	Uka	24	Mangwiyow
	WAR	34	Mangwiyow
	WARAMUS	30	Wasahof
	WAY	46	Mangwiyow
	WENYAMENJ	old man	Other
	WINGAMI	adult	Other
	WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
	WIYANGAMC	adult	Other. Circumciser.
	WOF	45	Mangwiyow
	Yama	adult	Mangwiyow
	YAT	32	Mangwiyow
	Yawa	15	Wasahof
	Yawaka	5	Wasahof
	Yimbe	18 mos.	Mangwiyow

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[13] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Y'enama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwei*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Y'enama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwei*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

765 [534] [535]

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [597] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

[754]

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

[305] [317] [113]

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[36] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[37] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 381 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[38] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[36] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the *same mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[37] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[38] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Kongwon subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayamakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Rumbima hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayamakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasshof.

621 Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line.
592 Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five
361 brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us
[613] was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our
[114] hut with his first wife Kaye, his levirate wife Chimuwa, his adopted son Hay (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kam (Chimuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Towaka stood (Household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Towaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[i.e. Hord.-Analyst]

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessan. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
•614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempɨe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempɨe is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessan. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

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settle with the Hongwan. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

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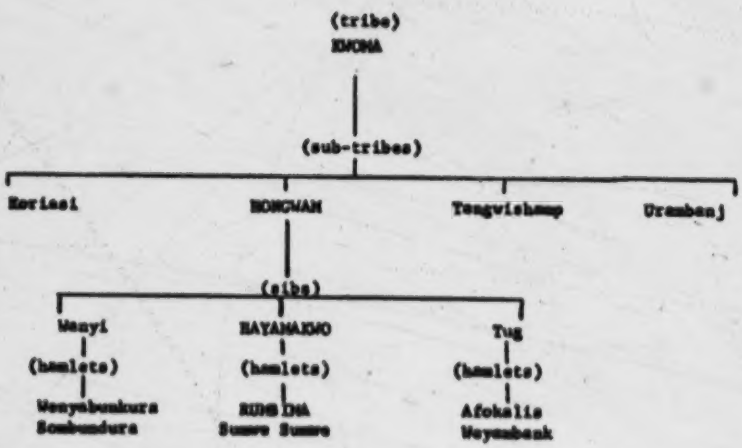

3½ bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago
fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which
are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying
[483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the
center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the
pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wankí)
fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and
smaller one which stands stripped of its maratta inside the new one. The
staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been
finished.

796 "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally
346 set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation,
[202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maratta is to be
fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone
[533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maratta
[192] to the refrain of a hogwaswát (A leader sings a sentence and the workers
answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the
ridge pole. The hogwaswát reaches the coda. After singing three lines all
together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is
a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest
[462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it
[614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and
Bensus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk Iuiwai,
Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan
which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk
for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

796 A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of
346 pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women
[262] have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which
[562] the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago
and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi
has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload
796 and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - -
264 (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac"
[262] and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food
[614] is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set
apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving
advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished,
the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor
reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.
[231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken
frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the
backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women
linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils
used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished
in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of
[251] the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up
in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing
is finished.

796 "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the
346 afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the
[562] house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and
dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gourie pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

614 [769] along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 276 773 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place) 174 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to 276 the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting if the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 133 December 9,1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.

How "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its 132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

114 he had presumed to go to the house temberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiop". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwam "bavi-talk" . He came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabenkura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to protect themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called samba and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwam. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbimen's samba. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwam sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwam in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banif' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the alter. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honowem sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] [178] [554] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They
were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Maly) by the
grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden
cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece
is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of
Kumbins sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves
in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling
that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up
the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint
and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less
and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the
anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task.
So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At those ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for
Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps
a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing
which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[921] Tongwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwom
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Meyamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
22 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, May, Pit, Mar, Kum, and Gaupi were big enough.

114 December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found [443] [685] his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's nareabor, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

*115 unsuccessfully to get from me.
[123]

*115 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get
583 some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a
[587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Mar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
[464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers
[583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
[476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
● [614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Oviyap, Namb, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
[784] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerises people. Later
[241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Gwiyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going--they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless. -154-

Totems

614

Listed below are the three sibs and a collection of some of the totems of each of them.

Wanyi	a pig; gouria pigeon, cassowary, duck, some small birds; liana; grass; crocodile; a shield; and variety of yam with black leaves.
Tug	a dog; sago grub; vegetable food; sago palm; areca nut; hornbill, cockatoo; red snake; water fowl, white egret, and several small birds.
Mwyamkwe	bird of paradise; all fish, but especially the saw fish and other large fish, shadows, taro, a variety of yam with white leaves; large fish hawk, large opossum, vagina. Kumbendim, a snake which causes thunder by talking angrily; Angwowari, the brother of Kumbendim, lives in a large stone. Angindini, the sons of Kumbendim, and Ngwudgwi, the wife.

192 [826] [262] **marinokw** — the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.

[614]

wambeyé	ears
wborowang	neck
mesuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
wangerusuku	kidneys
mogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé suf	anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the **siskofé** (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.

244 192 614 Listed below are some of the varieties of yams and a description of them.

afoesaps kow-- a totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf is dark green and large.

hangwa-- The fruit is long and dark, covered with fine roots. The leaf is light green or white. There are needles on the vine.

hawsakwa-- A totem of the Hayesakwo sib. The leaf is light green or white, the vine very spiny.

hofu nanyi (snake)--The fruit is very long and thin. The leaf is long, narrow and dark green.

kasaya nanyi (a bird)-- A totem of the Hayesakwo sib. The fruit is very large; the leaf dark green, and the vine spineless.

kayshafa-- The fruit is long and covered with roots. It resembles the variety afoesaps.

mandowa-- The fruit is long and light colored with fewer roots than the hangwa yam. There are needles on the vine; the leaf is dark green.

mandowa kow-- A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is dark skinned, with some roots; the leaf large and dark green.

mbutawi kow-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is large, has no roots and is dark. The leaf is spineless, dark green.

mbagaosk-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit is rounded and dark, with roots near the head near the stem but not below; the leaf is dark green.

nanya-- The fruit is round and lumpy; the leaf long and narrow. There are no needles on the vine.

ngayatafa-- The fruit has no roots except around the leaf of the fruit near the stem; the leaf is green and the vine spiny.

nogwaho-- A totem of the Tug sib. The fruit has no roots, the leaf is white.

wasimpira (pig's tooth)--A totem of the Wanyi sib. The fruit is large and flat. The leaf is dark green; there are no spines on the vine.

waya-- A variety of wild yam with long fruit and a small leaf.

Varieties of Taro

244
192
614

afiyengwat-- A totem of the Tug sib.

harema-- A totem of the Tug sib. The leaf is green with dark green squires; the stalk dark green.

menage oaka-- The leaf is dark green on top while the underside is a slightly bluish light green. The stem is light green.

nawakamayi-- A totem of the Hayamakwo sib. The leaf is large, dark green with light green splotches. The stalk is mahogany red.

The head of a taro is called nasaka and the body nag . A young shoot is called yeri.

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerise us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organisation. Both Bongus and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
682 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus luluai (a chief appointed by [622] the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, [648] and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows [191] only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little [619] Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tongwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Waschu ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.

The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 532 796 794 The mind suguiyf (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 794 616 593 786 [837] Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[4] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[5] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[6] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[4] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Maroi, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[5] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[6]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Washkuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yɛnama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwai*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yɛnama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwai*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
• 619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute.

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved.

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids.

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monial father **and a** ***ceremonial son.*** **The first of these relationships is established during adolescence, when he enters the age-grade cycle, while the second is instituted approximately twenty-five years later, when he starts playing the rôle of initiator in these ceremonies. Although the primary function of these relationships is carried out in the ceremonies themselves, the** ***ceremonial father*** **and the** ***ceremonial son*** **also stand as pseudo-kin in everyday life. A man is normally less intimate with them than with a** ***friend,*** **and he usually will not support them so strongly. Nevertheless, he is "safe" to visit and entertain them. Thus both the** ***friend-friend*** **and the** ***ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son*** **relationships bind the members of the subtribe together with ties like those of kinship, and are a consolidating force that is highly functional in a tribe with no king, chief, or council of elders, and no central political organization except a loosely organized court.**

Affinal relationships are not so friendly as consanguineal ones. Until a man has paid the bride-price, he is frequently antagonized by his wife's relatives. They are continually dunning him to pay and criticizing him for his treatment of his wife. Furthermore, a man may be frustrated by his sister's husband, for, as long as the latter does not pay the bride-price, he has no money to obtain a wife of his own. Also he must be continually ready to protect his sister against maltreatment. As a result, brothers-in-law are frequently aggressive toward one another. For the most part such aggression is expressed verbally in the form of insult and threat. Fear of retaliation and the disadvantages of open conflict within the subtribe are the limiting factors. The following is a typical case of such antagonism. Sof beat his wife for being indiscreetly adulterous, and she ran to the house of one of her older brothers, but he was not at home. Sof followed her and dragged her back. When her brother returned and learned what had happened, he shouted up the mountainside to Sof:

"You had better stop beating my sister."

"I will beat her all I want, if she continues to behave so badly."

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595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their cooperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who cooperate with him and support him, and who share with him common interests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[628] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the sub-
[619] tribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the cooperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be *aggressive* if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be *overaggressive* lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."[*]

648 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he
• 619 nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma
[439] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only ex-
[436] change sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail
[582] visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore,
[574] there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and
[796] visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[*] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tambarans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

131 The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern
133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
entire segment of the Prince Alexander Range which lies northwest of the Sepik.
[262] The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the
foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
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[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bongua family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bongua and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bongua and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [141] [614] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bongua luluai (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tongwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is korowp. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bongua owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Waskuk ranges is called aruku.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we step and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

October 25, 1936.

101 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions
• 649 of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bengus together were called
Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another
[497] group called kuoma.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and
101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the
river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau,
173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the
721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige.
726 A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it,
and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would
kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed.
[511] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took
[527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the
[266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the
adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present genera-
tion, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people.
Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs
[648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the
Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowei, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out
the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at
Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya
was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit
tree.

* Probably Kwoma

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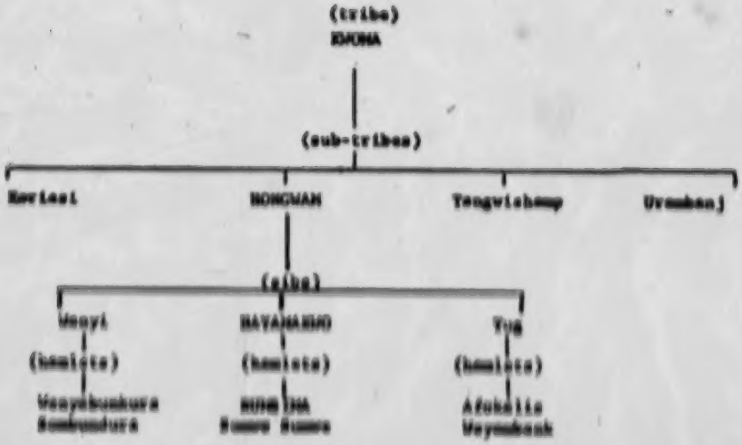

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[721] Tengwishamp, Urumbanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is
carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping
vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that
they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little
we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively
the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,
fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage
which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter
groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of
the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the
inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated
by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his
deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwom
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haymaakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 826 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 226 231 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
and dogs are domesticated.

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[13] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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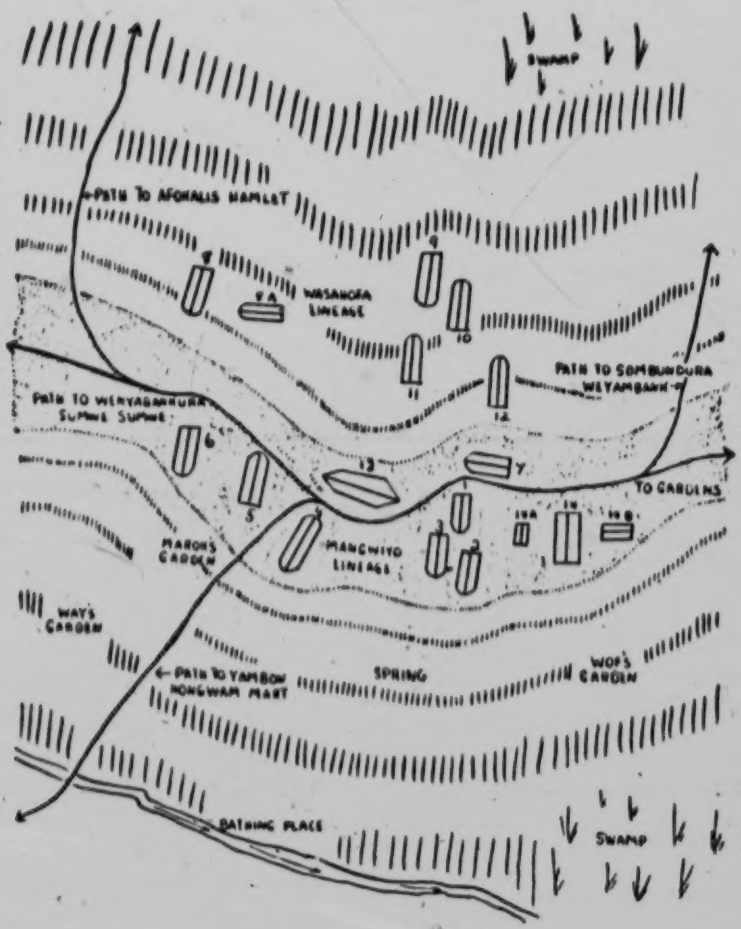

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RUMBIMA HAMLET (by household)

Mangwiyow Lineage

1. Wof = Kaya = Chinuwa[11]
   Uka Mey Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Mar Gwiyap Kwiya Awa Fit
4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Difa = Yame Kis = Amba = Sunga[12]
   Mano Haya Ham Suw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Gege
   Gwamp Njan
6. Way = Mbwimbwi
   Famba Gwanta Merik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

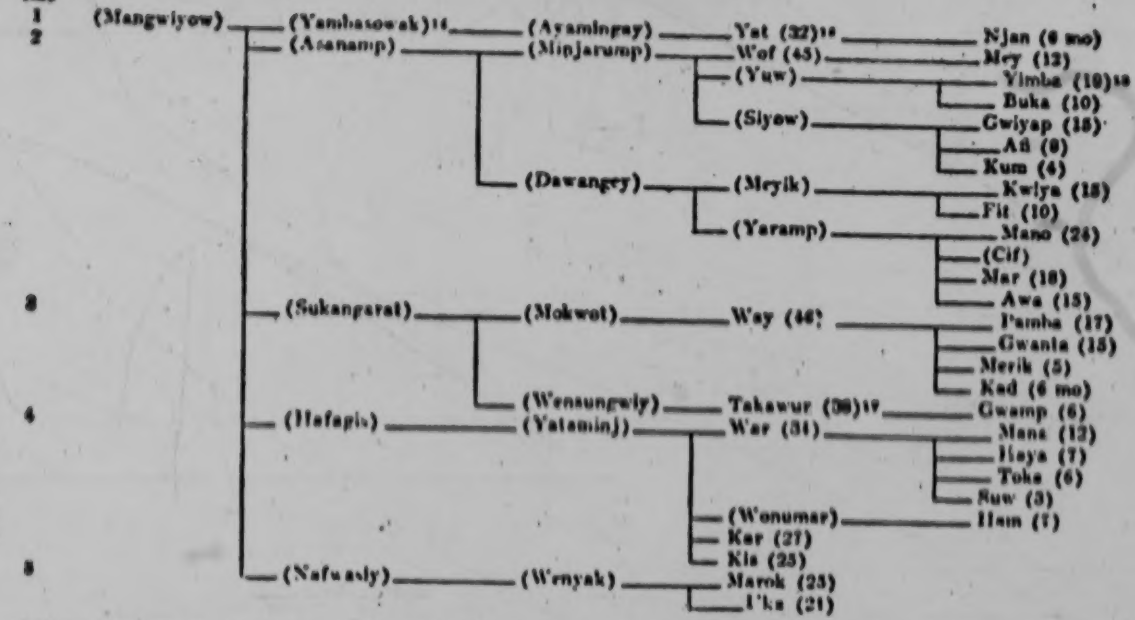
Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramus = Nawa
   (8a) Mra = Yimba Aya Kwos
9. Afok = Kumwe
   Kawaf
10. Fokotay = Ngwiya
    Hambo
11. Daw = Huwena
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwai = Gufo
    Angandim Angeyamar
13. Rumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters

[11] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chinuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Uka, Mey, and Kum are Wof's children.

[12] War, Kar, and Kis are brothers. The children are those of War.

THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[12]



[12] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[13] The *brothers* in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a *brother* above him in the list *older sibling;* he calls a *brother* below him in the list *younger sibling.*

[15] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatuminj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[16] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table.

[17] Does not live in the hamlet.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

765 [534] [535]

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [597] [754] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

[305] [307] [313]

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Ati, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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THE LINEAGE OF WASAHOF

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621 592 [91] a niece of Wof." Mes has started to build a house for himself and Yimba near that of his father. There are no other members of Waramus' line dwelling at Rumbima.

[36] [154] A short way down the mountainside from Marok's house is the dwelling of Kwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He is married to a woman named Gufo and they have two boys, Angandim, a young child, and Angemar, an infant. Kwal's older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lives in the adjacent house with his strapping wife Huwena, and two girl [613] children, Kayamaka and Yawaka. These two families comprise the second line of the Wasahof lineage.

Two brothers head the third and final line of the lineage of Wasahof. They live together a little farther down the [156] path which passes by the last two households described. Fokotay (household 10, family line 6), the elder, is a jovial but rather ineffectual man of forty. He is married to Ngwiya, and has only one child, a little girl called Hambo. Afok (household 9, family line 6), a few years younger than Fokotay, has a keen sense of humor and is somewhat more [90] forceful than his older brother. Except for those who have worked for Europeans, Afok is the only adult who has made any attempt to learn pidgin. Although he has learned only a little, he seems to get considerable pleasure from the attempt. He lives with his wife Kumwe and their infant son Kawaf. Yawa, Mar's betrothed (household 3), is also a descendant of this line, her deceased father being a brother of Fokotay and Afok.

621 613 The Wasahof lineage thus numbers only fifteen living persons.[53] Six wives swell the group to twenty-one. The Mangwiyow lineage has thirty members and thirteen wives. This makes a total of sixty-four persons living in Rumbima ham- [124] let. Persons from the other five hamlets were interviewed primarily to check information gathered at Rumbima. The Mangwiyow lineage provided more material than did the Wasahof lineage, both because it was larger and because we

[53] A theoretically incestuous marriage.
[54] This does not include the women who have married and left the hamlet.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[1] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[1] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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father's friends.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbiuna hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwai and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted. 832

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15] 882 836 602 835 601 784

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that 882 836 602 835 124

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*. 601 621

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative. 597 748

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882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 881 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A *safe* relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

[914] [921]

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476 relatives to help. All the members of the hamlet who do not
574 have pressing work of their own are expected to answer this
262 call and appear the next morning at the place where the
[203] work is to be done. The *brothers* of the married women of the
• [621] households who are giving the bee are also expected to help if they can. While the men work, the women prepare the feast. Then, early in the afternoon, after a long morning's work, the men stop and go to the house of one of the boss gardeners where the feast is to be given. The men form a separate group from the women, eat in a leisurely manner, smoke, chew betel, and indulge in horseplay between courses. After the meal the older men either gossip or nap while the boys tease one another and play. The work is over for the day. The Kwoma are perfectly familiar with the patterned behavior of these work parties, since they have participated in them frequently during childhood and adolescence. When they become adult they have to plan the work bees, direct the gathering of food, and announce the day.

241 The first task in gardening is to choose a site, a decision
31 which rests with the boss gardeners. They must balance the advantages and disadvantages of cultivating a plot in the
[317] hamlet or in an outlying district.[4] If the garden is planted
[231] near the dwelling, it has to be enclosed by a fence to prevent domestic pigs from rooting up the crop, but it is near at hand. If a site is cleared in an outlying district, it may take several hours to walk there, but it need not be fenced.

241 The garden site is usually cleared by means of a number
476 of work bees. Since it takes considerable time and effort to provide food for the feast, the task of clearing a site is nor-
[462] mally spread over several weeks, and sometimes months. The first task, which is performed by adolescent boys and men, is to climb the trees and lop off the branches in order to let sun down to the earth below. The old men and children clear the brush and stack it and the cut branches into piles for burning.

After the site has been cleared and the rubbish burned,

[423] [4] Property rights, also, determine the choice. The division and ownership of land will be discussed below.

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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685 next day Yat sent a message to Sumwe Sumwe, announcing
628 that he had discovered that his pig blind had been destroyed
578 and that if they trespassed on his land again there would be trouble. The Sumwe Sumwe returned an equally aggressive message to the effect that Yat had built his blind on their property and that he had better not try to rebuild it. Angry and insulting messages flew back and forth most of the day. A few days later Yat again visited his pig blind, and on the way he met Dowar. Both of them were carrying their pig spears. After an angry exchange of insults, according to Yat, he challenged Dowar to a spear duel, but the latter threw down his spear and ran. Yat picked up the discarded spear and broke it against a tree. Then he returned home and boasted of his prowess at the house tamberan that evening. The topic for gossip was again that the Sumwe Sumwe were a bad lot and, in addition, were cowards. Many tales were recounted of their sexual depravity. Yat felt that Dowar had learned his lesson and would not interfere again. He said that if the offense were repeated, he would take the case to the patrol officer.[19]

685 Another case involved theft within the house-tamberan
• 621 group. Kafa, Yat's wife, began shouting angrily one after-
578 noon at Mar's betrothed, Yawa, accusing her of stealing sago grubs from a tree on her husband's plot. Yawa, being a rather cowardly and unaggressive girl, made a feeble denial, but Mar's mother and *aunt* immediately took over her defense and shouted invective in reply. Yat's other wife then joined in the argument, and for almost an hour the four women kept up a stream of insult, accusation, and threat. Now and again other women of the neighborhood would make a point on one side or the other, but none of the men joined in the argument. I asked Mar what he was going to do about it. He replied that it was a woman's argument and no affair of his. He was not very fond of his betrothed, and felt that she was a lazy good-for-nothing who had been foisted on him. He commented proudly on his mother's sharp

[19] If the dispute had continued it probably would have actually been settled at a meeting of the subtribal court.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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621 578 [514] [346] [648] sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example, had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another locality to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

593 578 [754] A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

KINDIMA HAMLET (by household)

621 Mwagriyow Lineage
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1. Wof = Kaya = Chimuwa[2]
   Buka May Kum
2. Yowaka Yawa
3. Nar Gwiyap Khiya Awa Yit
4. War = Bora = Kuma Kar = Di.a = Yawa Kis = Amba = Bunga[3]
   Mnao Kaya Kam Saw Toka
5. Yat = Kafa = Oaga
   Gwap Kjan
6. Way = Mwimbwi
   Yamba Gwanta Narik Kadowan
7. Marok = Dawi Uka
   Afi

Wasahof Lineage

8. Waramua = Kawa
   (Sa) Nas = Timba Aya Kwas
9. Afok = Kuwa
   Kawaf
10. Yokotay = Kgwiya
    Kambo
11. Daw = Kawana
    Kayamaka Yawaka
12. Kwal = Gufo
    Angandin Angayamar
13. Kumbima house tamberan
14. Houses of investigators
    (14a and b) Servants' quarters (Kamb and Wisap)

[2] = denotes marriage, i.e., Kaya and Chimuwa are the two wives of Wof. Children are on the second line in each household, i.e., Buka, May, and Kum are Wof's children. Names ending in a vowel refer to females, those ending in a consonant to males. This is an arbitrary distinction made for the reader's convenience.

614 The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. The three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the Wanyi, who descended from a pig; the Hayamakwo, who descended from a great fish hawk; and the Tug, who descended from the sago palm. The men of Kumbima hamlet where we lived, claim descent [613] from the giant fish hawk, and hence belong to the Hayamakwo sib. They divide themselves into two lineages; the larger claiming descent from the culture hero, Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 592 361 [613] [114] Mangwiyow reputedly had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendents of the five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2). He dwelt a few yards from our but with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chimuwa, his adopted son May (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a neice), and his stepson Kum (Chimuwa's son by her former husband). Wof was a man of about forty-five whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He had the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

Adjacent to Wof's house, the rather dilapidated dwelling of Towaka stood (household 2). She was an old woman who could not walk because of a great sore on her leg but who made up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She was the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). Living with her was Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Towaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster, was a tall gangling youth who had not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He showed marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appeared unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him lived his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children--

[i.e. Herd-Analyst]

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Eviya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's. Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, was a lad just past puberty, not yet fully grown, but extremely intelligent, very active and had learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Mmrok (household 7, family line 5). With him lived his wife Dewi, his married sister Uha, and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Mmrok was in his middle twenties, the only male of his age group in the hamlet who had not left for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he was also the only one who spoke no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Mmrok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). Mar, the oldest, a man in his thirties, was a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He had the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer, dancer, and a man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Emma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Emma he had three children: Mana, and Meya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Mmm, a nephew, about seven years old, also lived in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, an intelligent young man in his middle twenties, had just returned from working in the gold fields prior to our arrival and spoke pidgin English fluently. He had two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and spoke pidgin English. He also had two wives, Sanga and Ambe, but no children.

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Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by Wer, Kar, and Kis, stood that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He was the only man in the hamlet who had learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and had also taken a head. He had two wives, Kafa and Gogo, and one son, Njon (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There were no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling was one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who had some reputation as a sorcerer. With him lived his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Pambe and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Marik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also had taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takwar, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape Wer's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house was the dwelling of Waramwa (household 8, family line 7), who was about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He was slightly cross-eyed and had a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him lived his wife Mawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mbo, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Mwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimbe, who was the wife of Mbo and a niece of Wof.* Mow had started to build a house for himself and Yimbe near that of his father. There were no other members of Waramwa's line dwelling at Kumbima.

A short way down the mountainside from Maruk's house was the dwelling of Mwal (household 12, family line 8), a quiet, hard-working man of approximately thirty-two. He was married to a woman named Ofo, and they had two boys, Angandin, a young child, and Angamar, an infant. Mwal's

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* A theoretically incestuous marriage.

621 older brother, Daw (household 11, family 8), lived in the adjacent house with
592 his stropping wife Hawana, and two girl children, Enyamaka and Yawaka.
361 These two families comprised the second line of the Waashof lineage.

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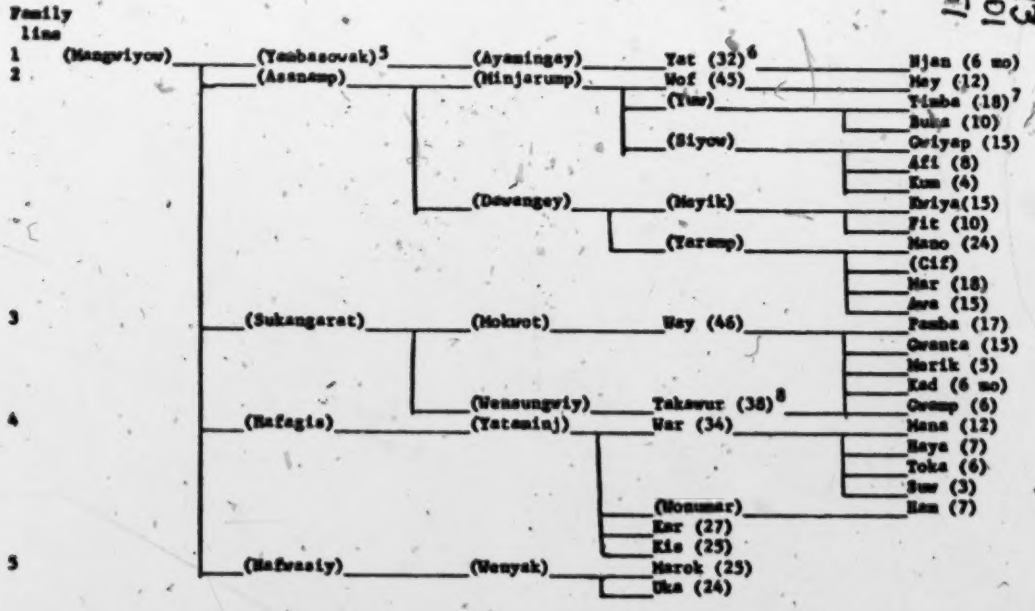
THE LINEAGE OF MANGWIYOW[4]



[4] Parentheses indicate that a person is dead. Numbers show approximate age. Female names are distinguished from male by vowel endings, a device for the reader's convenience, not a characteristic of Kwoma culture.

[5] The brothers in this generation are arranged from top to bottom in order of seniority, i.e., any man calls a brother above him in the list older sibling; he calls a brother below him in the list younger sibling.

[6] The shortened form of the names of living persons who appear frequently in the text has been used rather than the longer form. Thus the long form of Yat is Yatominj, of Wof is Wofaraga, of Mey is Meyamukw. The shortened form is used by the Kwoma in intimate address or reference.

[7] Females of lineage still living in hamlet are included in this table. [8] Does not live in the hamlet.

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THE LINEAGE OF WASOROF

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwan. The Yani came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwan and went to their present site at Yessan. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempɵe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempɵe is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessan. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

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settle with the Hongwan. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

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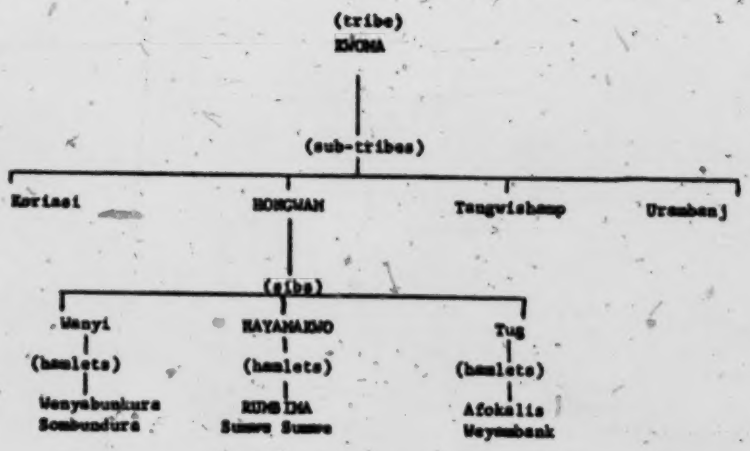

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[921] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

Appendix 3

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INFORMANTS AND INDIVIDUALS OF RUMBIMA HAMLET

Note: The people of Rumbima Hamlet are indicated with respect to household, relations, kin, and age on pages 11, 13, and 17 of Becoming a Kwoma by John W. M. Whiting. Following is an alphabetically organized list of the names of these people along with some people from other hamlets who appear frequently in the text. A few characters who only appear once in the text are not included in this list. Sex is indicated by capitalizing the names of the males.

Name	Age	Lineage
AFALOWANJ	adult	Other. Wood carver.
Afi	8	Mangwiyow
AFOK	30	Wasahof
Amba	adult	Mangwiyow
ANGADIN	4	Wasahof
ANGIMAR	1	Wasahof
ASAHAMPA	adult	Other.
Awa	15	Mangwiyow
Aya	16	Wasahof
Bora	adult	Mangwiyow
Buka	10	Mangwiyow
Chimowa	adult	Mangwiyow
DAW, DAWANGI	36	Wasahof
Dawi	adult	Mangwiyow
Difa	adult	Mangwiyow
EVE	adult	A British oil search engineer.
Femba	child	Mangwiyow
FIT	10	Mangwiyow
FOKOTAY	35	Wasahof
Gege	adult	Mangwiyow
Gufo	adult	Wasahof
GWAMP	6	Mangwiyow
Gwanta	15	Mangwiyow
GWIYAP	15	Mangwiyow
HAMB	7	Mangwiyow
Haya	7	Mangwiyow
Huwena	adult	Wasahof
KADOWAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
Kafa	adult	Mangwiyow
KAR	27	Mangwiyow
KAWAP	2	Wasahof
Kaya	adult	Mangwiyow
Kayawaka	7	Wasahof
KEWARI	adult	Other
KIS	28	Mangwiyow
KOMB	adult	Other
KUM	4	Mangwiyow
Kuma	adult	Mangwiyow
KWALUMP	34	Wasahof
Kwiya	15	Mangwiyow
KWOWAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
KWOWATI	young adult	Other. Had worked in gold fields. Spoke pidgin.

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Name	Age	Lineage
KWOS	8	Wasahof
LATAI	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Mana	12	Mangwiyow
MANO	24	Mangwiyow
MAR	18	Mangwiyow
MAROK	25	Mangwiyow
Mbwimbwi	adult	Mangwiyow
MERIK	5	Mangwiyow
MES	18	Wasahof
MEY	12	Mangwiyow
MOETSI	Old man of Mongwen - suspected of being a sorcerer.	
MUNDIK	young adult	Other
Nasaingamp	adult	Other. Of the coast. Wife of Nambomai.
NAMBOMAI	adult	Other. Of the coast. Houseboy.
Nawa	adult	Wasahof
NAWABAMEN	adult	Other. Thought to be a sorcerer.
Ngwiye	adult	Wasahof
NJAN	6 mos.	Mangwiyow
ROB OVERALL	adult	Recruiter
Pauba	17	Mangwiyow
PWISAMBI	adult	Other
SOF	adult	Other
SOWINAMBI	adult	Other. Cicatriser
SUKATAYA	adult	Other. Good hunter.
Sunga	adult	Mangwiyow
SUN	3	Mangwiyow
TAKAMUR	38	Mangwiyow
Toka	6	Mangwiyow
Uka	24	Mangwiyow
WAR	34	Mangwiyow
WARAMUS	50	Wasahof
WAT	46	Mangwiyow
WENYAMEKU	old man	Other
WINGAWI	adult	Other
WISEP	young adult	Other. From the coast. Houseboy.
WIYAMGAWC	adult	Other. Cicatriser.
WOF	45	Mangwiyow
Yama	adult	Mangwiyow
YAT	32	Mangwiyow
Yawa	15	Wasahof
Yawaka	3	Wasahof
Yimba	18 mos.	Mangwiyow

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangus family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangus and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangus and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [191] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangus luluai (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tongwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangus owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Wasoku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, U'ka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
• 626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group cooperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 • 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [476] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 602 835 578 837 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence. Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken advantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 578 602 593 [885] Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from economic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his property against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 593 626 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

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609 578 [156] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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121 861 [192] [196] the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[25]

121 626 602 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] [25] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mas, Owiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mas in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelegu. I guessed what it was, and later Owiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelegu people. Mas and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwe called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwe's imagination. I told Owiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwia, Kwalump, Ambe, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kwonai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Manuk's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awa visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 • 627 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[31] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[32] against him or one of his relatives.

[31] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[32] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

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164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get geneologies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term narumboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[264] yet know. Later on when one's narumboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yalagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yalagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwom. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenysbankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kiop". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwem "navi-talk" . He came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabenkura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to protect themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called samba and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwem. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's samba. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwem sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwem in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

224 [518] [648] made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Polwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Polwaga. They live at the old Kaymakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Tumbwinambara. Polwaga is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 627 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Soubundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 241 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Tambon this morning. Rwai was cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, May, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa'a on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 881 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieß jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
• 628 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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685 next day Yat sent a message to Sumwe Sumwe, announcing
628 that he had discovered that his pig blind had been destroyed
578 and that if they trespassed on his land again there would be trouble. The Sumwe Sumwe returned an equally aggressive message to the effect that Yat had built his blind on their property and that he had better not try to rebuild it. Angry and insulting messages flew back and forth most of the day. A few days later Yat again visited his pig blind, and on the way he met Dowar. Both of them were carrying their pig spears. After an angry exchange of insults, according to Yat, he challenged Dowar to a spear duel, but the latter threw down his spear and ran. Yat picked up the discarded spear and broke it against a tree. Then he returned home and boasted of his prowess at the house tamberan that evening. The topic for gossip was again that the Sumwe Sumwe were a bad lot and, in addition, were cowards. Many tales were recounted of their sexual depravity. Yat felt that Dowar had learned his lesson and would not interfere again. He said that if the offense were repeated, he would take the case to the patrol officer.[19]

685 Another case involved theft within the house-tamberan
621 group. Kafa, Yat's wife, began shouting angrily one after-
578 noon at Mar's betrothed, Yawa, accusing her of stealing sago grubs from a tree on her husband's plot. Yawa, being a rather cowardly and unaggressive girl, made a feeble denial, but Mar's mother and *aunt* immediately took over her defense and shouted invective in reply. Yat's other wife then joined in the argument, and for almost an hour the four women kept up a stream of insult, accusation, and threat. Now and again other women of the neighborhood would make a point on one side or the other, but none of the men joined in the argument. I asked Mar what he was going to do about it. He replied that it was a woman's argument and no affair of his. He was not very fond of his betrothed, and felt that she was a lazy good-for-nothing who had been foisted on him. He commented proudly on his mother's sharp

[19] If the dispute had continued it probably would have actually been settled at a meeting of the subtribal court.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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595 her behind her back and finally, a month or so after the mar-
578 riage, accused her of stealing sorcery material. Wof's store of sago flour had been tampered with. Kaya told her husband that she had seen Chinuwa in the vicinity of the food store that morning. When Chinuwa returned to the house, Wof confronted her with Kaya's charge, but Chinuwa hotly denied it and threatened to leave Wof if he believed any more malicious gossip about her. Although Chinuwa may have taken a bit of sago flour to hold as sorcery material over Wof's head, it is much more probable that Kaya engineered the scheme to make Wof angry and suspicious of his new wife. Despite such conflicts, Kwoma co-wives are usually quite amicable. Each has her separate fire and does her own cooking. Each is allotted a special part of the garden to care for. If a dispute arises concerning their coöperative activity, the husband acts as arbiter.

602 A woman's relationship to other relatives need only be
[595] briefly sketched. She acts in a motherly way toward the children of her co-wife, and toward the children of her husband's
[601] *brothers*. She calls her father's *sister's* children *son* or *daughter* and mothers them even though they may be older than she. She is kindly toward the children of her *brother*, calling
[582] them niece and nephew. She rarely sees her *sisters*, since they
[591] are not permitted to marry into the same hamlet.

Thus a Kwoma man lives in a hamlet surrounded by relatives with whom he is comparatively safe, who coöperate with him and support him, and who share with him common inter-
[628] ests and goals. He is bound to the other hamlets of his sib by
[619] patrilineal ties and to the hamlets of other sibs of the subtribe through ties with his *sisters*, his *maternal uncles*, his *paternal aunts*, his wife's relatives, his *friends*, and his ceremonial *father* and *son*. Each of these bonds implies reciprocal obligations, some of which are economic but all of which are protective and friendly. A woman lives with her children
[628] among her affines. She maintains throughout her life a close tie with the hamlet of her birth through the strong bond that she has with her parents and her *brothers*, and she also has havens of safety and friendship in other hamlets with her

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maternal uncle, her ***paternal aunt***, her ***sisters***, and her ***friends***. 602 [628]

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the coöperative endeavors of non-relatives[46] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes. 609 619

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected. 609 578 754 [574]

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't 609 156 598 123

[46] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite alot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me
again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance
all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let
them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and
he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back,
and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the
114 trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
628 tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and
521 he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwan were
[024] friendly; Urambanji and Saseramen were no good and that Tangwishamp and
Hongwan always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was
sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He
had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we
were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the
others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the
police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a
648 neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything
521 to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted
[023] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather
521 excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I know they were talking about Eve
648 and the Amiki(wisepeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me
that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been
burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

437 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the "tunket" for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Has and Qwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwam would take place at Hdowsy house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
457 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwam wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the Tengwishampa asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Nomb had tried to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wof's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Gwiyap and Hay who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Yas in waus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Wayakola's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by Mar and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put out in the agayin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out that all the wives--Gwiyap's sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Gwiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. Hay, Mar, Gwiyap, Mas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Nomb appeared and

787

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalewanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered 754 in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan 721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Bwiyamps and Doweri and Mawandaya had broken it and

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house temberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwems were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Peyap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them wan but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a mat bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Peyap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who
628 had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers.
[648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It
883 was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and Mey said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to
262 their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food
313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large mat bag of firewood.

226 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch
123 anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my mat. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is
[593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was
[262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwem
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haymaknwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed . It is thought
826 that the man's bbood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[3] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[4] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[3] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[4] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Washkuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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829 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

• 648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[28] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

[721]

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[28] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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About a dozen of the Hongwam obeyed this command but said that it was impossible to take the luggage by land. The patrol officer scolded them because more had not come and told them that they lied about the road being impassable. He explained that two white men were coming to stay with them for a long time to learn their language and customs. He then ordered them to return home and gather as many men as possible the next afternoon at the foot of the mountain, where we would land after taking the river route by canoe, to carry our baggage. The patrol officer decided to go to Kwoma with us because it was an appropriate time to make his yearly visit to the tribe and because there was also a special matter to attend to. Several Hongwam natives had signed a contract to work on a plantation but had bolted back home before their time was completed. It was the patrol officer's job to make them fulfill their contracts. We were accompanied into Kwoma territory, therefore, by the patrol officer and a company of police boys. On the day after our arrival he commanded all the natives to assemble at Rumbima house tamberan near which we had camped. When they arrived he took the annual roll call and recorded births and deaths. He scolded the natives because many of them had not responded to the assembly summons. He said that the excuse of being away in their gardens was not sufficient and unless they all came on his next visit there would be trouble. Then he asked where the four runaways were. No one knew. He said that if they came with him to fulfill their contract all would be well, but that if they did not they would be hunted out and put in jail. In response to this threat one gave himself up, but the other three remained hidden. The patrol officer then announced to the assembled tribe that we had come to study their language and customs and were going to stay a long time. He ordered them to build a house for us and warned them that if anyone harmed us he would be severely punished by the government.

In order to complete the description of the status of a white man in Kwoma culture, it should be noted that white recruiters had on several occasions visited the tribe in person,

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or else had sent native emissaries, during the previous decade, and had enticed a dozen or more of the young men to leave with them to work either on plantations or in the gold fields. The old men had strongly opposed this because it put a great economic burden on them to have so many able-bodied men leave the tribe. Mothers feared that their sons would never return alive, sisters were left without brothers to help and protect them, and the young women were left with fewer lovers. On the positive side, however, the families of the recruited boys were given axes, knives, plane irons for adz celts, and other European articles which were extremely valuable to the Kwoma who had hitherto known only tools of stone, wood, and bone. Then the young men came back from their work with more tools and with money with which to buy pigs and shells from the river natives as well as with many tales of the wonders of white technology and the peculiarities of white customs. Yat, Kar, and Kis were the only ones to go from Rumbima.

When we arrived, therefore, white men were classed in two categories: government agents and recruiters.[28] The former were dangerous; the latter both annoying and useful. Since we arrived with the patrol officer, we were first classed as "government." Furthermore, since we came at a time when the patrol officer was trying to force runaways to return, many of the people of Hongwam believed that we were special emissaries sent to bring these fugitives to justice. It was not until we had lived in the community for four months that we even saw these young men. On the other hand, since we brought many boxes of supplies and trade goods, we were classed in part as recruiters. In fact, the older men continually warned us not to entice young men to leave the tribe with us. Wof put it: "Don't take Gwiyap and Mar to America with you. We need them to help with the work of the hamlet." Their fears came true, for when I left with a recruiter, Gwiyap, Mar, Mes, and four other boys "signed on" with

[28] The Kwoma had had so little contact with missionaries and traders that these people hardly formed distinct categories.

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[348] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[344] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[361] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowo*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowo sa-*
[196] *kana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. [123] [838] [839] In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 834 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
[685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14] [648] [692]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved. 423 621 692 578 [602] [613]

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[24] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[24] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."

• 648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma [439] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only ex- [436] change sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail [582] visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, [574] there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and [796] Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

" Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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721 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was
593 undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning
578 in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's
[586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even
[302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her.
[648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

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Ambunti, the government post. Some of the men present had seen six river natives hanged by the white government for head-hunting and did not relish the idea of being caught themselves. They said that it would be much safer to attack Sowal, a tribe far in the swamp which the whites had not yet visited. Wof, a *brother* of War, voiced another objection to the raid. He pointed out that his gardens adjoined Yelagu territory, and since they would be sure to retaliate, it would not be safe for him to work in his garden if the raid were carried out. The group disbanded, excited but undecided. 721 648•

For two weeks there was a great deal of discussion among the men of the tribe. War and Wof argued with particular vehemence, War presenting over and again the reasons why it was a good idea to raid the Yelagu, and Wof countering with his objections. The two even broke relationship for a time because of the dispute. Neither visited the other's house, and they passed one another guardedly without speaking. The other men of the tribe, meanwhile, had been swayed by the argument that there was considerable danger of punishment from the whites if Yelagu were attacked, whereas Sowal involved much less danger. It was also reported that high water had driven the Sowal out of their central village, and that they were living on knolls in small isolated groups that would be particularly vulnerable. The pressure of these arguments finally forced War to give up his idea of attacking Yelagu, and he threw his weight into planning for the Sowal raid. He and Wof reëstablished their relationship. [578]

War and some of the older men of the hamlet began to incite the young men to go on the raid. He told them that this was their chance to become big men. In particular he played upon the emotions of Mes, because he, as my shoot boy, could use a gun. The effect of these incendiary talks put Mar in a strong conflict. One evening he came to talk to me about it. He told me that he had decided not to go on the raid. He was afraid that the raiders would get in trouble with the whites, and he was not going to have anything to do with it. Then he began talking about what he would lose by not going and started to weep. He sobbed: "Never mind. I'll

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721 never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my
• 648 life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near [703] Var's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs [262] bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned [526] the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[32] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[123] [32] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It
gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies
of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The
feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouris pigeon; they
were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of
each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine
inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to
relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the
impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed,
the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and
red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed
around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were
smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had
featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped
and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with
red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[958] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies
except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose
of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulusi and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flutd which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

123
114 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old man, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangue and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
682 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

582 615 have no connection is number one, your mother's number two, and your father's number three in preference. To marry outside the tribe was all right. In his particular case, he had been a Waskuk lad adopted by a Bangua family. The taboo worked for him both in regard to his own and to his adopted family's social groups, so there was a taboo phratrie for him in both Bangua and Waskuk. [595] He actually had two wives, one a Bangua and the other a Waskuk, but each of them were members of the preferred phratrie.

123 When he left after the morning's work, we gave him a bottle of bay rum and a paring knife for his bananas; he went away apparently very pleased.

124 [622] [648] [141] [619] In the afternoon, Sowinambi, the Bangua lulusi (a chief appointed by the Australians) came to visit. He is one of the older men of influence, and we were pleased to see that he was very friendly toward us. He knows only a few words of pidgin, but by a combination of that and the little Waskuk that we know, we were able to get a check on the phratries and their names, and also the social divisions of the other tribes of the culture area, Tangwishamp, Urambanj and Koriasi. According to him the first and last have four divisions each, and Urambanj only two. The native names for these phratries is koromp. Our attempts to get his geneology were not very successful.

423 The property question is going to be fun. In getting the names of geographical features, particularly mountains nearby, we've been told by some that they belong to individuals, and by others that they belong to the tribe as a whole. A Waskuk told me that all the biggest mountains were his peoples' and that the Bangua owned one measly little hill near the swamp.

103 The Sepik, a few curving miles of which we can see down below between the Ambunti and Waseku ranges is called nambu.

114 People on the coast can hear our groans of despair whenever we stop and go over our special problems, wondering if we'll ever get evidence which is pertinent to them. Our discouragement however, is not official.

October 25, 1936.

101 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions
649 of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called
Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another
[197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and
101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the
river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau,
173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the
721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige.
726 A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it,
and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would
kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed.
[411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took
[527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the
[246] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.
Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the
adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present genera-
tion, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people.
Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs
[648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the
Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out
the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at
Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya
was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit
tree.

* Probably Kwoma

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[648]

settle with the Hongwan. When they first came, their house tamberans were Wambon and Ambunti. They were situated close together near the sago on the east side of the mountain on which Wenyabunkura is situated. When the police raided in 1928, they did not burn Wambon and Ambunti, but the Tug went into the bush just the same. They did not return to Wambon and Ambunti, but built Weyambank. Awinow, a segment of the Tug sib, are now at Weyambankura. Urambanj is also a segment of Tug now at Afokalis.

Soubundura of the Wanyi sib now have their own house tamberan, but were formerly at Weyambank.

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this. [648] Owiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis. [821] When Tip touched it, Owiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,.... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[459] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

124 evidence that it formerly existed; marriage--matrilocal, with gift of shells from boy's family to girl's; residence after marriage--patrilocal; and enough on language to enable us to understand vaguely what the old men are saying as they sit around the fire.

115 [648] Yesterday, a Mr. Eve came to Washuk. He is a surveyor for "Oil Search" Ltd. and has been all through the country between the Sepik and the Dutch border except for one little corner. Most of this country hasn't been traversed by anyone but him, and we spent a most interesting afternoon with him. He has made incidental anthropological notes as he passed through - such as house form, village arrangement and size, clothing, etc. He has all the names of the native villages in this area that he has seen (I guess he had not missed many), and he is going to let us make a rough copy of it this afternoon, and tell us what he knows about the vill gas at the same time. I should say that we were very much in luck to meet such a man. He had a lot to say about Thurnwald and admired his work very much. He said that he didn't get half the credit he deserved for his pioneering work. For instance, Champion and Karius only had to go eight miles (just over the limestone barrier) from the headwaters of the Fly to connect up with Thurnwald's work of years before, but they do not mention this. Another interesting thing that he has run across is a tribe in the interior which has a whistling language. Luckily he has two work boys from this place with him now, and I am going to see if I can get anything from them on their language and their tribe this afternoon while Tip works on the map.

DECEMBER 1. Mr. Eve stayed here three days and lived up to expectation. Tip made a copy of the map and got quite a few notes on the tribes that Eve had visited...enough to give a rough idea of where to go to future field workers. Had we met him before we settled here, I think we could

114 he had presumed to go to the house tamberan where the big men were blowing
627 the sacred flutes. Here they had given him a beating, but he had escaped and sought to hide in another house. This belonged to one of the four "finish time" boys who have broken their contracts and are hiding from the "kipp". This man and others turned on him, tied him up, and gave him an all night beating.

We called out for a Hongwem "bavi-talk". His came up and was not at all surprised. His story was that Mundik had tried to 'pull' or kill one of the Wanyabankura women, that he was crazy, and that they had tied him up to protest themselves. They knew that the "kipp" had tabooed killing. I'm sure that that alone saved Mundik's life. He is seeking sanctuary in our house now, which means that we will have to tread with care. We will send him to Ambunti and request that he be given work there. He will have to take his chances with the law, but that is probably safer than spears if he stays around here-- or returns to his village.

614 To return to more mundane things, we have been revising the lists of 'totems' which we first got from some of the "monkis". These are called sambe and include a hawk and a pig which are connected with the ancestry of two of the peoples in Hongwem. We have also been corrected by different informants when we said that tobacco was one of Rumbiman's sambe. John discovered that two other groups are combined in the Hongwem sib and got some
174 very interesting leads regarding sib history. The two punitive expeditions to Hongwem in 1913 and 1928 serve as rough pegs for time-perspective. There have been many changes within this period which may be able to throw some light on the problem of social change.

657 a half-day, he got a line representing between 80-90% of the recorded
177 population. At Tangwishamp the day before he had had a line of five old men who were not able to go off to the bush and hide with all the rest. One former medical assistant wrote under 'Remarks' in the village book 'it would be much easier herding sheep'.

659 From his inspection he concluded that the Kwoma are a very healthy
177 group of people. He had given us his tabulated results. The spleen rate
164 in children is rather high (they don't bother with adults), and filarial glands are found in one-third of the population. But framboesia is scarce and tropical ulcers few. Ring-worm is found in about one-sixth. After the inspection was over we dove into a half dozen bottles of beer which Max had brought for us.

657 The next morning the dispensary was set up outside our house and
177 treatment was given to those who had seemed to need it in the line the day before. Many more appeared than were called, all wanting the hypodermic injection 606, for framboesia. The fame of this is known to all, but beside its purpose it is expected to clear up any complaint that a person may have. Max was very good and gave over forty injections, handling the people very well. We told him the Hongwan term for hello, good-bye, etc. which he used to our friends great delight.

648 On the 12th we saw a pinnace going up the river; the second that has
657 gone up the river since our settling down here. Max told us that this was Assistant District Officer Ellis of Angoram who is going up to the Yellow River to dismantle the new station which is a failure. That means that after the first of the year Ambunti will again hold the title of being the most remote station in the territory--some say in the British Empire, but I doubt that. At any rate it sounds much worse than it really is.

648 657 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Hex left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days 648 tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with [439] them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from [178] them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come [173] up one time with some of our Hongwam; and the Kroma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Verey, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

114 [123] down and said he was going to sleep. He joined in the conversation about our going, and expressed friendship--would be sorry to see us go--were we coming back?--Maybe! If not send a couple more masters just like us back [521] to take our places. They discussed the buying of sugiliwas, spears, etc., and the possibility of a sing sing. Everyone was very much pleased.

114 648 Mee came from Ambunti with tobacco and a note from Verey saying to come on the day after tomorrow which we decided to do. On our way to bathe, Kumb, Kar, Waf, War, and others were sitting in the police house talking. Mar stopped and seemed worried. The boys with me told them something. They set off at a run. Mar stopped and asked what was up. It turned out to be that they were going to see "finish timer" returning from ten years at Madang.

123 231 Kumb came back and told us that the pig had gotten away from them and asked if we would shoot it tomorrow.

December 17, 1936. We set off after breakfast with the revolver, .44, a shot gun and the .22. The Yambons gathered in Sombindura house tamberan. A pig was being called up to the house, and we were to wait. We discussed [435] the price of the pig. At Yambon the price of a pig was laid out for us to see--2 14" cane knives, a small ax, and a bilum (net bag) of tambu (shell money). [One large shell = five shillings; one head band = five shillings (each finger represents a shilling); one head band with three fingers = three shillings; one string of shell cut into washers = five shillings; and three or four strings of small shells worth two to three shillings. About 30 shillings worth of shell.]

A boy came from Marok's saying the pig had come. Tip, Kumb, and a Yambon went while the rest of us stayed.

231 123 114 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>augiliwas</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Mamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

754 648 464 Later Yat came up and said that Suw was all right. Someone had admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosak said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall cann he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see me and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[759] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerized along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kum up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marok's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Kwal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his elder brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

was well.

January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a 'singsing' rhythm from Wenyabankura today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin". which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinan" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 They kept coming until finally we had quite a lot of food and about fifty
439 people gathered around. Bob had said to wait until morning before I
114 tried buying, but I felt that I would not have so many people around me again; so I broke out the trade and lined it up. At its first appearance all the older men rounded the young men out of the way and would not let them come to look at it. I asked the "savvy talk" what was the matter, and he said that five boys had been taken out to work and had not come back, and they would not let others go until they returned. Later I resumed the trade again and had supper. After supper, I went down to the house
114 628 521 [024] tamberan where a group was gathered around the fire. Kar was there, and he interpreted for me. He told me that Tangwishamp and Hongwam were friendly; Urambanji and Saseraman were no good and that Tangwishamp and Hongwam always combined against them. Then Kar's brother-in-law, who was sitting next to me, told that once a Tangwishamp had gone to Urambanji. He had sat down with them and started to eat in a friendly manner, just as we were sitting now, but one of the Urambanj had grabbed the Tangwishamp and the others had killed him. The Tangwishamp had not retaliated because the police had tabooed it, and they didn't want to be hung. Then one of the
114 648 521 Tangwishamp told that some of them had been chased by the Amiki (a neighboring tribe). They had been washing sago and had dropped everything to run. One of them had been just missed by a hurled spear. They wanted [123] me to tell this to the police so he would take steps against them. Then
114 521 648 Kar and some of the Tangwishamps began whispering, and then talking rather excitedly. Kar asked if I understood. I knew they were talking about Eve and the Amiki(wisepeju -to tuck, was used very often). Then Kar told me that Eve and all his boys had been killed by the Amiki.. He had been burned in the house tamberan, and his bones thrown into the water. The

114 521 648 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned. Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the [123] house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and [721] settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

114 I went and told Hamb who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Hamb and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwans would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that, looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about
464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Mokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tultul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before
[593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that
754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urembanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Waynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Owiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Owiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun mari" was dying and they were calling her relatives

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house tamberan to Soubundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

648 464 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Maski, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 574 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection. [834] [372] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of cocoanuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making [361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses [252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Mar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way,
and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalewanj, who wasn't there.
The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him
before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time
I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's.
War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back
and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A
[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
[593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back,
but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had
not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't
648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police
had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yet came up this noon and said that he had made a blind
for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other
day and found that Bwiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[518] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is
going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungawi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields.
Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old
Hayamakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkora. They have built a new little
one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take
Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group
from Sombundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They
had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so
that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late
in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was
that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems
to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics
and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen
some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making
accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Kwai was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Mey, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas
helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed
so I continued to Masa's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out
shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

754 578 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house temberan, so I went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayemakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayemakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

[648]

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and May. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awe giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Owiyap. Awe and Kwiya were there. Owiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Owiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Owiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), War, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps [648] were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

533 Namb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. May and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to May and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wenye similar to the poison beatings. 685 [533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawe, Amba, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a watokolai about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

123 685 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then May repeated the evidence against him. He [648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gamba).

May just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, im i no monki belong yu im i big falo man. im i no bilong muther falo bannis, belong Rumbiman dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child.

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
[524] answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my
[123] informers in trouble.

726 Mar and Mas told me that they were going to raid not Yelangu but Nugitama
648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian government, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olatsim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a secrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Sowal Urambanjs of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 13, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent and that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanto, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

1244 bucket, so we followed them, and I washed. I came back without my shoes and sat down at Mar's. Eriya and Awa were there ahead of us; the others had gone. They stared fascinated at my feet, particularly, Awa who could
123 not keep her eyes off. She shuddered and moved away and then said they were kafwapak -- small like a woman's. She was so upset, that I put the shoes on
[514] again. Later Awa urinated by the house, making few covering gestures so I wouldn't notice with her back turned to me, squatting on her heels. Then she carried a net bag to a bed outside and afterwards sat there.
262 The girls had cooked some large bush spiders, about an inch long, were eating them and offered me one. I tried it -- it was excellent, but I did not eat the head or teeth, as they expressed it; if eaten, it would cause sores.

576 Mar's mother kept asking who was watching my house. Hey was evidently anxious for me to leave. It is a breach of custom for an adult to be at
123 a house with young girls unless there is an older person about. Finally Wof called out that there were a lot of men at my house, and I left. Kis was there dressing his sore, and a boy from Bangus was there bringing
231 food. After supper, we heard wailing from Wof's house and then a burst of
431 sobbing. Hey was crying because Wof had speared his pig. Tomorrow Marok will carry it to Koriasi to give to their sister (Ngusaruka) who is married
[648] there. Her father was Uhuiyin. Her brother was killed by the police boys.
583 The pig is hanging up now. Tomorrow it will be cut up at Mar's. Mar's elopement was arranged for tomorrow it was reported. Way's daughters had been go-betweens, and she was willing. She brought some firewood up this afternoon to give to Mar, but Chinuwa took it, saying it was better so. Aya is going to tell her father and family that she is going fishing with Way's daughters and is to meet Mar on the road, and they will go to the

*115 [123] unsuccessfully to get from me.

*115 583 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tengwishamp to get some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tengwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a [587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (5 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] [464] [583] [476] [614] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.

January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tengwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Nmub, Mey and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tengwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] [154] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later [241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

*115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dewangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. [123]

April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Gvanta and Pamba to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again War if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood. Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 • 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Owiyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He
157 is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged
persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent
[191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned
*115 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second
593 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young--
736 his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishampe. He was carried
*115 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His
553 name was given him by the Malue with whom he stayed after the raid. His
mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

?. 648 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all
726 himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out
in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men
and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the
house tamberan for a long time. The Hongwan hid in the house except for a
few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his
'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down
coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow
Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then,
when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the
bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had
123 gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We
ate at Mirok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

*115 123 [576] [522] put his arm around me repeating, "Oh, master! Greetings!" several times. Mar's two sisters and three female children were around, and it may have been partly to show off to them. Such action fits in with Kwoma culture, in which embracing is the form of greeting. I asked Oviyap if one of the little girls were his <u>mina</u> (girl), intending to kid him, but he said, "No," and carefully explained her relationship to him. He was perfectly serious in this. I tried the same thing with Mey, with the same result; so apparently such kidding is not done in this culture. On the way back, Oviyap carried the rifle and led the procession although Wof, Mar and Marok, all older than he, were present.

October 21, 1936.

*115 • 648 He came in this morning, and we asked him for some words, which he gave us. Then, unbidden, he told us a story of a hanging he had seen several years before (three, according to Hamb). Some of the natives of Madeyakwa, a village in the bush behind Avatip, had wounded a police boy in the leg with a spear. The "kiap" had punished them by hanging seven of them and had brought in natives from the surrounding villages to observe this so that it would be an example to them. This is the second time he had volunteered stories of the killing of natives by white men. This time, as before, he told the story animatedly, as if he were telling a very interesting and exciting bit of news.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
123 Neither Gwiyap nor Mey likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
775 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a"monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwan again to sign on boys. Gwiyap
• 648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.
December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinuwa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.
According to Gwiyap
/Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinuwa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbiwa who can be possessed by spirits.

*115 787 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down to the water and threw her away. Then Gwiyap, Way, and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Gwiyap's mother's name was Kowubwas, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (gamba yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Merik, their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a marsalai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water', where they saw a canoe which Gwiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Gwiyap said, "Never mind", and took Gwanta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to Malu. The Malus asked what they were doing their and were told they were [123] hiding from the "kiap" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Gwanta and Gwiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the others behind. They stayed there and Gwanta killed a gouria pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Gwiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

*115 ● 648 123 829 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.

164 on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due
[125] here in a few days on his patrol.
[657]

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and
572 inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term naremboy we find
[192] has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't
[764] yet know. Later on when one's naremboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different
[158] from Hongwem. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he
114 returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name,
627 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, hands greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankure sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukau. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My 'monki', Owiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

657 a half-day, he got a line representing between 80-90% of the recorded
177 population. At Tangwisheap the day before he had had a line of five old men who were not able to go off to the bush and hide with all the rest. One former medical assistant wrote under 'Remarks' in the village book 'it would be much easier herding sheep'.

657 From his inspection he concluded that the Kwoma are a very healthy
177 group of people. He had given us his tabulated results. The spleen rate
164 in children is rather high (they don't bother with adults), and filarial glands are found in one-third of the population. But framboesia is scarce and tropical ulcers few. Ring-worm is found in about one-sixth. After the inspection was over we dove into a half dozen bottles of beer which Max had brought for us.

657 The next morning the dispensary was set up outside our house and
177 treatment was given to those who had seemed to need it in the line the day before. Many more appeared than were called, all wanting the hypodermic injection 606, for framboesia. The fame of this is known to all, but beside its purpose it is expected to clear up any complaint that a person may have. Max was very good and gave over forty injections, handling the people very well. We told him the Hongwam term for hello, good-bye, etc. which he used to our friends great delight.

648 On the 12th we saw a pinnace going up the river; the second that has
657 gone up the river since our settling down here. Max told us that this was Assistant District Officer Ellis of Angoram who is going up to the Yellow River to dismantle the new station which is a failure. That means that after the first of the year Ambunti will again hold the title of being the most remote station in the territory--some say in the British Empire, but I doubt that. At any rate it sounds much worse than it really is.

648 The Yellow River station is being closed because it is a very unhealthy
657 place and the natives are few. And there is another gold rush on over behind Wewak, so all the men that can be spared are needed there.

114 We were much less interested in governmental affairs than in whether the pinnace had brought us mail. When Max left us the next day, he crossed two carriers with a big pile of it for us. Its bulk was due to six weeks daily issues of the Sydney Morning Herald. All of the first week in November's copies were missing, but in the last issue we had, that of Nov. 12th, we found that U.S. stocks had been climbing 'since Roosevelt's election'. Then we sent the natives packing and sat down for an afternoon of finding out what our friends and relations had been doing all summer.

We had been planning to leave here on the 20th to spend Christmas at Ambunti. First however, we were going to Yambon to spend four days
648 tracing down connections between these people and ours. They traded with
[439] them long before the white men came, getting cowrie and sea shells from
[178] them as they do today; in myths, the Yambon people are thought to have come
[173] up one time with some of our Hongwem; and the Kwoma people hid the Yambons fifteen years or more ago when the government was up here straightening out the village with rifles and fire.

114 The day before yesterday we had a note from Versy, the Police Master at Ambunti, saying the Assistant District Officer Ellis was sending up a pinnace for the four of us to come down to Angoram for Christmas. Ellis is the man who is the boss of the whole river, so we think this is a sufficient call to allow us a few days leave. Thus we will go to Ambunti tomorrow to meet Ellis on his way down and then go to Yambon for the following few days until our transport arrives.

657 123 197

December 13, 1969.[1] While sitting talking with Max, one of the children came in saying the child Suw was very sick. We went down to see him. His mother was sitting just outside the building, and the other girls were in the house. War, who was sitting on the hill beside the house, greeted us. Kis and Kar were standing around. Kwonai was there. We took Suw's temperature; it was normal. Then we stood looking at him and discussing the case. Max said, "He certainly looks sick." Our faces were rather long. All of a sudden we heard a sobbing and looked up to see War, his head on his knees, and his body shaking with sobs. Suw's mother began to cry a little too. We went and got some medicine, a mixture of dover powders, asperin, and marnite in warm water, then came back and gave it to Suw. He vomited it up immediately and with it some undigested boyna leaves. After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

[1] [i.e., 1936 - analyst]

*115 ten minutes and a while later I went down to his house. He was sitting up and for the first time conversed with me. We talked about Mundik. He said if Mundik were to come near his house, he would shoot him with a spear. I finally asked him if he thought that the poison was gone and he said that he thought so--that he felt all right.

December 17, 1936.

Mar is practically recovered.

December 30, 1936.

Mar came to the government station at Ambunti with Owiyap, Yet, Han and several others. They said that they were coming to see me and also because Mar wanted to have a few bad sores on his ankles attended to. He was treated and committed to the house because he was sick. He stayed there only one day day the next day ran back to Rumbima.

[123] [657]

January 17, 1937.

[584] Mar told me that he has decided to get another wife. He talked to War, who gave him condition to marry his daughter if the bride price were paid. I asked Mar if he had asked War directly, but he said that he hadn't , but that he had His act as go-between.

[123] The white trader and recruiter is coming soon. Mar told me of the things he wanted to buy but then sighed because he had no money. I had given Owiyap some money to purchase something, so I also gave Mar three shillings. The next day a river native came up with some shell money. (Shell money is the medium of exchange used for the bride price; any other kind of money is not accepted.) Mar rushed up to me and wanted to know if he should buy some. I told him it was his business. After sitting and fidgeting and asking me again for a while, he finally made his decision and rushed down the hill and bought some. There was another bit he could have purchased with an additional shilling which he tried

[436] [583] [123]

[123]

*115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

*115 752 123 657 The sore on Owiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Owiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture

133 briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a S, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[132] [241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

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About a dozen of the Hongwam obeyed this command but said that it was impossible to take the luggage by land. The patrol officer scolded them because more had not come and told them that they lied about the road being impassable. He explained that two white men were coming to stay with them for a long time to learn their language and customs. He then ordered them to return home and gather as many men as possible the next afternoon at the foot of the mountain, where we would land after taking the river route by canoe, to carry our baggage. The patrol officer decided to go to Kwoma with us because it was an appropriate time to make his yearly visit to the tribe and because there was also a special matter to attend to. Several Hongwam natives had signed a contract to work on a plantation but had bolted back home before their time was completed. It was the patrol officer's job to make them fulfill their contracts. We were accompanied into Kwoma territory, therefore, by the patrol officer and a company of police boys. On the day after our arrival he commanded all the natives to assemble at Rumbima house tamberan near which we had camped. When they arrived he took the annual roll call and recorded births and deaths. He scolded the natives because many of them had not responded to the assembly summons. He said that the excuse of being away in their gardens was not sufficient and unless they all came on his next visit there would be trouble. Then he asked where the four runaways were. No one knew. He said that if they came with him to fulfill their contract all would be well, but that if they did not they would be hunted out and put in jail. In response to this threat one gave himself up, but the other three remained hidden. The patrol officer then announced to the assembled tribe that we had come to study their language and customs and were going to stay a long time. He ordered them to build a house for us and warned them that if anyone harmed us he would be severely punished by the government.

In order to complete the description of the status of a white man in Kwoma culture, it should be noted that white recruiters had on several occasions visited the tribe in person,

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tinue to maintain a very friendly relationship. The opportunity for clandestine affairs between the two is decreased and they seldom occur, but the joking relationship continues. They frequently visit one another either for purely social or for economic reasons. A *brother* participates in many of the work bees called by his *sister's* husband, and a *sister* often helps her *brother's* wife in gardening.[44] The warm feeling a man has toward his *sister* generalizes to her children. He is especially kind to them and gives them whatever they wish; he treats them, indeed, as a "good father." He is repaid for his kindness by a gift of shell money from the children at the time of the age-grade ceremony. The kinship system arranges relatives in such a way that a man's father's *sister's* child falls in the same relationship to him as does his own *sister's* child. When his father dies, therefore, a man inherits the responsibility of playing the "good father" to his paternal cross cousins.

A man continues during adulthood the special relationship toward his mother's brother, the reciprocal of the one described above. He is still privileged to help himself from his gardens and sago plots and in return is obligated to pay him the specified amount of shell money. When his mother's *brother* dies, he carries on the relationship with the mother's *brother's* son, whom he addresses by the same term, *maternal uncle*.

A man does not have a very close relationship with his *mother's sister*. She neither lives in his hamlet nor in his mother's hamlet, but with her husband.[45] For this reason he does not come in contact with her either at home, or when he visits his *mother's brother*. Thus a man's behavior toward the *sisters* of his mother approximates that toward a nonrelative.

[44] If a man is injured while helping his *sister* or her husband, he receives compensation in the form of shell money. No compensation is paid if a man is injured while helping his *brother*, however, since it is believed that they are working with a common purpose. A *sister* is probably similarly compensated if she is hurt while helping a *brother*, although I do not have specific information on this point.

[45] If, by chance, she marries into the hamlet, she becomes his *paternal uncle's* wife and he treats her as such.

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882 602 554 166 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

• [682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

231 Kwiye came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Hay and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on Hay's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Gwiyap because he had been cutting [602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mem (mother's brother). It is also War's mem and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Gwiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his mem told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay mem at hant sugwiye. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

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754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 627 • 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[81] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[82] against him or one of his relatives.

[81] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[82] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

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609 578 [156] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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621 592 dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in [156] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By [854] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of [895] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. [586] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young [864] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the [191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin [895] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year [894] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who [864] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has [727] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one [895] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[156] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household [754] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and [736] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his [894] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

[165] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who [154] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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882 intimate relationship with my other informants. This, to-
839 gether with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could de-
[123] termine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse sus-
[795] picion. The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

• 684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161–162.

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
• [684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told us that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Pit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinawa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinawa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wef and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

000 May 14, Oriyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was 685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wof's 587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the 684 white man and died there --Awa, also of Sumwa Sumwa married his widow through 578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife 582 of Hayamatanp, Wajumbai, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wof's house late at night and set fire to it. Wof did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tengwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoka and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife has died.

578 Oriyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Kaopyap came asking for theirs.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

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443 an adult she takes the responsibility for seeing that a surplus
462 of flour is produced and for arranging the day for the next market.

421 By the time a Kwoma has reached adulthood, he has learned the system of property rights of his culture. He knows that garden produce belongs to the person on whose section it was grown, that sago flour belongs to the persons who process it, fish to the women who catch or buy them, a pig to the person who owns or kills it, pork to the person who receives it from the original owner, and tools to the person who makes or buys them. He also knows what liens his various relatives have upon his property and what liens he has
• [685] upon the property of his relatives. He has learned that if he disregards the property rights of others he may expect them to punish him if they catch him, but he has also learned during childhood that one may often thieve without being caught, and few Kwoma adults are above stealing if they are sure they will not be discovered.

423 It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma man is expected to
462 defend property rights in land. This duty falls upon him, his adult male relatives, the men of the subtribe, and the men of the tribe as a whole; women and children have no direct concern in the matter. A man's duties in the defense of property rights depend upon who transgresses them and under what circumstances such transgression takes place, and upon his membership in the tribe, subtribe, hamlet, lineage, and family line.

423 The Peilunga Range and the adjacent swamps are owned
619 by the Kwoma tribe as a whole, and as a member of this tribe a man is expected to defend this territory against conquest
[721] by another tribe. Such conflict rarely occurs, but a struggle
[715] over land in which all the subtribes of Kwoma banded together to annihilate and drive from the Peilunga Mountains a tribe who at one time shared the territory with them occurred during the lifetime of the grandfathers of the present
[648] generation. Minor disputes over boundaries with the tribes contiguous to Kwoma do not, however, concern the tribe as a

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423 611 428 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house, plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 351 594 613 241 423 613 59 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its male members build their houses. The exact site is decided by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with respect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sections belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 [423] [428] The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

885 421 593 602 The responsibility for defending property rights in land, produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life. He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[14] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[685] [14] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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685 628 578 next day Yat sent a message to Sumwe Sumwe, announcing that he had discovered that his pig blind had been destroyed and that if they trespassed on his land again there would be trouble. The Sumwe Sumwe returned an equally aggressive message to the effect that Yat had built his blind on their property and that he had better not try to rebuild it. Angry and insulting messages flew back and forth most of the day. A few days later Yat again visited his pig blind, and on the way he met Dowar. Both of them were carrying their pig spears. After an angry exchange of insults, according to Yat, he challenged Dowar to a spear duel, but the latter threw down his spear and ran. Yat picked up the discarded spear and broke it against a tree. Then he returned home and boasted of his prowess at the house tamberan that evening. The topic for gossip was again that the Sumwe Sumwe were a bad lot and, in addition, were cowards. Many tales were recounted of their sexual depravity. Yat felt that Dowar had learned his lesson and would not interfere again. He said that if the offense were repeated, he would take the case to the patrol officer.[19]

685 621 578 Another case involved theft within the house-tamberan group. Kafa, Yat's wife, began shouting angrily one afternoon at Mar's betrothed, Yawa, accusing her of stealing sago grubs from a tree on her husband's plot. Yawa, being a rather cowardly and unaggressive girl, made a feeble denial, but Mar's mother and *aunt* immediately took over her defense and shouted invective in reply. Yat's other wife then joined in the argument, and for almost an hour the four women kept up a stream of insult, accusation, and threat. Now and again other women of the neighborhood would make a point on one side or the other, but none of the men joined in the argument. I asked Mar what he was going to do about it. He replied that it was a woman's argument and no affair of his. He was not very fond of his betrothed, and felt that she was a lazy good-for-nothing who had been foisted on him. He commented proudly on his mother's sharp

[19] If the dispute had continued it probably would have actually been settled at a meeting of the subtribal court.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 • 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [142] [196]

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609 578 [156] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hamb who took it to its mother.

124 754 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwam would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 593 562 [591] [241] [423] The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry, they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them, needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Gwiyap, Hay, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 [443] [685] December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hamb went down and found his canoe has been smashed by Brugnuwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's naremboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[324] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbima house temberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"! Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[518] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandaya has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Hayemakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinambara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Tambon this morning. Kwal was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, May, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa'ɨ on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

533 Namb and Yam began playing flutes after dark. May and Way were here. As soon as they started, Way spoke sharply to May and told him to come. They left for home.

114 April 11, 1937. I returned from the trip to Ambunti. Kar is still away at the bush house. The gongs were beaten at Wanya similar to the poison beatings. 685 [533] It turned out that someone had come back from the bush and found his house had been broken into, and he was making a fuss about it. Kwalump, Salakawi, Amba, and War came up. Kwal told me that they had had a watokolai about the house breaking--nothing eventuated.

123 685 After supper I talked about Way, who, the day I left, had stolen a knife, a "lap lap," and a big tin. I said that if he brought it back, it would be all right but that if he did not, I would take the case to court. They all agreed to the justice of this and for fifteen or twenty minutes talked over the question. "This is the behavior of a child, not a man. Punch him in the nose; don't be afraid of him." Then May repeated the evidence against him. He [648] had seen Way with the knife in his hand just before it disappeared. Then incidents were recounted of a previous theft of Way's; he had stolen a knife from the patrol officer when he was here, and the police boys had beaten him up. There was laughter and then talk of the time when the Germans owned territory, and Way was carrying cargo. He got tired and said he wanted to defecate. The police boy said that if that was the case to do it where he was. Way had tried to run away, and the police boy beat him up. This was told with great relish by Yat and Kwal and was followed by much laughter. The final indictment was that Way was not a man but a ghost (gamba).

May just came in saying that Wof was sorry that Way had stolen the long knife. "Way, im i no wonki belong yu im i big felo man, im i no bilong muther felo bennis, belong Rumbiman dasal--fashion no good." (Way is not your child.

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 Hoel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Gwiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-aboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yelangu affair. It

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--
524 while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an
522 abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about
831 it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He
838 was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Daw, Yatmiinj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbims calling with a new gong--do you hear me"] and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss
685 about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. Mar called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. Mar said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Mamb and Mamaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

000 is sold to me. When the Tangwishamp bring fayombi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 War, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga kafaamuni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Fit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Gamri, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambanj.

752 Enos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to
come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first
with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he
said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of
his knife.

342 Mes had gone to help Dew put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt.
I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose."
When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return
the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and
he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He
said nothing but sat on the floor. Mes and Mar were both angry with him and
sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. Mar came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Kwos
and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but
showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mes' warning. He stayed around until about three
o'clock and called to Kwos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to
send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing
sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yusef were there.
I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap
said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they
did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Oriyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely smuto mesni (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Korisai and gathered pay from his sister.
"Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Mauk's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouris pigeon to make soup
to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my laka (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 May 14, Owiyap 12, Mar 17. Mas is the same age as Mar.

Afok came up, said that the talk has died over Sof and the cook, and that the story was not true. He had not hit her with an axe but with a kunde (Wanka kumba) and had bruised her mouth and eyebrow.

April 21, 1937. Kar and Kis came early this morning. Pwisambi went by before dawn to work taking out the yams of her mother's brother. Kar was 685 decorating a new wafa agusa. Kar said he had gone to court about Wog's 587 house burning. The situation is this: Ngasawar went away to work for the 684 white man and died there --Awa, also of Sumwa Sumwa married his widow through 578 the operation of the levirate. The other day he had intercourse with the wife 582 of Haymatamp, Wajumboi, who is now working at Bulolo. This is a double breach of the mores -- first marrying brother's wife and second, being married to 2 women who call each other laka kumwa (older sister>younger sister). Woyafoka was justly angry about this and made a big fuss. He called Awa some names he didn't like and challenged him to fight, etc.

Awa was incensed at this and came to Wog's house late at night and set fire to it. Wog did not wake up until the fire was well under way, so he had no time to save any of his property. The next day Awa fled to Tongwishamp with his two wives.

582 Kar said that the reason War gave for not wanting to let Aya marry Mar was because he had already married one girl from Woyanoke and it is against the mores to marry two women from the same sib unless the first wife had died.

578 Owiyap said that if Awa had stayed he would have been speared by Way. The others would have assisted by holding Awa.

123 I worked with War most all day and washed photographs in the afternoon.
126 Marok and Koopyup came asking for theirs.

754 May and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tongwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and so were suspected.

Rwal and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Rwal and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (sugilawas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwon, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mar and Mas had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Mas' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overall.

123 685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left May in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Gwiyap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. May first accused Kis, but War exonerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Soubundura and had come back after I had returned.

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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224 602 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a *brother*, for example, with pork does not mean that this *brother* will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

224 626 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[1] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

224 [476] [461] [692] There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work bee, his hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[1] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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whole, but at most the subtribe and usually only the hamlet whose territory is under dispute. 423 619 [648]

If a dispute involving a considerable amount of sago swamp or gardening land arises between the members of two subtribes, all the adult men of each subtribe may eventually become involved. Such a dispute normally arises when someone extracts sago flour or plants a garden near or beyond the territorial boundary of his subtribe. Those of the other subtribe who control the land contiguous to the boundary normally claim trespass, destroy any tools which they may find, seize the produce, and even threaten personal harm. Unless the affair is settled quickly by the withdrawal of one or other of the parties concerned, each may call relatives to his support until the dispute finally becomes the concern of both subtribes. When such a situation arises, the disputed land is [692] normally left unused by both parties until the affair has been settled by an intertribal court meeting.[14]

A man has certain duties with respect to the defense of all 423 lands claimed by the members of his hamlet. These duties 621 apply only when the transgressor of property rights is a 692 member of some other hamlet. Again minor disputes may be 578 settled by the parties concerned, but, if they are not, they [602] are settled by a meeting of the domestic court which a man must attend in order to defend his *brothers*. In a similar way [613] property disputes between members of different lineages in the same hamlet and between families in the same lineage are finally settled by a court meeting attended by the men of the largest group involved.

The rights and duties with respect to land are thus determined by a man's membership in the various groups described above. Since membership in family line, lineage, and hamlet follows patrilineal descent, inheritance may likewise be considered as patrilineal. The Kwoma do not, however, distinguish inheritance of land from descent. Hence the rules which determine to what family line, lineage, and hamlet a 423 611 428

[14] An intertribal court meeting will be described below with reference to payment of wergild after head-hunting raids. [128]

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[30]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[30] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

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scalp. Most of the spectators formed a neutral group between Kwal and Daw. When they had discovered what had happened, they began to discuss the merits of the case and were divided in their opinion as to which brother was right. Since Kwal and Daw were real brothers, the only persons who could take sides, being more nearly related to one principal than to the other, were their wives and children. The children were not grown up, and their reaction was one of fear, but the respective wives stood, eyes blazing, with digging sticks in hand ready to join in the fray. When I asked the spectators their opinion of the affair, they said that after all it was Kwal's and Daw's business to fight if they wanted to, but that they were stupid to injure one another since brothers should stand together against trouble from an outsider rather than quarrel among themselves. This opinion represents the communal sanction which is imposed on fighting between brothers. As can be seen, the direct social control of fraternal aggression is minimal. From this it might be expected that fights between brothers would occur frequently. This case, however, was the only one in which brothers actually came to blows during a period of seven months. This indicates that the disadvantages of in-group aggression and the advantages of fraternal coöperation have been well learned during the socialization process.

When a fight occurs between *brothers* who are not closely related by blood, their relatives rally in support of them. If the dispute is not serious, it usually ceases after an exchange of invective. If the affair cannot be settled in this way, members of the hamlet who are not emotionally involved try to discover the blame and suggest a settlement. The discussion usually takes place by shouting from house to house, but sometimes the men will gather at the house tamberan and hold court. If even these measures fail to settle the dispute, a permanent rift may result, and the minority group may withdraw from the hamlet.

The division of a hamlet as a result of a dispute between its members is not uncommon in Kwoma society. Such a split had occurred in the not-too-distant past in each of the three

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609 578 [56] [123] you know enough to keep non-relatives out of your house? No one is going to keep these people from stealing from you if you are afraid to protect your own rights."

Although a man must be aggressive when he is threatened by a non-relative, he must not be disproportionately so. In general, the amount of aggression he may show is determined [685] by the kind and amount of threat that he has endured. If he catches a non-relative in the act of stealing or trespassing, he may beat him on the spot or threaten him with a spear, but may not kill him. If he discovers the crime after it is done, he may threaten physical violence unless reparations are [692] made. If the thief or trespasser refuses to comply with these demands, a court session is held in which the principals meet with their relatives and discuss the matter until an equitable [683] settlement is made. If a man detects a non-relative stealing [684] sorcery material, or raping a wife or sister, he may kill him on the spot. If he discovers that a non-relative is having an affair with his wife or sister, he may threaten or beat him but may not kill him. Following this he may retaliate by seducing [626] a sister or wife of the man whom he has discovered. If a man suspects a non-relative of sorcery, he may openly accuse him and turn public opinion against him in order to make him stop. If it is well established that a non-relative has been guilty of sorcery, the victim or his relative is not condemned for retaliating in kind.

609 578 626 A man is inhibited from being disproportionately aggressive toward a non-relative by a complex of sanctions. In any controversy between two unrelated members of the tribe, three groups appear: the relatives of the aggressor, the relatives of the victim, and those who are related to neither. If the behavior of the aggressor is deemed appropriate, he will be supported in his action by his own relatives and by the group related to neither principal. Furthermore, although his relatives will support the victim and will verbally threaten and insult the aggressor and his relatives, they will take no physical step toward counteraggression. Then, too, there are always persons among the relatives of the victim who are related to someone in the aggressor group, and who therefore

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[532] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[224] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
439 pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of p[illegible] Kar had made a blind to
[685] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Rumbina house temberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to, but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

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[123] up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not
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[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
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to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach
was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed
that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayemas (a big man of Afokalisa)
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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

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695 portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone."[48]

648 619 Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma [439] subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only ex- [436] change sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail [582] visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, [574] there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and [796] Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[48] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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[123] up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not
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[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before the white man (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a spear.

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tengwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan 721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Bwiyampa and Bowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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never be a man but never mind. I'll just be a woman all my life until I die. I am afraid of being hanged, that's all. I am not going."

Finally, all the men of the subtribe and some from neighboring tribes met one night at the house tamberan near Var's house. Those who had already taken a head were dressed with homicidal insignia. Their faces were blackened with soot, bands of opossum fur were fastened around their foreheads, and bird of paradise plumes attached to combs bobbed from the backs of their heads. When all had arrived, a ceremonial soup was served, the special ingredients of which were supposed to make men bold and powerful fighters. It is so strong, the Kwoma believe, that a woman or child would die if they eat it. After eating, they broke up in small groups to plan the itinerary. It was decided to send a scout ahead to discover the lay of the land. After the scout had left, the men had nothing to do but wait until he returned the next day. Some went home, but many stayed and began to play ball. The game soon turned into a spontaneous rehearsal of the raid, as the men lined up in sides and threw the ball to each other, shouting and stamping their feet at the same time.

The next day the scout returned to say that the road to Sowal was impassable. The water was so high that it was impossible to walk there, but it was not high enough to go with a canoe. The raid was therefore called off. I think that if it had not been for many who, like Mar, feared punishment from the whites,[32] a way would have been found and the raid carried out.

[32] Not a few of the men opposed going on the raid because they feared that I would report them.

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj. After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[269] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[502]

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banif' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come, so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honowan sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] [178] [554] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, however, were the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawŋwé) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 Shells, yasi (small cowrie shells) and asímangírí (larger ones), obtained
[583] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[439] function as money.
[436]

The figure below, an ornament called nŋ́ masíkí (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.

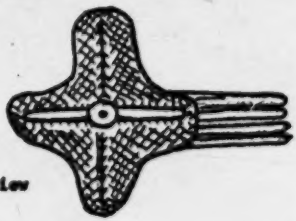
[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (amángurí), shell ornaments (vanyiví), yasi, asemangírí and lofu vafí (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia. The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (mano) are the most highly prized for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mano.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo foku) is attached
237

301 to the comb by pulling the quill down through a hole in the wood, and up
237 through another. The bird of paradise plume is worn instead only if the
[703] wearer has taken a head. The comb is worn standing upright in the middle of the head.

[192] nasîrî ninîd-- ornamental comb
[581]



front view

side view

301 Arm bands are decorated in various manners. Each has a wicker
285 base, (fikî) , made in the fashion of a turk's head knot. Fine stitches
[192] are made from palm spathes. Coarse stitches are made from split liana cord.

[237] A white (clam) shell ring (fulî) is fastened to the arm band. It is sewed
[192] to the wicker work of the band with two or three strands of thread. The rings vary in size from about one to two and a half inches.

302 Black paint on the face and forehead is worn only by homicides, but not
703 worn regularly.

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrised with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 947 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 994 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either [534] minjema or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Soual Urambanja of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent add that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[2] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[3] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[5] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[2] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[3] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[5]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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829 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[25] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

[121]

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[25] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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721 593 578 not the explanation at all. The real reason why the work was undone, she said, was that the woman had spent the morning in the bushes with Kar. War became furious at this, knocked his wife down with his fist, and threatened to spear his brother Kar. Kar denied the accusation indignantly, saying that his wife had merely invented the story to get him in trouble, whereupon he, in turn, clouted his own wife. War was still suspicious, but did not proceed further against Kar. War's [586] wife, however, returned in a fury to the hamlet, packed her things, took her young daughter by the hand,[51] and left before War returned. Kar, who had arrived before she left, tried to dissuade her, but did not succeed. When War returned that evening and found his wife gone, he was even [302] more angry than before. He painted his face with clay and swore that he would not take it off until he had brought her back or killed the man to whom she had fled. The next day he traced her to Yelagu, a neighboring tribe consisting of only six families. He took three spears and set out alone to bring back his runaway wife. Someone warned the Yelagu that he was coming, so that when he arrived there was only a cripple left in the village. War demanded where his wife had gone, but the cripple either could not or would not tell him and offered him a dog and some shell money if War would spare his life. War demanded more money, took it and the dog, and returned home.

721 The next evening War called his friends and relatives together. He distributed the dog meat among them, told them what had happened, and suggested that they go on a head-hunting raid against the Yelagu. He argued that it was a very small tribe and that they were all cowards. He said that it would be a good opportunity for some of the young men who had not yet taken a head to do so. He admitted that he was interested in getting his wife back and teaching her a lesson, and in punishing the man who had harbored her. [648] Most of those present thought that it was a good idea, but several objected on the grounds that Yelagu was too near

[51] Theoretically she should have left her daughter with her husband, since children belong to their father's hamlet.

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729 [266] Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed to eat the soup,[80] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

726 [721] The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and 727 fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

721 554 [794] A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man is eligible to join *Nokwi*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwi* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwi* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[829] [80] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

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Furthermore, a man who has not taken a head is held in contempt by his wife. Yat explained to me why he went on a raid. "I was angry with my wife one day and began to beat her. She taunted me. She said, 'You are very brave when it comes to beating women, but fighting a man is quite different. If you had taken a head, I would not complain when you beat me. It makes me ashamed to be married to a man who dares beat only his wife.' My belly became hot with anger at this taunt, so I went down to the house tamberan and called together my friends. We planned a raid and carried it out. I came back with a head between my teeth and showed it to my wife. Since then she has not complained when I beat her. Many of us Kwoma go on raids because we are taunted in this way by our wives."

In addition to the motives of vengeance and prestige, a head-hunting raid is a means of expressing aggression in displaced form. Much of the aggression generated in the in-group is inhibited from direct expression by the sanctions against aggression toward members of one's hamlet, relatives, and certain non-relatives. There are no sanctions, however, against killing a foreigner on a head-hunting raid, so that in this way a man can express much of the aggression which he has had to inhibit.

The following case concerns the genesis of a head-hunting raid which took place during my stay in Kwoma. It illustrates, in particular, how a raid may be a means of expressing aggression in a displaced form. War, a man of considerable prestige in the community, owned and operated a garden in common with his two younger brothers, Kar and Kis. One day War and Kar were working on this garden with their wives. War returned to the hamlet in the afternoon, leaving Kar and the two wives to spend the night in the bush house. He gave his own wife orders to weed a certain portion of the garden before he returned the next afternoon. When he returned he found the work not yet done. He asked his wife for an explanation, and she said that she had been possessed by a ghost the night before and that this had upset her so that she had been unable to work. Kar's wife said that this was

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Ambunti, the government post. Some of the men present had seen six river natives hanged by the white government for head-hunting and did not relish the idea of being caught themselves. They said that it would be much safer to attack Sowal, a tribe far in the swamp which the whites had not yet visited. Wof, a *brother* of War, voiced another objection to the raid. He pointed out that his gardens adjoined Yelagu territory, and since they would be sure to retaliate, it would not be safe for him to work in his garden if the raid were carried out. The group disbanded, excited but undecided. 721 • 648

For two weeks there was a great deal of discussion among the men of the tribe. War and Wof argued with particular vehemence, War presenting over and again the reasons why it was a good idea to raid the Yelagu, and Wof countering with his objections. The two even broke relationship for a time because of the dispute. Neither visited the other's house, and they passed one another guardedly without speaking. The other men of the tribe, meanwhile, had been swayed by the argument that there was considerable danger of punishment from the whites if Yelagu were attacked, whereas Sowal involved much less danger. It was also reported that high water had driven the Sowal out of their central village, and that they were living on knolls in small isolated groups that would be particularly vulnerable. The pressure of these arguments finally forced War to give up his idea of attacking Yelagu, and he threw his weight into planning for the Sowal raid. He and Wof reëstablished their relationship. [578]

War and some of the older men of the hamlet began to incite the young men to go on the raid. He told them that this was their chance to become big men. In particular he played upon the emotions of Mes, because he, as my shoot boy, could use a gun. The effect of these incendiary talks put Mar in a strong conflict. One evening he came to talk to me about it. He told me that he had decided not to go on the raid. He was afraid that the raiders would get in trouble with the whites, and he was not going to have anything to do with it. Then he began talking about what he would lose by not going and started to weep. He sobbed: "Never mind. I'll

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133 slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post, they control the
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foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago
101 flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and
131 river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the
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separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who
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of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain
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619 The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the
Urambanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam. Their territories are contiguous.
[101] The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all
the materials here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to
[197] the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the
[721] same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are
distinct social entities and not above carrying on head-hunting raids against
one another. More frequently, however, they will band together for raids
against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

361 Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are
[368] clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet
[423] is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in
a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the
paucity of level sites, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4 1.

October 25, 1936.

101 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions
619 of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called
Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another
[197] group called kuoma.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and
101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the
river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau,
173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the
721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige.
726 A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it,
and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would
kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed.
[411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took
[27] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the
[266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.
Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the
adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present genera-
tion, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people.
Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs
[648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the
Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out
the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at
Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya
was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit
tree.

* Probably Kwoma

I noticed some spears
353 on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest
411 and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but
[237] used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance.
586 The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had
[721] stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of
the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly
[126] swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[921] Yangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is
carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping
vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that
they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little
we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[793] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively
the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,
fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage
which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter
groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of
the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the
inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated
by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his
deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

114 521 648 Tangwishamp had gone with him as far as the market and then had returned. Eve had gone in, bought food, shot a kaviak tree for demonstration purposes, then had sent half his boys to fetch a pig that the Amikis had killed. While they were thus separated, the Amikis got their guns and then killed Eve and his boys; took all of Eve's trade, and divided it up. Then they burned their guns in the funeral pyre. The Tangwishamp said if I didn't believe it they would show me the fire scorched post in the house tamberan. They wanted me to get the police and some police boys and settle the matter. They would go too with their spears to get heads, birawa. I said that I had heard this talk of Eve before, but I had thought it was not true. They were very insistent that it was, and named about ten Amikis who had gotten heads at the time. I was still not sure that the story was true, but it was very convincing.

[123] [721]

114 I went and told Haab who was in the police house at the time with the recruiter's boys; their talk got quite excited. They said that Afokalis was very close, and if they had killed Eve, it must have been in collusion with the Tangwishamps; and if so, what was to prevent them from sending word to Afokalis to come over and kill us. At this point Mar said that he had overheard a couple of Tangwishamps exclaiming about the axes, knives, etc. that we had, saying that they would kill us during the night, and get them for themselves. They planned to kill me and Haab and Bob's boss boy first and then the other Hongwans would run away and be killed. The boys decided to keep watch.

We built a big fire and sat around it talking and watching. I was very ambivalent about the situation. I felt that,looked at sanely, the whole thing was probably a farce, but at the same time I was quite scared. I decided that it certainly was on the safe side to keep watch. Some of

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalmwanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Gwiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for [593] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan 721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Kwiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
726 Mes, Gwiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mes in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Gwiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mes and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwe called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwe's imagination. I told Gwiyap and Mar that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yefomoungwis, Kwalump, Amba, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kronai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Memk's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awe visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were or-
[123] namented with black paint and mane (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[302] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the
[301] raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I
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[123] informers in trouble.

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648 (Sowal Urambanj). The former place had representatives of the Australian gov-
ernment, and they were afraid they would get in trouble with the police. Sowal
Uramganj, however, was not yet under Australian control, and they could get
away with it.

I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiap mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olatsim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mas both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelagu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

726 They reported that now they were waiting for men from Urambanj, Tangwishamp,
[501] Koriasi, and Yambon. War had made soup at his house. They were planning to go by canoe, to leave that night and skirt the Kwoma mountains. They would approach at night, single out one house tamberan and surround a house silently. At number one fowl (dawn), the leader would approach the house and break the fence (evidently the Sowal Urambanj's have palisades).

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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The Kwoma are a mountain-dwelling people. Except for the southeastern slope of Ambunti Mountain, site of the Ambunti Police Post,[1] they control the entire segment of the Peilungua Range which lies northwest of the Sepik. The territory they claim also includes enough of the sago swamps at the foot of these mountains to provide them with more than enough of the sago flour which is a staple in their diet. They are surrounded by swamp and river tribes. Living in the sago swamp somewhat to the northwest are the Amiki and Sowal people, and on a little group of hills to the northeast, separated by the swamp from the main range, live a half-dozen households who call themselves Yelagu. The Malu, Yambon, and Yessan, the river neighbors of the Kwoma, are linguistically and culturally distinct from the mountain people. When they converse with each other, each speaks his own language, which the other understands.

The Kwoma tribe consists of four subtribes: the Tangwishamp, the Urumbanj, the Koriasi, and the Hongwam.[2] Their territories are contiguous. The Hongwam, who dwell nearest Ambunti, were the group from which nearly all the data here presented were gathered, only a brief trip being made to the other three subtribes. These four subtribes, although speaking the same language and bound by not a few ties of trade and intermarriage, are distinct social entities and are not above carrying on head-hunting raids against one another.[3] More frequently, however, they will band to-

[1] While the fieldwork on which this report is based was being carried on, Ambunti was still a functioning administrative post. Since then this station has been moved to Marui, approximately thirty-five miles downstream, to facilitate communication with the District headquarters at Wewak.

[2] The terms "tribe" and "subtribe" have been adopted here although it might be objected that, since there is no political organization which unites these four groups, it is improper to call the Kwoma a tribe.

[3]

Native Name	*Name Appearing on Maps and in Australian Record Books*	*Population*
Hongwam	Waskuk—Bangus	374
Koriyasi	Chissaraman (Shasherman)	116
Urumbanj	Urumbans (Urumbanji)	108
Tangwishamp	Tangunjambi (Taunjambi)	*circa* 300

Hongwam is referred to as Washkuk by M. Mead in *Sex and Temperament* and in "The Mountain Arapesh: I. An Importing Culture," *Anthro-*

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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gether for raids against threatened or actual encroachments by non-Kwoma peoples.

Each subtribe is divided into several hamlets, most of which are clustered about a "house tamberan" or men's ceremonial lodge. A hamlet is usually named after its house tamberan. The arrangement of dwellings in a hamlet is determined by hereditary ownership of land and also by the fact that level sites are very few, owing to the precipitous nature of the mountain slopes.

The patrilineal sib is the primary descent group among the Kwoma. Although all the adult males of a hamlet are members of the same sib, the hamlets of a given sib are not necessarily contiguous, i.e., the descent groups are not completely localized. All the members of a sib theoretically descend from a common totem ancestor. Thus the three sibs of Hongwam subtribe are the *Wanyi*, who descend from a pig, the *Hayamakwo*, who descend from a great fish hawk, and the *Tug*, who descend from the sago palm. Each of these sibs has a great many subsidiary totems, some of which are claimed by more than one sib. These lesser totems are variously identified with birds, reptiles, fish, trees, plants, and parts of the human body.

Each sib is divided into lineages each of whose component families claims descent from a legendary hero. The men of a lineage usually build their dwellings in a cluster which forms part of a hamlet. A lineage is composed of several family lines whose members descend from a common grandfather. The men of a single family line also build their houses near one another. The smallest unit and the most compact is that formed by the sons of a father.

Thus a man remembers four ancestors in the male line: his father, his grandfather, a culture hero who is thought to have been his great grandfather, and, finally, his totem ancestor who lived—according to Kwoma myth—back at the

[113] *pological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XXXVI, Pt. III. The maps above referred to are: *Map of Sepik District* compiled by the Department of Lands and Mines, Rabaul, October, 1935, and *Sketch Map of Portion of Sepik District*, Sydney, 1935, Oil Search Ltd. Geological Survey.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger co-operative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama*; young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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Finally they killed him, cut him up like a
727 pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed
[266] to eat the soup,[80] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

• 726 The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently em-
[721] ployed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and
727 fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

721 A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain
554 prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man
[794] is eligible to join *Nokwei*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwei* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwei* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[829] [80] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

October 25, 1936.

101 619 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [27] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

703 A homicide has the privilege of wearing cuscus fur on his head as an
237 everyday ornament and the plumes of several kinds of birds (bird of paradise
was one kind) during the singsing. A man who had killed two men would wear
the plumes of two birds at once. Women are forbidden to eat the flesh of
[262] these birds. Both Kum and War were homicides; each had killed an Urambanj.
After admitting this, they hastened to add that these raids were retaliation
for raids that the Urambanj had made on them and that the latter had started it.

726 They also have the usual New Guinea grievance battle where the sides line
up, shout at each other from a distance, and throw spears until blood is
drawn and then resume friendly relations.

462 We also have collected some scattered information on the division of
labor by sex. Women get water and firewood, catch fish, make bags and do
the cooking. Men hunt, and wash sago (women help in the preliminaries of
washing sago). Both sexes garden. It is taboo for a man or his father
[262] or mother to eat a yam that he has planted or a pig that he has killed.
[274] Women can chew betel, but smoking is a man's privilege.
[502]

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banif' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary [614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangua).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong [533] counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few [534] interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come, so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honuwem sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] Koriasi Tangwishamp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four, [178] however, wore the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact [554] that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

123 some sort of fearful retaliation. I can't quite sense it. It comes to
156 consciousness in a feeling that I won't be liked, and I have an over-
[626] whelming desire to be liked by everyone. This sanction of the mores by direct physical punishment is also quite foreign to me in a cultural sense, and it is very difficult for me to accept it in this as well as the unconscious psychological sense. This is a point on personality and culture or the personality of culture.

123 I sat around at the house tamberan for a while. Wof came down. Mar,
● 726 Mes, Owiyap and May were there. War began talking to Mes in a low tone. He said something about my musket and Yelagu. I guessed what it was, and later Owiyap told me that War was suggesting that May get the musket and go with him and wipe out the Yelagu people. Mes and Mar reacted to this by getting very excited and dancing up and down in the house tamberan. In the middle of this talk Chinuwe called out that there was somebody in my house stealing something. The house boys and I ran up, but it turned out to be a dog and Chinuwe's imagination. I told Owiyap and War that this musket business could not be, for word would get to the police about it, and I would be hanged along with the rest of them. If War wanted to shoot them with a spear, it was his business.

126 April 14, 1937. This morning Yafomongwie, Kwalump, Ambe, Evelas, and
721 War came up ornamented, and I took a picture. Kwalump and Kwonai asked me
726 whether I would tell the police if they went on a head-hunting raid. I
[123] told them no, that it was their business. May told me that the time was set for tomorrow morning, that they were making soup now. Men were going by the house all morning to pull Memk's canoe. In the afternoon they came back and feasted at Rumbima. Awe visited in the afternoon, and I got some information from him. He said he did not want to eat with the others

721 because he was afraid of sorcery. Kar came up later and asked me why I did not
726 come down. I went, and there were about 50 people there. Most of them were ornamented with black paint and mano (bird of paradise) feathers. They played ball
[123] [302] [301] [524] [123] until dark and then left. I told Kar that I would not tell the police about the raid, and he seemed upset and wanted to know who had told me about it. I answered that I had overheard War at the house tamberan, so as not to get my informers in trouble.

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I asked them if they were going. Mar said "No, mi fraid long kiop mi no laik hang im up. Maski, mi stop alasaim mari. Mi no man. Mi mari dasol. Mi stop mari olataim. Maski put im bilas bilong biruwa." (No, I'm afraid of the Australian patrol officer. I don't want to be hung. Never mind, I will be a woman the rest of my life. Never mind weaning the symbols of manhood.) He showed considerable affect during this speech as if he were making quite a sacrifice by deciding not to go. He and Mes both asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble. Mar said that perhaps later they would go to Yelangu and clean it up, but that this was a different affair, War's idea, but that if this came to pass, he was going to tell the police because his garden would be useless.

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726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Soual Urembanja of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokamas came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent add that he had seen Maroh with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbimas house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mowimbi and Gwonts, to get Mas's sister Uha down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uha to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (<u>hersps ma mayaka</u>) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbins were there. The

123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishaap and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Drambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. Hay said he had been that way ever since <u>sunga mwai</u> at Sov's.

584 754 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true"-- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to tell her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Mas would get Gwanta in exchange. Yatamiaj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Dawa and Afa would get Uka's.

Chapter IV

Case History- GWIYAP

*115 157 Gwiyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent [191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned *115 593 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second 736 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young-- his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishampo. He was carried *115 553 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His name was given him by the Malus with whom he stayed after the raid. His mother had named him Woyahokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 726 Gwiyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the house tamberan for a long time. The Kongwan hid in the house except for a few men. Gwiyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his 'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow Gwiyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then, when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 123 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Gwiyap, who had gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We ate at Mirok's house, and during the meal , Gwiyap sat down beside me and

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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727 [266] Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed to eat the soup,[50] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

726 [721] The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

727

721 554 [994] A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man is eligible to join *Nokwi*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwi* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwi* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[829] [50] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

October 25, 1936.

101 69 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numsu, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726a large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [264] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessam. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempɵe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempɵe is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessam. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Soual Urambanja of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent and that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister U'ka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[921] Tengwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is
carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping
vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that
they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little
we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively
the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals,
fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage
which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter
groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of
the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the
inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated
by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
542 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his
deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

Chapter IV

Case History- OVIYAP

*115 157 Oviyap is about 14 years old, slim, good looking and intelligent. He is quite often around the house, and is willing to do odd jobs. He begged persistently for matches for about half an hour one day--he is persistent [191] even after having been refused, but not objectionably so. He has learned *115 593 and talks pidgin English quite well. He lives with his father's second *736 wife, and was brought up by her. Both of his parents died when he was young--his mother killed in an incident with the Tangwishampa. He was carried *115 553 off by his foster mother and they went to hide in the sago swamp. His name was given him by the Halus with whom he stayed after the raid. His mother had named him Woyshokwa (the ringing of an ax).

October 18, 1936. The story of the 1928 raid.

648 726 Oviyap was only a small child at the time and does not remember it all himself. Two police boys raped a woman while her husband and others were out in the gardens. Men returned and killed both police boys. Three white men and a good number of police boys came with muskets and sat down at the house tamberan for a long time. The Mongwam hid in the house except for a few men. Oviyap's father carried him down to the swamp, accompanied by his 'mother'and his older brother. The police boys killed fowls, pigs, cut down coconut trees and burned the house tamberan, and shot men and women. Somehow Oviyap's mother and brother were killed but his father escaped. Since then, when white people came, patrol officers or policemen, everyone ran into the bush.

October 20, 1936.

*115 123 Yesterday we went out to where they were planting yams. Oviyap, who had gone the day before, came up and seemed very pleased to see us. We ate at Marok's house, and during the meal , Oviyap sat down beside me and

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[758] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

578 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap.
*115 Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Uha, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uha was married to
a man from Dawus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uha,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Mirok had been looking our for Uha.

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885 775 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 • 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[30]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[30] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bongus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754
[796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old man into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Gwiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Gwiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Gwiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Gwiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

857 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit.
752 About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefit, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan.
484 There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp
[628] came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongrams were helping to carry their cargo.

602 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at
571 hant sunvige, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now
754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the
[601] relationship. He will no longer call them nan but use their name. His daughter, Meema, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sunvige. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of
262 sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this
[251] afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the
602 shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

123 685 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs to Rumbima--its bad business.)

224 752 Hoel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 578 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 271 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 685 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-aboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yalangu affair. It

124 against Mar if he makes a fuss -- to say "like bilong mari". Then Oviyap said that he should bring his two sisters up here to stay at my house so that Mas would not upset the plan. Mar said no, he was going to sell Mas one of them and take care of the other -- he repeated that I was "papa true bilong them", and I must look out for them.

584 Mar came tonight. He talked with Mar about getting Uka, and they agreed it was all right. The plan was that Mas marry Awa in return to cancel the necessity for pay.

582 After supper loud voices were heard at the house tamberan, and then Kumb shouted back and forth to Mar. He said that it was no good to marry a woman from the same sib because the blood would not be removed, and their children would be no good. Mar said to me "Never mind Kumb, I can fight him". A little later he called out for Kumb to come up. He came [583] with Mas. They discussed the matter in a friendly way in pidgin, but I couldn't get the gist of it except that Mar would get Awa's bride price; Oviyap, Fit, Afi, and Hay would get Uka's.

April 16, 1937. Mar has decided to put off his affair with Uka.

123 I went down to see Latai who was reported to be sick. He had a slight [952] cold and a gash about ten inches long in the calf of his leg which was almost healed. A pig had torn it with its tooth. He gave me and Oviyap 123 some areca nuts, betel nuts, bananas, greens, and breadfruit. The areca 431 nuts belonged to him, and he gave them without expecting repayment. The 437 rest were his children's or wife's, and he asked for pay. (Betel nuts are 276 either sold for a high price or given away -- other food is bartered. [262] It seems that food is only given to relatives whereas betel is given to (exchanged by) friends. Therefore, they have a different valuation. I am always given betel by the natives without their expecting pay, but food is sold to me.

000 is sold to me. When the Tsngwishamp bring fayambi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

734 Mar, Waramus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga hafasumuni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouris pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Ovivap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Oviyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Oviyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouris pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Oviyap heard that Ommi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Oviyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambanj.

752 Enos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and [562] Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harana na maraka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbina were there. The 123 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of 726 excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa U.embanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mwani at Sow's.

584 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Washuk. They were not like 754 Kalu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true" -- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to call her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 Mar said that his affair with Uha was put off for a couple of days -- 583 the arrangement was that Mas would get Owasta in exchange. Yatamanj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Down and Afa would get Uha's.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Pit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Daw put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Knos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Knos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kniya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Yafalks came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for me -- and asked for beads. Nan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chimuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "nonki nothing".

593 Since Ngusaruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbina because there is notone to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

*115 she sleeps, but began to wail. Wof awoke at this and came with a torch
[787] to awaken us. He shouted at us near our house but we slept through it all.
When I went to see Mar in the afternoon he was sitting up and seemed quite
cheerful. He still talked very little and used no pidgin. While I was
there he crawled out of the house and urinated. This he did on his
hand and feet, belly up. I asked him why he did not stand and Owiyap
quickly answered that he had a bad knee.

December 7, 1936.

The report today is that Mar is much better. Ear came around, and from
him we learned that Mar's older brother was a "big man" before he died.
At a ceremony his position was as high as that of Mar.

December 9, 1936.

*115 Yesterday Owiyap came to get me to treat Mar's leg. I went down to
123 find Mar asleep and had some trouble in waking him. He had a nasty surface
• 752 sore on his ankle. I swabbed it out with a solution of percuric potassium
iodide and put a bandage with unguentine on it. He howled a good deal during
the process but said nothing. Afterwards I fixed a little sore of Owiyap's
and although he stood it much better, he squirmed a bit, and Mar laughed at
this a little. I stayed for a while and he became more cheerful still saying
practically nothing however.

*115 Today during the Mundik[1] episode Mar came hobbling up the hill leaning
heavily on a walking stick to see what was going on. He went back after about

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1. Mundik was a young man who killed his wife and, seeking refuge at Washuk, was beaten by them and nearly killed for attending a ceremony without having the proper credentials (i.e., kaloids of manhood). They consider him to be insane.

#115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

#115 752 123 659 The sore on Owiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Wes was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Owiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 133 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a N, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing. [137 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1320 ft. above sea level.

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or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[5] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

Very few aggressive responses are established during infancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[5] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 61.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *owambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yogiwa fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "volun- [765] tary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating sago gruel for the period between the first and second funer- [331] als of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 252 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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821 776 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

• 753 755 [796] Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

825 776 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth. 825 776 789 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

• 753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[20]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[20] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

796 346 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing will go on to its conclusion."

755 754 [796] The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of the Bongus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within [123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The [753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognise this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we [123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old man into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 [372] November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 136 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at
this time from the river villages, Yambon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwem
where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma
settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by
events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the
day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon.
For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came
running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwem youths who fetches water and
firewood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush
house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in
good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish".
The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half
dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us
several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire list-
[753] less and moaning. They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because
of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk
straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we
could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but
no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to
get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he
was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 755 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder

123 755 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a microphone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed from behind; thus we started back. His dependance on our assistance decreased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off gambe.

754 753 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waramus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waramus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbiman. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 [129] Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness. Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked May if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to May, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerize him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Namb, went up and greeted Namb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump May, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Dew put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Owiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Enos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Enos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Owiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Owiyap. Enya, Awa, Afi, and Yewaf were there. I told Owiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Owiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Owiyap was afraid they could not carry the

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mes has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mes (Mar has been joking with Mes alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinawa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Hay and Fit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
787 of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
602 He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get
753 it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dawangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and
[754] Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerised and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
156 on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said,
[648] "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbwi, Cwanta
584 and Fambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
[123] Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it
582 was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

December 9, 1936.

*115 123 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual, [753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned;" and he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next day, he was all right.

578 *115 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap. Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 [736] Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to a man from Dawus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.

[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others. Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.

[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka, it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalization of normal inheritance). Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking out for Uka.

192 [826] [262] [614] **marinokw** the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.

nambeyé ears

nboroweng neck

nesuk heart

wofu lungs

kumbu stomach

sungu intestines

wangorusuku kidneys

nogu bladder

eré penis

wandé testicles

sumé suf anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the siefkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.

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[621] dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two
[592] wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in
[154] the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By
[564] Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of
[595] approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son.
[586] Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the house-
hold. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young
[564] man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the
[191] gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin
[595] English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no
children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a
three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin Eng-
lish. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no chil-
dren.

[156] Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house
shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat
(household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year
[591] or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who
[564] has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has
[727] also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one
[595] son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma.
There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

[154] Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household
[759] 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties,
who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his
wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and
Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and
[736] Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his
[184] nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur,
was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's
wife.

[165] About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is
the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who
[759] is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly
cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of
Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son
Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos,
a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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CHAPTER II

INFANCY

834 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [575] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

853 Hunger produces one of the earliest and most persistently

[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

[2] This made the observation of infants extremely difficult and accounts in large part for the paucity of data in this chapter.

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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [154] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[3]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.

[364] [4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.

[754] [5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[3] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [3] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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867 264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 859 261 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

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584 or parents. There is sometimes a sort of indirect conversation between the boy and girl when they both talk to the same person, and some of the bolder youths may even address the girl directly. In such cases, however, neither should mention the name of the other as this would be a breach of etiquette.

584 Mar's courtship of Aya exemplifies the sanctions directed
582 against marriage with a relative. Mar and Aya were members of the same hamlet, but not of the same lineage. Despite the taboo on intra-sib marriage, Aya's brother had already married Mar's sister. Mar's betrothed, Yawa, was also a member of the same sib, so that if he married her and Aya he would be marrying girls who were related to one another as well as to himself, another reason for not courting Aya. The fact that Mar was neurotic presumably made his courtship somewhat atypical. The affair started when Aya asked Gwiyap if he wanted to marry her. He replied that he was too young but that his brother, Mar, was looking for a wife. Aya seemed to like this suggestion and offered some fish that she had bought to Mar's aunt. The latter refused to accept them and told Aya that she should know better than to make advances to a boy in her own sib. This rebuff did not stop the couple. Mar gave Aya a razor blade to show that he was seriously interested in her, and they made plans to marry despite the disapproval of their elders, even if they had to elope. Aya's father, Waramus, finally got wind of the affair and told Mar, in no uncertain terms, to stop courting his daughter. As a result of this tirade, Mar had what seemed
• [754] to be a nervous breakdown. He believed that his sickness re-
[158] sulted from being sorcerized by Waramus. He was in bed for more than a week, stayed home for another week, and did not recover his full strength for almost a month. During this time, the affair with Aya lapsed.

When Mar had fully recovered from his sickness, he began thinking of Aya again, but this time he was more careful in his approach. He talked the matter over with his *paternal*
[602] *uncles* (his father was not alive) and convinced them that it would be all right for him to marry Aya if Waramus would agree to it. In discussing the matter, they weighed the pros

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

• [754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[28]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[28] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives. 882 836 584 602 578

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed. 882 721 648 609

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects. 882 562 [224] [881] [781]

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so. [754]

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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761 take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer
• 754 will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the
[648] next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was
[764] hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited
[123] voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[38] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

602 The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear
764 of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the
[765] corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[38] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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621 578 [514] [346] [648] sibs of the subtribe in which I lived. Rumbima, for example, had at one time been the only hamlet of Hayamakwo. A number of years before my arrival a small group had seceded as a result of a quarrel which started when someone defecated in the house tamberan. Accusations and counteraccusations led to the formation of two groups who would not compromise. The smaller group left and moved to another locality to make a hamlet and house tamberan of their own. Some years later, the Australian Government, in a punitive expedition against the tribe, killed seventeen members of the two hamlets and burnt both house tamberans. During the process of rehabilitation, the two groups decided to recombine to build a single new house tamberan. In deciding the site for the new building, however, a new dissension arose, and a new fission resulted. The larger group built the house tamberan and the surrounding dwellings of the present Rumbima hamlet. There were not enough men in the other group to build a house tamberan, so they lived in a hamlet without one, and were therefore called *sumwe sumwe*, "without." Such fissions as these lead to deprivations which the Kwoma well appreciate. They weaken the defensive power of the in-group, and make large coöperative endeavors such as building a house tamberan more difficult. They even interfere with the cooperative work of building dwellings and clearing garden sites, easy tasks for a large number of men, but arduous for a few. The importance of these factors in controlling in-group aggression should not be underestimated. Parents continually stress their value.

593 578 [754] A Kwoma man sometimes reacts to annoyances from his wife by scolding or beating her; sometimes he submits to them. Although he has more practice in physical combat than she, knows how to use a spear, and is living among his own kin, who are pledged to support him, she too has some very effective weapons. She has access to his food leavings and other sorcery material, which she may take to a sorcerer if she becomes sufficiently angry. Of course, she does this in the face of the negative sanction against sorcery. The husband may even kill her if he discovers the crime. Nevertheless, she

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885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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sonal agents. This belief gives the Kwoma something to do when sickness occurs: they can attack the sorcerer and prevent him from continuing his operations. If a person believes that he has stopped the sorcery, his fear of continued illness or death is reduced; and since the Kwoma have developed no "realistic" modes of curing these diseases, the belief in sorcery is psychologically adaptive.

Whenever it is believed that a person is suffering from the results of sorcery, the men of his hamlet immediately launch an anti-sorcery campaign. The first step is to make an announcement on the house tamberan gongs, "So-and-so, our relative, is sick from sorcery. Anyone who is guilty of sorcerizing this person must answer for it. If anyone is sorcerizing an unknown person, stop at once. It may be our relative." After this command is issued, all the men of the subtribe, if they wish to be free of suspicion, visit the house of the sick person, pay their respects, and drink water. Since a sorcerer cannot work his evil magic if he drinks water during the process, this is taken as proof of innocence. If the sick person is a close relative of a man of high prestige, there will be many visitors, but if he is not there will be few. If the sick man does not show signs of recovery, some of his relatives will visit around the subtribe, going to the houses of those whom they suspect of sorcery and asking them to drink. The relatives may resort to another expedient in the anti-sorcery campaign by calling a "sorcery court," in which an attempt is made to discover the guilty person.[20]

The Kwoma are in a constant state of anxiety about sorcery. Hardly a week passed during the seven months of my stay at Kwoma that the command to stop all sorcery did not boom out from the gongs of one or another of the house tamberans. Whenever the sorcery message was spelled out, everyone would stop what they were doing, listen intently, shake their heads seriously, and make some such statement as: "Somebody is sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. What is the matter with people anyway? Why do they have to go about

[20] The procedure at the sorcery court is described below.

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754 sorcerizing people? This place is no good." Then there would follow speculations as to who the guilty party could be. Comments like this were frequently made: "There were some children from Tug sib wandering about the hamlet this afternoon. The Tug train their children to steal sorcery material. We had better be careful with our food leavings." Or, "Yat asked me for my cigarette butt to get a light this afternoon. I do not remember that he gave it back. I'll bet that he kept it for sorcery material. He had better not try anything or I'll show him. If I get sick I'll know who is the cause of it."

The Kwoma preoccupation with sorcery is so marked that they are notorious for it. The river people look upon them as "man bilong poison." My Yambon houseboy was extremely nervous about being stationed at Kwoma and was constantly warning me of the danger of sorcery. He finally became ill and, being sure that some Kwoma who wished him ill was causing it, fled home despite my protestations. Gwiyap once told me that he wished I would take him to America, where, [177] I had told him, there was no sorcery. Some of the young men who had recently returned from working for European enterprises talked of banding together to put an end to sorcery.

754 627 683 It is not surprising that a person suspected of sorcery has a difficult time at Kwoma. Anyone caught stealing sorcery material may be killed on the spot, and his close relatives will receive little support in any plan for retaliation. If the relatives of a sorcery victim succeed in fastening on someone the responsibility for the victim's sickness, the sorcerer is in danger of his life unless he nullifies the magic and the sick man recovers.[31] To sorcerize a relative is a particularly heinous crime, and, if it were proved that a man had done such a thing, he would be ostracized from the community. Kwoma society permits a man to use sorcery only against someone who has committed a capital crime[32] against him or one of his relatives.

[31] This does not apply to sorcerers who work their magic for pay. The person who hires the sorcerer is held responsible for the crime. The professional sorcerer usually does not know the identity of the victim, but he is hated, feared, and if possible avoided.

[32] Rape, murder, arson, or sorcery.

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A person is seldom, if ever, convicted of sorcery. I am reasonably certain that there were many fewer occasions on which sorcery was actually practiced than there were cases of sickness and death attributed to this cause. I was unable to discover anyone who would admit to having practiced sorcery, and the Kwoma themselves were unable to convict any sorcerer during my stay, despite their constant efforts to do so. This evidence should not, of course, be taken as proof that men never practice sorcery, but as indicating the probability that they rarely do so.

Mar's nervous breakdown illustrates how sorcery works from the point of view of the person sorcerized and how it may be used as an explanation for neurotic anxiety. One evening shortly after Mar began his courtship of Aya we heard him exchanging shouts with someone down the mountainside. Later he came to my house and told me that he had been arguing with Waramus. The latter had discovered that Mar wanted to marry Aya and had shouted: "You stay away from my daughter; you are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry a lazy person like you, and one who is her relative, too?" When Mar had told me this, he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater?" I reassured him. He then bit his underlip, raised his hand, and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, "That damned Waramus! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." I asked, "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" and he replied, "It is too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow."

Mar did not carry out his threat, nor did he make any move to see Aya for the next few days. A week later he went with several of his *brothers* and *sisters* and his betrothed to work on their garden. Three days later Fit came running back from the garden and told us that Mar was dying. He said that Mar had had a nightmare the previous night and that his father's ghost had appeared and tried to take his soul away. We took some medicine and went back to the garden with Fit and Wof, who had also been told of Mar's sickness. When we arrived at Mar's bush house, he was moan-

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159 ing on his bark slab bed. He seemed unable to talk and could
• 754 only groan inarticulately. We took his temperature and
[129] found that it was normal. When we asked him where the pain was, he shook his head, refusing to answer. Wof then diagnosed the sickness as the result of sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies, he dies, that's all." This elicited a groan from Mar. We told him that we had some very strong medicine which would counteract sorcery, at which he lifted his head and looked at us with a doglike expression and then took the Eno's salts which we gave him. We suggested that he go home, for the bush house was damp and lonely, but he groaned and shook his head at this suggestion, indicating that he could not make it. Wof then gathered some nettle leaves, formed them into a cone, into which he muttered a prayer, and then rubbed them over Mar's chest and belly. This made Mar gasp and come out of his lethargy enough to mumble that he believed Waramus was sorcerizing him for courting Aya. We finally raised him to his feet. Leaning heavily on us, he swayed and staggered but was able to walk. As the trip progressed, he seemed to become stronger and for the last part of the journey walked unaided, but when we arrived at his home he fell groaning on his bed, where he stayed for two days without speaking. Wof meanwhile approached Waramus, who denied that he had sorcerized Mar, but said that he still did not want him to court his daughter.

Mar did not leave his house for over a week, gradually recovering his voice and his strength. He believed that Waramus had sorcerized him but had stopped after being accused by Wof, and that this had saved his life. Waramus denied Wof's accusation, and as far as I was able to determine his denial was truthful. The case would have progressed in much the same way, however, whether he had done so or not. Thus it is evident that sorcery functions as an explanation for sickness and that accusations are made against persons who are feared, and finally that the actual performance of black magic is not pertinent.[33]

[787] [33] The fact that Mar had a nightmare in which his father's ghost attempted to take his soul suggests that his sickness may have been due to

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When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use 754 •
the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death re- 761
peatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of 754
magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives [203]
tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have [177]
worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus. [787 159]

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

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has plenty of opportunity to take material without being discovered, and the fear that she will do so is a strong deterrent to his aggression. In addition to this weapon, she has the support of her own relatives if he maltreats her, particularly before he has paid the bride-price. Finally, she is free to leave him, an act which lowers him in the eyes of the community and is an economic and sexual loss.

Disputes between husband and wife arise for a variety of reasons. A wife may fail to do her share in the economic duties of the household, she may be openly unfaithful, or she may be annoying in a variety of minor ways. The following cases illustrate conflicts between husband and wife. One evening, when the mosquitoes were more plentiful than usual, Kaya began to complain about them. Wof, her husband, became annoyed at her carping and told her to stop. This started an argument which ended by his pounding her on the back with his fist. Kaya began to wail, and Wof left the house.

War on one occasion became angered at one of his wives and thrust a spear through her leg. Mey, who reported the case to me, said that he took care to thrust it into her leg rather than into a vital spot, because by killing her he would lose both a wife and the money he had paid for her. He also reported that before this event she had been very disobedient to War, but that afterwards she was a dutiful wife. Cases of men beating their wives as a result of the suspicion or knowledge that they were unfaithful are numerous. A man does not always react to frustrations imposed by his wife with aggression; he often submits to them. A homely example of such a reaction occurred one night when I was sitting by a fire in front of my house with a group of men. While we were talking, a gong sounded from down the mountainside. One of the men sighed, picked up his net bag, and trudged off. The gong had been a message from his wife telling him to return home immediately.

Since the way in which a child behaves toward his parents as he grows from infancy to adulthood has been described in detail, much of how parents behave toward their children has

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already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride-price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[19]

The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mixture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or near-by households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[19] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother*
[601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is
[881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though
[574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite
[574] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[43] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos
[765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to
[764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[43] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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602 578 "You talk as if you had already paid the bride-price for her."

583 607 "Well, if you don't like my beating her, what are you going to do about it?"

"I am not afraid of your threats. You are just a child anyway."

"Just because you have been away working for the whites, you think you are pretty tough. Come to the house tamberan and you'll see whether I'm a child or not."

The shouting continued for about two hours and then subsided. Nothing further came of the affair.

When the bride-price has been paid, an affinal relationship becomes friendly. The woman's relatives no longer have to look after her, and they have the money to use to their own advantage. The husband need no longer fear their interference in his behavior toward his wife. He may visit and eat with them without fear of sorcery, and he coöperates with them economically.

[574] [754] [476] 602

Thus toward all relatives, except affines before the bride-price is paid, a man maintains relationships which are for the most part friendly. He is safe from sorcery danger from them as long as the kinship bond remains unbroken, and is supported by them in disputes and helped by them in many economic tasks. He, in return, is obligated to support and help them in the same ways. Aggression is theoretically prohibited, but it nevertheless not infrequently occurs. If it is at all serious, the kin tie is broken, and the two act toward one another as non-relatives.

602 591 The greatest contrast between the experiences of an adult man and an adult woman results from the custom of patrilocal marriage. A man's relationship with his affines is attenuated by the fact that he does not live in close contact with them, but this is not the case with the woman. Her adjustment to her affines-to-be has already been described. After marriage her position in her husband's hamlet is somewhat firmer, although it is not until his parents die and his sisters marry out of the hamlet that her position becomes relatively

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maternal uncle, her *paternal aunt*, her *sisters*, and her *friends*.

Despite the ties which a man has with various kinsmen, the great majority of the members of the other sibs of the subtribe are not related to him. Nevertheless, he is united to them by common interests and participates with them in common enterprises, not so frequently nor so intimately as with relatives but still enough to weld the subtribe into an integrated unit. Cult, age-grade, and initiation ceremonies are the concern of the whole subtribe, not of a hamlet or even of a sib. Head-hunting raids, intertribal and intratribal court meetings, and the building of a house tamberan all entail the cooperative endeavors of non-relatives[*] as well as relatives. Finally, the members of a subtribe call themselves by a common name, and a Hongwam will support a Hongwam against members of the other Kwoma subtribes.

Despite the bonds which unite the unrelated members of a subtribe, considerable antagonism and suspicion is the rule between non-relatives. Fear of sorcery is ever present between them. They do not eat with one another, and when they visit or meet they do so guardedly, exercising great care not to leave anything behind which could be used for sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes ill it is usually a non-relative who is first suspected.

A man must be aggressive if he is threatened by a non-relative, lest he be criticized by his own relatives, but he may not be overaggressive lest he give the non-relative good cause for serious counteraggression. I personally felt the application of the sanction against not being aggressive enough. Shortly before the end of my field work, a young man from one of the other sibs pilfered my last tin of tobacco. I complained about it to Gwiyap and Mar. They had no sympathy for me. They said that it was all my fault for letting people from other hamlets wander around my house. Shortly afterwards, War came in and I told him what had happened. He gave me a sound scolding: "You are a little baby. Don't

[*] The term "non-relative" is used here to apply to all persons in the subtribe not addressed by a kinship term.

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[36] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[37]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[36] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[37] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

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121 869 776 big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

121 869 153 795 Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

121 869 754 153 [192] [196] Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

121 869 826 153 [196] [292] A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the possessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing. In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed person, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus, exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to extinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
[202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at which accusations are made and denied and evidence is presented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who have no better theory of disease and no more effective methods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the supposed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hagamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [595] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife [597] Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [154] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [305] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [177] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [13] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

123 we started back immediately it would be dark before we reached home. While
114 it was disappointing not to see the gardening, we had observed enough to make the trip worthwhile. We finally reached our house more dead than alive. Tip's leather boots turned out to be not without their drawbacks, for he had developed a couple of very ugly blisters. We were so tired that night that we couldn't sleep.

October 23, 1936.

126 On the 20th it rained practically all day and we sat at home working on the
114 notes we had collected the day before and some more on the language. On the 21st it rained intermittently. Quite a few of the natives dropped in during
123 the day and we recorded their genealogies. We were disconcerted and somewhat
[754] cast-down by the fact that a report came in from several sources that the older men were attempting to sorcerize us. They did not like the idea of our playing father to the children and young men, or keeping them from their work.
[648] Yesterday, however, we were relieved by talking to Sof, one of the men who
[464] had worked on a white plantation. He came in with a bunch of bananas to
[191] barter. He is an intelligent young man who speaks pidgin very well. We asked him about the reaction of the old men. At first he denied the report, but then admitted it. He told us not to pay any attention to the old men, however, for all the young men liked us and wanted us to stay. He added very expressively in pidgin that he didn't have a damn for the old men, and we shouldn't either.

126 Then he gave us an excellent and complete genealogy; we took his physical measurements, and got some information from him on the social organization. Both Bangus and Washuk have three phratries each with a name and a
615 house tamberan.* A man belongs to the phratrie of his father and cannot marry
582 a woman of this phratrie. Although he may marry into the section of his mother, it is preferable not to do so. As Sof expressed it, the phratrie with which you

* This turned out to be a misinterpretation (see introduction)

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly
"savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its
[754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein
as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up,
[123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping ahold
of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation
in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the
[754] "kiop" and have him put in the calabouse. They said the dead man had been
poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned
me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at
it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying
[417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably
[602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

764 [415] Next a bamboo filled with water (the usual method of carrying water) was carried up the ladder by Afalowanj, an old man; he was assisted by two other men in washing the body. Meanwhile the "savvy talks" broke the points of two spears formerly belonging to the deceased. These were passed up the ladder to the cubicle and lashed crossways over the body. The arms and legs of the body were lashed to the floor, and the burial was complete. The undertakers climbed down the ladder and went off to wash, saying that they would meet me at the house tamberan, where sortly[1] thereafter the gong tolled. As I was leaving, I heard one of the women inside of the house sobbing instead of wailing in the patterned manner.

754 Wof and some others were already at the house tamberan when I arrived. Later some of those who had officiated at the funeral came. The conversation once again turned to poison. Kwonai described the process by which he considered the men to have been killed. The group had calmed down considerably and now discussed the affair much more matter-of-factly than they had previously. They were still bitter toward the perpetrator of the deed and seemed to be afraid for their own safety. Kwonai told me someone had stolen a bit of food which the deceased had carelessly thrown away; the evil doer had then carried it to Koriyasi, who had performed a magical rite on it. They had put the leavings in a tall narrow pot, filled it half full of water, and let it boil away until only the sediment of the food remains were left. A bamboo of cold water was then poured into the pot and on the fire. That is followed by an explosion of steam. The food disappears, and soon afterward the man died.

114 October 28-Nov. 9, 1936. A week ago Friday, October 30, Tip and I went in to Ambunti to spend the weekend for the sake of a holiday. Bob Overall had brought the mail up the river that morning, so we were greeted with a very welcome packet of letters. George and Max (a medical assistant

[1] [i.e., shortly-analyst]

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bangus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754 gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot
[796] of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
[372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

123 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These
955 he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a micro-
phone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders
to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was
that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed
from behind; thus we started back. His dependance on our assistance de-
creased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off gambo.

954 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is
753 interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waramus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waramus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbiman. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness.
[123] Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the
cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nowi which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also
connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only
after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture
is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[82] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of
aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy
existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill
them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time.
In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks,
waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder,
lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are
[794] disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated
are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of
the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and
others we have not.

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
177 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leathernack (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leathernack took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leathernack gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected
[571] thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

123 the child didn't seem to mind. I played with him, much to the amusement of the women. Then I gave him back to Yat who played with him for a moment and passed the child to Kar. He gave the baby to Hmub who took it to its mother.

124 We talked about Suw; Kar, Kis and Yat said that it was sorcery and
754 went over the rigamarole about making sorcery that it was a native custom and that if the important men of Hongwem would come to see the boy, he wouldn't be sick. If they came, the sorcery would go away and he would be better again.

614 The importance of a son's growing up to take over the activities of
593 the sib was stressed. Girls are not important because when they marry,
562 they go to another house tamberan. The boys are important because they are
[591] needed to take care of the coconut trees, betel nut, and other crops planted
[241] here. They stressed the fact that the ground itself belonged to them,
[423] needed caretakers, and told the story of the projected new house tamberan to be built when Owiyap, Hay, Fit, Mar, Kum, and Gampi were big enough.

114 December 16, 1936. I wrote letters all day. We got news that Suw was
[443] better "liklik". Today is the market with Yambon--Hmub went down and found
[685] his canoe has been smashed by Brugmwi; he was annoyed and wants to go to Ambunti to make court. We told him it was alright. He has to wait for the Yambons who are buying a pig from Marok for their sing-sing -- so he went to help them. Soon after lunch Tip's nareuboy, Mangwiyaf, and three or four others came in, 'Sourpuss' being one of them. We talked with them. Mangwiyaf said that his canoe (the one Eve's boy took) was at Ambunti and asked if we would bring it back for him. We agreed. Then he said that the second bunch of bananas were pretty nearly ripe, and he would bring them in. Mangwiyaf had sat down and pretty soon when our talk ran out, he lay

231 The chase was more or less every man for himself. There was quite
123 a good deal of shouting. They went down hill first in the direction the
114 pig had taken. Tip and a couple of others tried to track it, but with no success. We came back to the house tamberan, and someone shouted that it had been seen south of us -- half a dozen of us ran there. Abagap and Mem told us to stand in a line in the road; they had grabbed spears from a house that we passed, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's and shouted that the pig was in the other direction and dashed there. I followed Mem going down on a side path. Mem beckoned excitedly, and I came up. There was a pig below us coming toward us. I wanted to wait until it got nearer, but Mem kept telling me to hurry. Then I shot twice with the 22, and felt pretty sure I had hit him the first time. There was much dashing about. Someone began following some tracks that led north. We came upon a house, but there was no time to inquire about it. Then we lost the tracks. There was more shouting; another line formed on the road, but nothing happened. We returned to Marok's, rushed out for a couple more false alarms, and returned for lunch.

Marok's explanation is that a <u>sugiliwas</u> must have picked up the pig and is running about with it. This is also Mamb's explanation. It seems to me that no one really believed this but used it in the same sort of way that we have of making some excuse for failure. Ghosts are very convenient explanations.

254 Later Yat came up and said that Sum was all right. Someone had
648 admitted that he had been sold poison and had since relinquished it. Yat
464 and Kar are here now and say that Bob Overall, the recruiter, is coming up to get boys, and they are upset about it. Too many boys have gone away. Wolosek said the same thing earlier in the afternoon; he wanted us to tell Overall not to come. They seemed to want us to forestall him. If

648 Overall cons, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see us and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerized along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kum up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 5 minutes beyond Marck's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Kwal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mas talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals; his older brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

114 We finally arrived home, pretty well exhausted. Mundik had brought his load to the house, dropped the axes and gone off, saying he was going to get something to eat. I told my story to Bob and Tip. The former laughed at my fears. He said that he had been there three years before and stayed for several days without any trouble. Both Tip and Bob felt the Eve tale a fake.

648 While I was gone, Bob had gotten another recruit--May. He is about
464 thirty, somewhat of a dandy; he usually walks about with a long white feather in his comb and is very careful of his personal appearance. He speaks in a low musical voice, slowly, giving the impression of thoughtfulness. He was the one at the Hokwi ceremony who grabbed the spear and went dancing with it around the water drum. Tip said that he had come in the morning and had sat by the cook house for a couple of hours and then finally had said that he wanted to sign up. A short while later, four youths from Weyambank came, accompanied by the Tulcul and Sow. They also signed on. The recruiter decided that it was best to go at once, before
[593] they ran away. May and the boys looked rather frightened. When the time came for them to go, all their mothers, sisters, and wives came up and began wailing as at a funeral. Their older relatives broke their lime gourds and rubbed the lime on the shoulders of the recruits. Others came up and rubbed the lime on them too. There was much embracing and excited talking. Tears were streaming down the faces of the women. It was a scene of hysteria.

To add to the confusion, Mundik had not appeared, and there was much excited yelling for him, but to no avail, and finally Bob and Tip went off with them.

578 Kar came up in the afternoon in quite an agitated state saying that
754 Kumb had thought he had "pushed" his wife and was going to "make poison"

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of "making poison" against
754 War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for "poison." Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambanj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp . The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Owiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Owiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Soon thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a "lapun meri" was dying and they were calling her relatives

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked Mey if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 595 754 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife. He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to Mey, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerise him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Nemb, went up and greeted Nemb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerizing him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump Mey, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 [854] I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was [231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[857] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got nothing. I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimuwa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Haymakwo men and Mar' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

578 Kumb and Kar came up in the evening. Their argument may be over as there is no outward sign of hostility.

578 February 11, 1937. The day before yesterday Tip came back. I heard Wof
231 talking. It seemed Marok and Chinuwa had gone to wash sago, and on the way back their dogs had fought; Wof's dog had been pretty well chewed up. Wof had been cross and wanted to know why Marok had not separated them. Awambaka had gone to Marok and told them that Wof was very cross. At this Marok's wife came and told Wof that they were not near the dogs, and Wof said that he wasn't cross but was making up stories. Then he chided Awambaka for talking. He told her that if she did this under other circumstances, it might cause a fight.

754 Last evening at dusk the gongs tolled, and at first they said that an old woman had been sick and that this announced her death. We heard excited shouting, and it turned out that a man had been seen sneaking behind someone's house, obviously looking for sunga (sorcery materials). They had grabbed spears and chased him, and he had run down into the 'sac sac' (sago swamp). They neither caught him nor recognized him. Had they caught him, they would have speared him.

476 In preparation for making a slit gong, Yet obtained food and announced
534 a ceremonial work feast. He called the workers in the morning. First
[574] they went down toward the market place to cut a liana about an inch in
diameter and twenty feet long. One of the men, in monkey fashion, climbed
[481] up a tree and cut the top with a big knife. This was carried into the
[313] garden by the side of the road toward Wenyabunkura. A log was cut to the
[284] desired length and shaped. A collar had been left on the pointed end of
[483] the log and in back of this the liana was tied--a single turn and half knot around the stocky part--and slipped down tight. The end of the liana was

578 been upset because War still thinks he is guilty. Kar says that he is fed
[123] up with the place here and will go with/when I go. He says he does not
feel like working.

527 Last night gongs announced a Yenama pig-eating feast (or that is what
262 they said). I went this morning. It developed that it was a court to
[754] discover who was sorcerizing Sowinambi's wife. When we arrived Mes and
[692] Sof were boiling the pig which Sowinambi had shot. Yesterday afternoon
[252] they had eaten the brains, kidneys, heart, liver, and belly. Now they
had cut the rest in big chunks, without removing the skin and hair, and
[415] were boiling it in two large pots. The pots were not large enough to hold
[252] it all, so the chunks were put in and taken out with bamboo tongs. When
the meat was done, bananas, spinach, and yams were put in the soup and
boiled. The bananas were greasy, and the outer skin was peeled off with
[123] the finger nail. I suggested a knife, but Sowinambi explained that the
soup was for the big men and must be done this way. Sowinambi said that he
[123] and Sof had to do all the work because they had no boys to help them. I
helped. Some of the others made remarks -- it was not quite right for me
to be doing it, but others said never mind; it was all right. The spinach
was torn up by hand and put in. The yams were peeled and cut in parts.

695 The men kept coming three or four at a time until there were about
754 fifty there. There were greetings and general talk until finally it seemed
that all who were coming had arrived, and Ngayames (a big man of Afokalies)
got up and began talking in a loud voice. "Sowinambi's wife had been
poisoned. Who has done it? I am Sownambi's (kinship term) and I will fight
anyone who is doing it." He stood up and stamped his foot on the ground
[123] and held his hand over his head as if holding a spear. In the days before
the white man (probably now if I hadn't been there) they actually held a
spear.

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayanakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Wey, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayanakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for [593] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, [628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't

648 721 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Awiyamps and Dowari and Mawandaye had broken it and

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[578] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungwi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandayn has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Haymakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Way came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of Wer's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Kwai was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, May, Mar, Asenampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Mase's on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

114 [224] near Mar's. He was building a bannis (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mas cut it up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific. We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which were at Mar's. We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa was teaching Mar and Mas. He was very patient with them. He would sing out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mas slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa on the other. This morning Pokadaya left early. Mar, Mas and I had breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back to the house. Mas took a short trip and came back with a bunch of bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mas is his nephew, it is all right. We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai. Awambaku and Apinoku came to help carry my bed back, and we returned. Pokatayu and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

[754] Yamangamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to Wisop's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to the house tamberan to find Wof, Marok et al there. They came out and claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out for poison. (Mamb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night. They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from 754 Wenyabaukwa this evening. They were making the rounds of Hongwan, getting 755

754 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does
755 not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this,
the sick person will recover.

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelegu alone. He held one spear poised in
[411] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelegus saw him
coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind.
[231] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to
[431] do with Asenumpa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was.
War told him to give him some 'tambu' too, which he did, and War returned.
War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--
Mar, Kumb, Mes, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road
to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two
center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there
were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two
were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Heyamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking
ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Pit has returned. May
says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother polo man".
Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from
578 Wenyambenkura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They
had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of
the day was that since there were no Heyamakwa present, it was they who were
responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on
Mamoy to fight, but Mamoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

754 carrying a spear. Later I heard loud voices at the house tamberan, so I
578 went down. It seems that someone brought word that Kwalump was responsible for the accusation of the Hayamakwo, and people are becoming annoyed with him and brought up the fact that they mistrusted his father for killing
[648] Mar's brother. Kar brought up the fact that he and other Hayamakwos had hidden Kwalump from the police, and now they thought they would turn him over to them.

123 After I had stayed for a while, Wof politely asked me to leave. I went to Wof's house and sat down with all the women and Mey. Chinuwa rubbed my arms, and Kwiyakay and Awa giggilingly protested and pretended to be shocked.

522 March 23, 1937. I went to Mar's with Gwiyap. Awa and Kwiya were there. Gwiyap began walking around with a stick between his legs telling the girls that Fit's penis had been stiff that morning 'just like this'. Fit became annoyed and said it wasn't so. Gwiyap kept teasing him for some time about it. The girls thought Gwiyap very funny but gave Fit a piece of their mind for having had an erection in public.

241 March 24, 1937. Mar plans to go to the bush to tie up yams.

576 March 26, 1937. When news came of Sowinambi's accident (he had been bitten by a wild pig), Mar, Wof, Mar, Yat, and Wayakola went to pay respects.

231 March 27, 1937. Marok's dog died this afternoon. I went down to his house to find him sitting in the new house, very glum. Uka was sitting outside, but did not return my greeting. The dog was lying in the old house, Marok's wife sitting beside it. Uka came to the doorway, looked at the dog, and started sobbing -- it was restrained, not a wail. Chinuwa came and started wailing, took the dog in her lap, and continued until I left.

857 752 Fit and Hay have been playing all afternoon. Hay was chasing Fit. About 5:00 Hay caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside Hay's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for Hay's benefic, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. Hay did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 Hay, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. 484 [628] There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwama were helping to carry their cargo.

602 571 April 3, 1937: If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now 754 there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc, from him. His son is also removed from the [601] relationship. He will no longer call them mem but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 262 [251] Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a net bag of sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 602 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Fokutay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbim calling with a new gong--do you hear me?" and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

123 enforce the taboo myself, as no one would listen to them. Mar suggested
685 I go down to the house tamberan and tell this to all the men there. We
123 went down, but there was no one there. I came back and told Wof. He let
156 out a tirade--the general idea of which was that I was an impotent fool not to kick everyone out of the house, that I was afraid of them, that I ought to fight them, and that it was my own fault if I lost something. War called out from the house tamberan, and the conversation was repeated. War said little and agreed that I ought to taboo the house. When I said that it was not my custom to fight everyone, he said I was a handombas yikafa
[554] (a weak child). The attitude of all of them seemed to be that you are respected if you beat up anyone who imposes on anyone except yourself. That is, you do not admire someone who beats you up as much as you admire someone who beats someone else up. In this case you are disliked but still respected.
[554] To really be a big man one must have killed someone and be feared for sor-
[754] cery. A man who beats his wife and children is respected, and only disapproved
[593] of by those who receive the beatings, or by others if he does it to excess. In the latter case, it is still his business except that his wife's brothers
123 may retaliate. They also said when I decided to taboo the house that I
156 would forget it tomorrow, that I had always done so before, and that it was not good to be that way. They referred to the times when I have been angry with Namb and Namaingamp for overstaying their leaves and said I would be cross with them when they came back, but forgave them.

123 The interesting thing about these criticisms of me is that despite my rationalizations about getting confidence by kindness, they are perfectly true. I can't beat somebody up in cold blood. Not that I feel I could not do it to anyone here, but I had some vague anxiety that there might be

000 is sold to us. When the Tangwishamp bring fayembi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Wer, Waremus, Wey, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga kafaamreni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Fit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Omwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambanj.

752 Knos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

752 and showed little or no sympathy -- sort of "It's not my fault -- I told you to be careful. If I sympathize with you, people may think I'm to blame."

123 [562] After supper I went down to Mar's. Way's wife, two daughters, and Uga and Mar's sisters were there, sitting around the fire talking. Uga made a remark that I was too big a man (harapa ma meyaka) to be coming into a gathering of women. We sat for a while and exchanged pleasantries, and then I went to the house tamberan. Most of the Rumbina were there. The

123 726 talk soon turned to the raid. Voices were lowered and there was an air of excitement, particularly from Kis, Kar, and Mas. War was the ring leader. Mas told me later that Tangwishamp and Amagi had recently made a raid on Sawa Urambanj, and they were living about in the bush in small groups. They are still planning to attack. War is still after Mas to get my shotgun. Yat tried to throw me off the track by telling me they were talking about food.

123 I came back to find Wof at my house. He was very glum. May said he had been that way ever since sunga mwoni at Sow's.

584 754 Owiyap said it was difficult to get a wife at Waskuk. They were not like Malu and Yambon -- that they were "poisoners true" -- even if you stared at a woman on the road, she would be likely to call her relatives and they would make poison against you.

584 583 Mar said that his affair with Uka was put off for a couple of days -- the arrangement was that Mas would get Owanta in exchange. Yatamanj, Kar, Kis and War would get her bride price; Mas, Dowa and Afa would get Uka's.

513 wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep
593 by themselves.
[833]
262 After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had
584 consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Cuiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking
685 out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or
754 someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>sawuto waani</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

593 Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fala more" --they had carried Mey's pig and Mamok's yams.

123 Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouris pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that
114 he was my <u>laka</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

000 gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

123 April 20, 1937. Mar came up with Kis from his house this morning (he had been up before and gone back), and the two of them said they wanted some of the strong medicine I gave Mar when he had poison. Mar said he had a pain in his stomach. I was busy for the moment. Later I got 2 empirin tablets--Kis took one but Mar said he didn't want his. Mar told me afterwards that Kis was beginning to think that the sore on his leg was due to poison.

[754]

241 Kwiya has gone to her mother's. She left when the group went to Korissi. Her mother sent word that she needed help gathering the brush from her husband's garden.

584 I asked Mar this afternoon about Aya. He said that Way had forbidden the arrangements--that he was afraid War would make poison. War did not like the idea of the match. The affair had come up before (I reported it several months ago). Mar had asked Mas about it, and he had said "no got". He (Mas) had told his father about it, and this had been the time when they had shouted back and forth. I asked him why War had prevented him, and he said he did not know. 'Nevermind Aya; I'll catch another wife somewhere.' There is one at Korissi whom he 'marked' a couple of months ago and spoke to her father about. He was sort of resigned and whining about the affair--shook his head and sighed.

581 Then Mar complained about Yawa--she was lazy, didn't have strong bones. Firewood "lik lik in brok im". If she goes to break sago, she buts a little tree. A big one would take her until after dark. I asked him if he had had intercourse with her yet. He said no. If she was a good wife, it would be all right. He would have long ago had she been the same as Aya, but since she was no good, he wouldn't; and then he wouldn't have to pay for her. He said he might never have intercourse with her until she died. She had

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombundure. Fokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Owanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Owanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa"nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Owanta. She did not come last night. War, May and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent May in search for him. Chinawo and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and May searched in vain but came back after a short while.

754 May and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tangwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and so were suspected.

Rwel and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Rwel and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (sugilewas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwom, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mer and Mes had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Mes' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overall.

123 685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left May in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Ovivap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. May first accused Kis, but War exonerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Sombundura and had come back after I had returned.

November 29, 1936.

*115 [584] [123] A week or so ago Gwiyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 123 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiancee and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where [754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, Mar sent Fit for nettle leaves. These he got and Mar arranged them in a sort of cone, held them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or exortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. Mar then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

*115 123 755

*115 unsuccessfully to get from me.
[123]

*115 A few days ago he said he was going to go to Tangwishamp to get
583 some shell money owed him. Wof and Kis went with him. Mar's older brother died and a Tangwishamp married his widow. They shall try to collect the bride price that was due for her. The usual price for a
[587] woman is a large bag of shell money of all kinds. In the case of a widow the pay is much reduced-- only two strings (3 marks).

[123] Kar tells me that since I am Mar's 'father', I should contribute to his bride price.

*115 January 20, 1937.

[648] Mar said that he thought he would go to work for the Whites to
[464] earn some money so that he could buy a wife. One of his older brothers
[583] spoke up and said that he could not do this, for he is needed for the
[476] communal work of the sib. Mar did not protest.
[614] January 23, 1937.

[114] I made a trip to Tangwishamp accompanied by Mar, Kar, Owiyap, Hamb, May and Mundik. While there Mar was responsible for the story that the Tangwishamps intended to kill us in order to procure for themselves the axes and knives which we had brought for trading purposes.

January 26, 1937.

[123] This morning Mar came in complaining of a headache. I gave him an
[154] aspirin, and he said that he does not like this place because there is too much sorcery; Mar, particularly, always sorcerizes people. Later
[241] he said that the next day he was going to the bush to plant his yams. He would arrive tomorrow and then scrape sago for two days. Then he would break ground for two days with the aid of Mas who had already gone to the bush with his sister.

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No, I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went. February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Waya, his fiancee. He replied that she was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either. March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Gwiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion. As we approached the house Mar called out for Mes who was not there. Gwiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not go in the porch but stood up outside. Gwiyap paused before going in but finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowe was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaramanu. When her husband died she went to live with Yat. He went to work for the whites and Dagwuur took care of her. One day she went to get firewood and Dagwuur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mes.—analyst]

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mee has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mee (Mar has been joking with Mee alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yewa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chinuwa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Owiyap, Nay and Pit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot
787 of the mountain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough.
602 He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left then to get
753 it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 When Nar, Afok , Pokotay, Dewangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Nar and
[754] Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid
156 on a neighboring tribe. I asked Nar if he were going with them and he said,
[648] "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he
[123] were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 Again Nar has said he has made an arrangement with Mbwimbvi, Gwanta
584 and Fambe to get Mes' sister, Aye, to go to a certain place to catch fish.
[123] Nar will meet them there and take Aye to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again War if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aye's idea.

*115 After supper Yat, Nar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Nar it
582 was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

*115 582 be no good. Mar's response to this is: "Never mind the blood, Come on up here. If you want to stop me you'll have to fight me."

April 16, 1937.

*115 584 583 Mar decided to put off his plan to see Aya until a later day, but he satisfied Yat's objections with a plan of having Mas marry Yat's daughter which would mean that the latter would receive the bride price.

April 17, 1937.

*115 583 Plans for the elopement are progressing--it is arranged for tomorrow.

April 18, 1937.

Marok, another of Mar's uncles and potential protectors, has gone on a trip and Mar decided to wait to elope until he returns.

April 19, 1937.

This evening after supper I went to Mar's. I asked him about the delay in their plan. He says that he would like to carry on but that his uncles Way and Yat have told him not to.

April 20, 1937.

•[754] Today it seems that the whole affair with Aya is off. His uncles Yat and Way warned him about the dangers of sorcery, and Mar said, "Never mind about Aya; I'll get another girl."

April 25, 1937.

*115 648 464 [602] [754] [614] I left Kwoma and Mar went with me. After a good deal of hesitation, he has signed on with the recruiter to work for three years on a plantation. Mas and Oriyap signed on also. His uncles were very much against his going-they warned him of the dangers of sorcery and told him that he must stay to do the work of the sib, but Mar left nevertheless.

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

1: Whiting E-5 (1936-1937) 1941
OJ13 Kwoma OJ13

821 776 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

753 • 755 [776] Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

825 776 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth.

825 776 789 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219–245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept of free trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33–54, 134–152.

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order
to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the pos-
sessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing.
In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the
proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman
for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed per-
son, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost
indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation
from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend
his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus,
exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a
means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence
of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and
can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to ex-
tinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
[202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at
which accusations are made and denied and evidence is pre-
sented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all
those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink
water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation
for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and
is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who
have no better theory of disease and no more effective meth-
ods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical
practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the sup-
posed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
● 755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone [123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had [602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

796 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing
346 will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of
755 the Bongus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the
754 gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot
[796] of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was
coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within
[123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went
to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The
[753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however,
that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their
attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days
ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree
fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope
for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk
gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we
[123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe,
but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it.
They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not
to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all
a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better,
we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our
house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there
[372] and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential
part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light
their cigarettes.]

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
136 is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at this time from the river villages, Yambon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwam where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon. For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwam youths who fetches water and firwood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish". The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire listless and moaning. [753] They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder
755

123 755 brother who had come with us, was gathering leaves of a nettle shrub. These he arranged in the shape of a cone and whispered into as if it were a microphone. Then while we held Mar on his feet, War rubbed him down from shoulders to toes with these stinging leaves. The result, whatever the cause, was that Mar could now stand. We gave him the end of my stick, and John pushed from behind; thus we started back. His dependence on our assistance decreased noticeably as we proceeded.

Our return was something of a triumph as Wof told everyone of how we had brought Mar home. However, he was not out of danger of dying from black magic, and that night his kin beat the air with lighted bamboos to drive off ghosts.

754 753 There isn't space to list all of the aspects of the case, but it is interesting to note that Mar thinks that a man named Waremus of his own sib whose daughter Mar had recently been refused in marriage, made the poison. This is the only case we have come across where a sorcerer has been named. (I'll have to say now that Waremus is only a temporary member of the sib Rumbiman. There has been a very complicated process of splitting up and fusion of sibs here which we'll be able to talk of later.)

Mar remains about the same as when we first saw him. His appetite is good, but he lies down all day and claims that he has no strength in his "meat". He still says that it is poison although the general attitude in this regard is that when you have poison, you don't linger but die in a day or two. We are getting any number of insights and leads from this case although the case itself has us guessing.

164 [123] Mar's illness seems to have ushered in an epidemic of sickness. Several small children have malaria; many bruises and contusions have to be treated, and one man came requesting epsom salts to cure his case of water

000 After this his eyes looked brighter and we left him.

123 December 14, 1936. Kar came up in the middle of the morning soon after the
179 doctor had left and said that Suw was still pretty sick and that the doctor had told him that he had left some medicine with us. It was castor oil. I went down with some, and Kar took a spoonful in his mouth and fed Suw with it. He looked about the same as the night before. War and Waramus were there sitting on the hill. War was looking quite glum--he said nothing but greetings.

In the afternoon we got word that Suw was having a turn for the worse. When Tip and I arrived, there was again a crowd of women in the house and
[754] Kar, Kis, War, and Yat sitting outside. The men were of the opinion that Suw's illness was another case of sorcery.

755 December 15, 1936. Yesterday afternoon while we were still there, Kar went to get some banana leaves for Leatherneck (an old man noted as a sorcerer), who had felt Suw's neck and demanded the leaves. Leatherneck took the leaves, made a cone and whispered into it for a minute or so and then rubbed it on Suw's head and stomach. Yat explained that it was to rouse the poison. Leatherneck gave the leaf to Kar who tied it up to a string hanging from the roof. Tip then left. An old woman came down and sat
[152] near the mother. She looked at the baby and began to wail, but not very
[571] loudly; it was hard to tell whether this was true emotion or the expected thing. The mother joined in a little, but the other women paid little attention and kept on talking and joking. The men seemed to pay no attention, except War, who had been sitting silently by himself. He put his head down, but as far as I could see did not join in the sobbing.

123 Kar picked up Yat's young son, (3 mos.) who was there with his mother and came and sat with the child near me. I asked to hold the baby and did--

648 Overall cane, he would get boys in spite of their population policy. Later
464 Yat and Kar said that they, the "finish timers" who have already worked on a white plantation, do not want to go back to work, but some of the young people can go. Mar said he wouldn't go because he might get sick and die. Maybe it is because he is a "Rumbiman true" (loyal to Rumbima).

123 January 15, 1937. We arrived the day before yesterday from Ambunti. We saw Kar, Yat, Wof, and the children about. They all seemed glad to see us and repeated that they thought of us when we were gone, and were "sori long tu felo".

[755] War did not come to see us because he was ill. That night the gongs
[754] were beaten to fight off sorcery. I went to see him the next day, and he was very weak, but all right. Mar and Kar both told me that he been sorcerised along with Suw, Mar, and the others by people, probably of Wenyabanrara because they were friends of ours and the others were jealous of them. War asked us how long we were going to stay. I told him that I didn't know, and he said he was asking nothing and wanted us to stay a long time. This was seconded by his wife who seemed glad to see me also.

578 January 16, 1937. I was talking with a group who had just launched a canoe
593 that they had made, when loud voices were heard down below. Everyone dropped what he was doing, and after listening for a moment announced "fait i kam up nau" (There is going to be a fight) with serious faces. They ran to the scene of action--down the hill about 3 minutes beyond March's house. Mar and I set out behind them, and when we got to the scene of action, Hwal, a man of about 35 who did not talk pidgin, was leaning against Mbe talking very excitedly. His face was very white and he was trembling (with excitement? suppressed anger? fear?). He was one of the principals: his older brother Daw was the other. He was standing in front

114 [224] near Mar's. He was building a bannie (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mas cut it up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific. We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which were at Mar's . We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa was teaching Mar and Mas. He was very patient with them. He would sing out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mas slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa on the other. This morning Pokadaya left early. Mar, Mas and I had breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back to the house. Mas took a short trip and came back with a bunch of bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mas is his nephew, it is all right. We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai. Awambaka and Apinokw came to help carry my bed back, and we returned. Pokataya and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

Yamangamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to [154] Wisep's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the road to the house tamberan. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to the house tamberan to find Wof, Marok et al there. They came out and claimed to see his tracks going down past Marok's house. They thought he was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamai was looking out for poison. (Mamb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night. They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marok fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from 754 Wenyabenkura this evening. They were making the rounds of Hongwan, getting 755

754 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does
755 not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in
[511] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind.
[231] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to
[431] do with Asanampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some 'tambu' too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

348 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys -- Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Ghiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

600 March 12, 1937. Hayamahwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Mar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Yit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pelo man". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Hwalump and a large gang from
578 Wenyambankura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga mweni. They had spears. Say came to Yet's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Hayamahwa present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yet grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Mamoy to fight, but Mamoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

Magical verse to cure a boil

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539
533

walé kwiyé na foso	Growth on breadfruit go away
mogwi na foso	Breast go away
yatoké na foso	Leg go away
tabac na foso	Tobacco go away
krík na foso	Penis go away
mandé né na foso	Testicles go away
hafoké né na foso	Shoulder go away
ugwi né na foso	Water go away

533 Songs are not only sung in chorus (hogwaiiju), but also with a leader
192 and chorus (hogwisawat).

November 29, 1936.

*115 [584] [123] A week or so ago Gwiyap turned over a girl to Mar. She evidently did not like the exchange, for she told him that she would marry him only if he gave her a razor blade. Mar came to ask me for this. I asked if he wasn't going to give it to her, but he said, "No, tomorrow."

December 4, 1936.

*115 123 Fit ran up to us saying that Mar lay dying at the bush house. We packed medicine and made the arduous trip there as fast as we could. His fiancee and sisters were there, and Mar was lying on a bark bed moaning. He seemed unable to talk but only to groan inarticulately. We took his temperature which was normal and his pulse was slow but strong. We asked him where [754] the pain was, but he shook his head. His uncle diagnosed the case as sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies he will die, that's all." This elicted a groan from Mar. When we said that we had some medicine which would counteract sorcery, Mar lifted his head and looked at us. We gave him some eno's salts and then suggested going home as the bush house was damp and lonely. We tried to get him to stand up but with no success. We told him to lie down for a while first, which he did, remaining practically inarticulate but noticing everything that went on. If something happened behind him he would turn his head quickly to look at it. The only thing that seemed to cheer him at all was our saying that we were strong and poison could not hurt us or any of our friends. While we were still there, War sent Fit for *115 123 nettle leaves. These he got and War arranged them is a sort of cone, held 755 them in his hand, and blew in them for a while, muttering or whispering a sort of prayer or exortation. Then he approached Mar and told him to stand up. We helped him to his feet. War then rubbed the leaves first on Mar's chest and then on his legs. Mar gasped and his legs stiffened. He groaned a little but said nothing and made no attempt to stop the process.

*115 123 [755] After the treatment he sat down again and resumed his moaning. Later Mar sent Fit into the bush for more and larger nettles. When Fit returned with them, Mar noticed him and put his hands up to us to be lifted up. After another rub down, Tip and I put his arms over our shoulders, one standing on either side of him, and started off. As the journey progressed we found he had to be supported less and less. We went slowly, stopping quite frequently to rest. The trip took two hours, and we were exhausted at the end. When we reached home, Mar slumped down on his sago bark bed and resumed his former state. We left him and went to visit again in the evening after Owiyap had come up saying he had had a relapse and wanted us to see him. When we arrived he was in about the same state as when we had first seen him at the bush house. We gave him three caseara pills and left. December 6,1936.

Yesterday Mar was better, but not much. He was lying on his bed and moaning. He had not had a bowel movement; his temperature was still normal. We gave him a dose of 4 teaspoons of epsom and rubbed his face, chest and back with ambrosia, to which he reacted in much the same manner as to the nettles. In the afternoon he was somewhat better. Owiyap reported that his bowels had moved and that he had eaten.

*115 787 This morning Owiyap came in and told us that Mar died during the night but then came alive again. The story he told was that during the night Mar had been visited by the ghost of his older brother who had told him to come to the land of the dead. Mar at this point called out to his mother, "Mother, come! My brother is here and I am going to die." His mother has a large ulcer on her foot and could not come down from the next house where

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.* Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

* Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[6] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

Very few aggressive responses are established during infancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[753]

[6] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 64.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *owambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yogiwa fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

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826 He is taught that growth depends upon the renewal of blood,
856 and that food produces blood, which promotes growth as long as it is fresh. When blood has been in the system for a time, however, it begins to grow stale and finally rotten, and then growth ceases until the bad blood is removed from the body. It is furthermore believed that the best method of removing this bad blood from the system is through the penis.[20] As might be expected, children with a strong wish to grow up and with a method which they are told will accomplish it, take this means even though it is painful. Boys frequently go into the bushes and scrape their penises with nettle leaves so that the blood may flow out. For some reason that I could not discover, perhaps because penis scraping was associated with masturbation, boys performed this act only in private and were ashamed if they were discovered. One day Gwiyap, seeing that Mey had left his net bag lying in my house, opened it and pulled out a bundle of nettles. When Mey came in, I asked him about the bundle. He became very embarrassed and said, "Oh, just something of mine." When Gwiyap began to tease him about it, he ran from the house.

It would perhaps be more appropriate to describe this complex in terms of the fear of not growing up rather than in terms of the wish to grow up. The following cases suggest that this is probably the way in which Kwoma boys think of it. Fit asked me if I had performed this rite when I was a child, and when I answered that I had not, his mouth dropped
[123] in amazement. "How did you grow up, then?" he asked. Gwiyap, who was also present, settled the matter by explaining to Fit that white men are different from Kwoma. On another occasion Ham asked me the same question and was equally amazed at my answer. Apparently Fit had told him what I had said, and Ham had asked me to make sure that Fit was not teasing him.

[757] [20] This belief concerns health as well as growth, and, as has already been shown, phlebotomy is practiced in the case of sickness, in order to "let out the bad blood."

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885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 • 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

869 206 *Becoming a Kwoma*

826 Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow some-
• [157] one to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache,
or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even be-
come seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not
[856] bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade
initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not
attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow
[262] up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is
warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish
may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that
if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow
he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the ani-
mal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This
warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting.
An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he
become sick, for the seed and produce have become contami-
nated with his blood.

869 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here,
262 because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adoles-
562 cents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a
252 woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in
processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife,
to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychologi-
869 cal effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have
823 upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walk-
123 ing through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a
waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it
for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap
heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, how-
ever, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walk-
ing stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing
this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity.
The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a
distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by
Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

763 back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty
202 well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren
[603] were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

• 757 January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

[593] This morning Owiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did
[752] not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day
[757] before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Owiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Owiyap was loath to talk.

123 January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I
439 paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with
522 it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

114 January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had
123 arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Owiyap and May this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

753 Mar said his knee pained. He thought it was because of bad blood, and
757 thought he would go and cut his penis tomorrow. He asked me if I wanted to come too, and then laughed, denying it. He said he would scrape it first with rattles and then cut it with bamboo. I asked why not a razor, and he said he didn't know, but guessed that bamboo would be better.

685 April 17, 1937. May has stolen Fit's spoon to retaliate for the theft of his knife.

342 Mas had gone to help Dew put the shingles on his house. Mar did not
476 go at first. He protested, "If he is going to make some work, why didn't
123 he ask yesterday for some help." He finally went with May, after May had
685 stolen some of my tobacco. I discovered the loss because he left a butt. I told Gwiyap I was going to spank May, and he said "Yes, broke in nose." When May came back he greeted me, saying, "sin" (hello). I did not return the greeting and he got up. He started to run away. I told him to come, and he became very frightened. I spanked him with a couple of hard whacks. He said nothing but sat on the floor. Mas and Mar were both angry with him and sympathized with my action. May later said that Mar had stolen some tobacco
752 too. War came to visit in the morning. He said he was upset about Khos and thought that he was blinded for good from the gun powder incident, but showed no sympathy. He blamed him for playing with something he didn't know
123 about and not listening to Mas' warning. He stayed around until about three o'clock and called to Khos to come down. He was asleep, so he told Gwiyap to send him, because he was afraid of Kafwa. Later his sister Aya came bringing sago and took him down with her.

I went down to Mar's with Gwiyap. Kwiya, Awa, Afi, and Yawaf were there. I told Gwiyap to get a tin, and we would get water, and I would wash. Gwiyap said he was lazy. The girls said they would get the water, and they did. After they had gone, Gwiyap was afraid they could not carry the

115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Gwiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Gwiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Gwiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
115 it the night before, and Gwiyap must have know his intentions. When Gwiyap
787 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757] night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304] natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, butthat he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Hongwan).

192 [826] [262] [614]

marinokw	the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.
mambeyé	ears
uborowang	neck
meeuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
mangorusuku	kidneys
mogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé suf	anus

757 [753] Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the sisfkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. Boils are not caused by poison.

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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way.

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away.

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding.

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared.

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When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death repeatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus.

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

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take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[38] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[38] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

761 A man of Duwus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbims gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of mank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Memsoy came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bombs and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwuhok who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Memsoy beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [678] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[262] 192 [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

578 against Kar for it. Kumb had also accused Kar of 'making poison' against
754 War and Sewingay. Then he remembered that Kumb had asked him for a half cigarette, and when he had given it to him, he had not smoked it, but only pretended to. He had probably kept it to use for 'poison.' Kar went on to say that when Kumb came back from the bush, they should settle the matter which had occurred similarly before. He would move up here and build his house near Wof's; he was not going to live near Kumb after this.

648 January 23, 1937. Amas came in this morning and said that Mundik had brought
464 all his stuff (the knives, axes, etc., with which he had been bought by Bob). Mundik had left them at Kamb's house and run back just out of sight up the road. I called out for him to come, that I was not angry with him, and he finally came up rather reluctantly. He was quite worried and scared. Amas explained that Mundik had eaten a pig at Urambauj and had gone crazy because of it. A group of children were all angry with him and yelled at him. He did not answer back, but just looked glum and worried.

443 I passed the market between Tangwishamp and Weynabunkura which is on the little spur which sticks out toward Tangwishamp. The trade has shifted from shells to iron beads, etc. for betel nuts and coconuts.

123 January 28, 1937. Today Owiyap told me that Kar's sister had returned
114 home from Tangwishamp where she had heard that if we hadn't left at dawn, they would have killed us. I asked Kar that night if he had heard the talk, and he denied it.

763 January 29, 1937. The large drums were beating this morning, and I asked
202 Owiyap what it was. He said that they were talking to Tangwishamp to come
[534] and have a talk. Sortly thereafter, Kis came up, and I asked him. He said no, that a 'lapun meri' was dying and they were calling her relatives

back from the bush. The drums went again this afternoon, and it was pretty well authenticated to be an old woman from Wenya, whose grandchildren were being called from working in a garden over on the edge of Ambunti mountain.

January 30, 1937. Last night I heard talking for quite a while in a loud voice. At first I could hear no responses, but finally I heard a woman answering angrily. After fifteen minutes of this the woman began wailing. Then she spoke a half a dozen words very quickly and then "O - O" on a low tone, and finally repeated it. All this was kept up for five minutes when she burst into actual sobbing. Wof was talking in a loud voice all the time.

This morning Owiyap said that Wof's wife had complained that she did not have enough food to eat and Wof was tired of her complaining (the day before yesterday I stopped in and Kaya had what looked like a sprained ankle which had been cut with a razor according to native medical theory.) Her temples had also been cut. She held her foot up for me and moaned how much it pained. Owiyap and Mar who were with me were very anxious for me to leave; they would not talk about it, so I was not able to find out much. The incident of last night had something to do with this, but again Owiyap was loath to talk.

January 29, 1937. Afalowanj came and sold me a carved wooden figure. I paid him with a pair of scissors. He pretended to cut off his penis with it and evoked a laugh from all those present.

January 30, 1937. I got a letter from Eve today saying that he had arrived safely, so the rumor was false. I told Owiyap and Mey this and asked them if they had actually heard that the Tangwishamps wanted to kill us, and they now admitted that they hadn't, although before they swore that they had.

775
825 Spirit beliefs. Pigs, birds, dogs, opossum, mosquitoes, or anything that walks, flies and breathes, are believed to have ghosts (gambs); Gambs have hearts (mapuk) the same as living men and animals, but in the dead the mapuk is located in the throat as in a sleeping man. Here it keeps on beating.

Gambs go about in this way with all the organs of the human being, but do not eat food.

When a man is out hunting pig at night he may see a ghost. The gambs [763] are cowardly by nature. If they meet a strong man they run away; it is only people who are about to die who are surrounded by them. Men who die violently, as in an intertribal fight, see no gambs before they are killed.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [597] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

[754]

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[305] [177] [113] [19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [764] [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [331] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 262 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[38] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[38] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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clay or mud, and give up some preferred article in their diet during the interval between the first and second funeral ceremonies. Whether a person makes such manifestations of sorrow depends more on how close a bond of friendship or dependence he has established with the deceased than upon formal kinship ties.

Beliefs about ghosts, as well as fear of sorcery and the feeling of bereavement, determine Kwoma death customs. It is thought that the ghosts of the relatives of the deceased come to escort his soul to the land of the dead. It is further believed that they are attracted by the corpse and hover near the body both while it is in the house and when it is on the funeral platform, and do not leave until the bleached bones are finally buried. If a Kwoma does not express sufficient sorrow for the death of a relative, the ghost of the deceased is likely to become angry and either frighten or possess the unappreciative man or woman. Thus those who are not motivated by personal feelings for the deceased may still mourn to avoid antagonizing his ghost.

A corpse is allowed to lie in the house until a burial platform is built. Early in the morning of the day following the death, the relatives erect near the house of the deceased a covered platform set on stilts about ten feet from the ground. When it is finished, the corpse is placed upon a wooden shield carried by several of the male relatives and lifted to the platform with the aid of a ladder. The body is then washed, and three of the spears of the deceased are placed across the neck, abdomen, and legs and lashed to the floor of the platform to prevent the corpse from falling. The points of the spears are broken so that they will not be stolen. These rites are performed by any old man who is willing to play the rôle of undertaker. All who have had contact with the body wash themselves immediately as a prophylactic against the sickness which they believe would otherwise result.

A corpse is allowed to stay on the burial platform for several months. During this time the relatives who have chosen to go into mourning continue to fast and to daub themselves with clay. At the end of this time a second funeral is held,

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, particularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Har came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

October 27, 1936.

114 The day before yesterday Namb went home (on the Sepik river) to put a roof on his house which he had started to build before coming to work for us. He will be gone three days and Wisep will do the cooking -- even though he doesn't know much about it. We spent the morning working up our notes and the afternoon reading and playing pounce -- a game Tip has taught me, and at which he beats me regularly.

754 Yesterday the gongs were going almost all day. A man was sick and the
755 gongs were 'talking' against those who had poisoned (black magic) him. Mar, our houseboy, came in very worried and said he wished we would take him to America; he did not like this fashion of making poison. Everyone
[123] seemed to be rather upset about the situation. Tip and I felt that perhaps we were suspected because another man had died just after we had arrived. Mar seemed to be doubly afraid because he was working for us.

114 Toward evening I went out to see if I could shoot a pigeon with the
761 .22. Gyiyap and Sof came with me. When we had gone a short way down the path, suddenly one of the gongs began to beat in a very slow and measured manner. Both of them stopped short and their faces fell. The man had
[602] died. Sof was the classificatory brother of the dead man and seemed quite upset. His jaw worked and he looked very serious. Then he delivered a very bitter tirade against the making of poison. It was a "fashion no good". The man who had died shortly after our arrival and the one who had just died had been brothers; neither had been sick very long nor were they old men. Since they were Bangus, the Waskuk were suspected -- "fashion no good". We continued down the path, but both Gwiyap and Sof were preoccupied,
764 said that the pigeons had all gone, so we returned. Almost as soon as the gong had started to toll, a wailing began...women's voices, some high,

764 some low, and each rising and falling in the range of a few notes. Sometimes the sounds blended and at others the effect was a discordant jumble.

When we got back to the house, there was a group of six or seven sitting around in front of the house, talking about the death. Wof, who had just returned from his yam planting, seemed rather more upset than the others. The dead man belonged to his mother's sib. Sof also remained with set face and working jaws. The rest were all laughing and joking and gossiping, and were much amused when a little later Tip and I started a pole vaulting competition.

In the morning the wailing continued. One of the natives said that it had gone on all night although we hadn't heard it. Occasionally the gongs were sounded. After breakfast, Mar said he was going to the funeral and asked if we would like to go. Tip and I had decided to split our work and to take turns going on trips, so I went with Mar. Gwiyap and Mey came too. They suggested that I carry the .22, so I did. When we had almost arrived at the scene of the wailing, a house near where the singsing had been held, we saw a pigeon. I didn't want to shoot for fear of disturbing the mourners, but the natives insisted that it was all right.

Wof and another man were sitting in a house next to where the mourning was taking place. They were looking rather sad. We sat down for a few minutes [533] and watched the women wailing. They were sitting under the porch extension, shaking their shoulders slightly up and down as they sang. There did not appear to be any words. Only one man was there--Mweje, a dilapidated old fellow with a withered arm and a scar on his forehead caused by some disease which had eaten away the flesh to the bone. He saw us and beckoned us to come over. When I came up to them, several of the women stopped their wiling to greet me as usual. Soon afterward, the wailing stopped. Some children

h [i.e. wailing - analyst]

764 came soon after we arrived and sat down. Then about six young men, mostly
"savvy talks" came into the clearing carrying a large wooden shield carved on its
[754] face. They came up, greeted me, and at once began talking in much the same vein
as Sof had the night before about the evils of black magic. Kwonayi came up,
[123] shook my hand and took the lead during all of this conversation, keeping ahold
of my hand the whole time. They excitedly talked about getting my cooperation
in punishing the culprit when he was found. They planned to take him to the
[154] "kiop" and have him put in the calabouse. They said the dead man had been
poisoned by somebody getting some of his food and burning it. They warned
me not to throw any of my food near the road where the natives could get at
it.

When they had talked themselves out, they carried the shield over and lifted the dead man onto it. Two women came and each broke a lime gourd on the shield, and poured the lime out. Two of the young men then lifted the shield onto their shoulders and started down the hill. I asked Kwonayi if I could follow, and he assured me there was nothing to be afraid of.

The procession very shortly reached a small clearing where there was a house. On either side of the structure has been built a tall rectangular form, one the burial platform of the man who had died a few weeks ago and the other ready to receive the present remains. There was a faint smell of decaying
[417] flesh coming from the older platform. The other one had a ladder leading up to the small cubicle which was formed by a platform and flat roof. The body was carried up the ladder feet first and the shield was removed. Then the women, who had resumed their wailing when the man had been put on the shield, entered the enclosure and sat down in front of the house. When I had first arrived only one of them had any special mark of mourning--her face had been smeared with clay. Now most of them had a band of lime on their foreheads-- presumably
[602] from the broken lime gourds. (Later I found out that the classificatory sisters of the deceased wore this badge; relatives by marriage did not.)

764 [415] Next a bamboo filled with water (the usual method of carrying water) was carried up the ladder by Afaloweanj, an old man; he was assisted by two other men in washing the body. Meanwhile the "savvy talks" broke the points of two spears formerly belonging to the deceased. There were passed up the ladder to the cubicle and lashed crossways over the body. The arms and legs of the body were lashed to the floor, and the burial was complete. The undertakers climbed down the ladder and went off to wash, saying that they would meet me at the house tamberan, where sortly[1] thereafter the gong tolled. As I was leaving, I heard one of the women inside of the house sobbing instead of wailing in the patterned manner.

754 Wof and some others were already at the house tamberan when I arrived. Later some of those who had officiated at the funeral came. The conversation once again turned to poison. Kwonai described the process by which he considered the men to have been killed. The group had calmed down considerably and now discussed the affair much more matter-of-factly than they had previously. They were still bitter toward the perpetrator of the deed and seemed to be afraid for their own safety. Kwonai told me someone had stolen a bit of food which the deceased had carelessly thrown away; the evil doer had then carried it to Koriyasi, who had performed a magical rite on it. They had put the leavings in a tall narrow pot, filled it half full of water, and let it boil away until only the sediment of the food remains were left. A bamboo of cold water was then poured into the pot and on the fire. That is followed by an explosion of steam. The food disappears, and soon afterward the man died.

114 October 28-Nov. 9, 1936. A week ago Friday, October 30, Tip and I went in to Ambunti to spend the weekend for the sake of a holiday. Bob Overall had brought the mail up the river that morning, so we were greeted with a very welcome packet of letters. George and Max (a medical assistant

[1] [i.e., shortly - analyst]

164 [123] [657] on the knee. Luckily Max Mann, the medical assistant from Ambunti is due here in a few days on his patrol.

124 Now that we are beginning to know individuals by name in a wider circle and their kinship ties, we are finding several corrections that must be made in the schematic kinship system given above. We are now able to get genealogies from older men and those who do not speak pidgin. These are not reliable of course, but they give us names, marriage connexions, and 572 [192] inter-tribal affiliations which serve as leads. The term nareuboy we find has a deeper meaning than friend. It seems to be used to address a limited number of individuals (and their wives) of different sibs of the same age grade. Such boys or men are the ones who are scarified or who will be scarified at the month long ceremony in one of the house tamberans. They are carved up on the same bark slab according to some order which we don't [264] yet know. Later on when one's nareuboy dies, the others get particular parts of the skeleton; jaw-bone, ulnar, and collar-bone.

114 Speaking of interruptions, we have had a young man from Yelagu around the house from time to time. He is a fugitive from this place, a little bush-village several miles back, as yet unvisited by the government. John has worked a bit with him on vocabulary, Yelagu talk being a little different [158] from Bongwam. The story is that he is insane and that his reason for being here is that he killed his wife and fears revenge from her family if he returns. Just as we were finishing lunch today, Mundik , this fellow by name, 114 629 came up to the cook house with his wrists tightly bound, heads greatly swollen, teeth missing, and suffering from several bruises on the face. His story is that he was attending the second burial of a Wenyabankura sib woman, an affinal relation. After the distribution of the food at the house,

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an [241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and [534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which [241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important [182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly [154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him [764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure [765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not [794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

761 A man of Dusus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of wank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Owiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Owiyap's belt by playing with it. Owiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Owiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Memoy came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwshok who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Memoy beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who
628 had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers.
[648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It
883 was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Pit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Ekiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Ekiya, Awa, and Afi went to
262 their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food
313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 April 7, 1937. Owiyap, Ekiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch
123 anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is
[593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was
[262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

Songs, exhortations

539 Wail sung to mourn a death

533 hogwinaŋ́ŋ̀ŋ́ŋ́yeyaŋ̀ɛ́t ahé — Who is looking for him?

764 gambe ge be sowahè — He is gone to the land of the dead.

afaku mete né ye yan hè — Father come and get him.

Wail sung to mourn a death

awi hahé/hé — Mother come

nokwa aké nahé — Give me sago

hogwi anhanahé — Give me meat

eié havahé — I am hungry

789 Casting a spell (yamba menijio) is used to protect gardens from pigs
[192] and theft, to prevent rain, thunder, lightening, to quell the wind, etc. , and for healing purposes.

789 Exhortation to marsalai to quell the wind. If all the snakes are killed, tied
539 up and put in a hold, the wind cannot blow.

533 uŋ́naŋ́ré sowíge — Kill the snake (a certain kind in each case)

naygwus sowíge — " " "

hoffna sowíge — " " "

kie hoffé sowíge — " " "

veyfhof sowíge — " " "

apunkérámbwejuwé — Fasten him

nokú feyétin juwé — Tie him up

kay wanuwé — Put him in the hollow of a tree.

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the 621 one from which we gathered most of our information, is 361 called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the 614 geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The 613 men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and 773 hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom 613 sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings 592 of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest [114] living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was [595] named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few [597] yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's [754] son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell- 592

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are [305] rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual [177] and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with [113] Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating • [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 262 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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761 take them to the white court at Ambunti. The police officer
754 will put them all in the calaboose for it." At the funeral the
[648] next day, most of the talk was of sorcery. The reaction was
[764] hysterical. A group of young men talked in loud excited
[123] voices, expressing sentiments similar to those of Sof. They asked me to help them bring the culprit to justice at the white court. During the night following the death and for several days thereafter the anti-sorcery gong messages were sounded at intervals from the house tamberan of the deceased. His relatives redoubled their efforts to discover the sorcerer and to force him to end his machinations, for they feared that they might be the next to be affected by it.[38] The people of Rumbima hamlet were still worrying because they had not yet discovered who had killed Gwiyap's father two years before. They suspected someone from Wanyi sib because Gwiyap's father had prevented some of the young men of this sib from philandering with his sister.

602 The death of a relative not only increases a Kwoma's fear
764 of sorcery, it also means the loss of one who has hitherto contributed to his support and defense or, if the deceased is a child, one who promises to do so. Hence relatives of the deceased react with real as well as with formalized sorrow. The wailing of the women is the most dramatic of these formal expressions of grief. As soon as the tolling of the gong announces the death, they gather in the house where the corpse lies and start to cry in a long-drawn-out wail punctuated by short sobs on a lower note. A dozen or more women, each wailing in a slightly different key and sobbing at different intervals, produce a strange and moving sound. The women wail continuously until the following morning, when the deceased is placed on the burial platform. The male relatives show their sorrow by breaking their lime gourds on the shield which is used as a bier, and by pouring the contents over the
[765] corpse and their own heads. Close relatives, both male and female, smear their faces and sometimes their bodies with

[38] Kwoma believe that one magical performance may kill not only the person from whom the food is stolen, but his close relatives as well, for they may also have had intimate contact with the sorcery material.

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clay or mud, and give up some preferred article in their diet during the interval between the first and second funeral ceremonies. Whether a person makes such manifestations of sorrow depends more on how close a bond of friendship or dependence he has established with the deceased than upon formal kinship ties. 602 764 [765]

Beliefs about ghosts, as well as fear of sorcery and the feeling of bereavement, determine Kwoma death customs. It is thought that the ghosts of the relatives of the deceased come to escort his soul to the land of the dead. It is further believed that they are attracted by the corpse and hover near the body both while it is in the house and when it is on the funeral platform, and do not leave until the bleached bones are finally buried. If a Kwoma does not express sufficient sorrow for the death of a relative, the ghost of the deceased is likely to become angry and either frighten or possess the unappreciative man or woman. Thus those who are not motivated by personal feelings for the deceased may still mourn to avoid antagonizing his ghost. 775 765

A corpse is allowed to lie in the house until a burial platform is built. Early in the morning of the day following the death, the relatives erect near the house of the deceased a covered platform set on stilts about ten feet from the ground. When it is finished, the corpse is placed upon a wooden shield carried by several of the male relatives and lifted to the platform with the aid of a ladder. The body is then washed, and three of the spears of the deceased are placed across the neck, abdomen, and legs and lashed to the floor of the platform to prevent the corpse from falling. The points of the spears are broken so that they will not be stolen. These rites are performed by any old man who is willing to play the rôle of undertaker. All who have had contact with the body wash themselves immediately as a prophylactic against the sickness which they believe would otherwise result. 764

A corpse is allowed to stay on the burial platform for several months. During this time the relatives who have chosen to go into mourning continue to fast and to daub themselves with clay. At the end of this time a second funeral is held, 765

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765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[37] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[38]

885 571 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 593 602 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still command and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[37] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[38] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an adz in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* [601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is [881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[45] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[45] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

765 Yesterday while John worked with Yat on sib history I went over the mountain to Wenyabunkura where the final burial of a man's second wife was being held. It was a cheerful gathering in marked contrast to the primary funeral of a Bangua men written of before. The ceremony has been going on for three days-- preparation of food by the women, breaking down the burial platform and burying the skeleton under the eves of her husband's house, etc., beating the gongs and blowing the flutes in the house tamberan by the initiated men. Much of this had gone on before we were told of the event. It was ten months to a year ago that the woman died.

In the morning a crowd of 50 or 60 men, women and children are gathered [124] at the widower's house. My informant and interpreter is Kar, of Rumbina, who has been up all night beating gongs. He is sleepy and hungry but is very [123] good at pointing out what is going on. The widower, Yafamangwiya, greets me cordially and dubs me naramboy. He sits on the ground just before his house. The porch is packed with women and girls all sitting and waiting for food to [262] be distributed. Men are busy laying out boiled sago bricks and pieces of roast pig on large breadfruit leaves. Yafamangwiya points out to me most of his relations and what he calls them-- also what I am to call them, until my [262] head is spinning. Then he leaves me to give his ruwe (niece, in this case) a bite of sago, thus breaking the taboo which has been placed on boiled sago for this and other relations.

After each of the women has received two or three parcels of food amidst a hubub of advice from these men who are not taking part in the distribution, the party breaks up. The women and children return home while the men and [533] [534] semi-initiated boys run for the house tamberan to "fight the garamut" and blow the flutes. This is done, I am told, because the men are sorry for the woman who is dead. But they are all having a wonderful time expressing their

765 sorrow. Six gongs ranging in size from 4' to 10' to 12' are beaten with
533 tremendous vim. Each man has two strikers, one in either hand. With the
534 left they keep up a light and rapid beat while with the right they pound out the changes according to a prearranged score. From the discussions and hummings which go on before a round is played , I think that these may be made up on the spur of a new idea. The pair of flutes, on the other hand, plays duets which are stereotyped. Two duets that I have , rather simple ones, are said to represent the flying fox and a small white pigeon.

As for recording the garamut 'talk' and beating of the hand drums, we are at a loss as to how to record them. The rhythm seems like no rhythm at all and even when it is tapped out on a table we soon get lost in a maze of short, long and intermediate beats.

124 Our houseboys are serving as occasional informants so that we can get some sort of a comparative picture. John has done some work on language and I have a kinship system of sorts. The boys are not too long on memory but
114 their wives are better informed. We are going to Yambon for a few days just before Christmas to trace down various connections with that culture which we have come across here. There are three or four other places around and about which we hope to visit. We have a plan which might be valuable to other field workers who might consider coming to New Guinea. This is to gather all the information that we can about places and cultures of this section of the Territory where work could be done. Mr. Eve gave us a good start with all that he knew at first hand.

461 We find so far that it is well nigh impossible to make appointments with informants. This is not because the men are lazy and sit about all day-- on the contrary they strike us as being an exceedingly industrious people. Too much so for the arm chair field worker. But then it's all to the good to heard them in their own dens if we can find them at home.

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an [241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and [534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which [241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important [182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly [154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him [764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure [765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not [794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

695 754 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way, and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalawanj, who wasn't there. The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on [264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not [123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 [439] My friend from Yangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him [765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's. War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his [521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered [754] in the house tamberan talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back and stopped in at War's. Owiyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A [262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were [593] cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for [628] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back, but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't 648 721 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tamberan that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police had come, so they could not go and wipe out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other day and found that Rwiyampa and Dowari and Mawandaya had broken it and

March 4, 1937.

115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

115 572 765 Owiyap inherithd Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kawas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sumga kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

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injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the various economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money. The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered, and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

231 Kwiya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just
[766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had
[262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.
231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
[231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and caught him by the hand. Yet was nearby and came up and speared it, killing it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and Hay and Awambaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on Hay's wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiyap because he had been cutting
[602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mam (mother's brother). It is also War's mam and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants reparation. Owiyap says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect right to the sago since his mam told him he could cut it. He has decided that what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of obligation to pay mam at hant sugviya. He is afraid that if he does not pay War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark from me which he considers to be enough.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy. 834 885 888

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor. 587

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives. 768 583 [602]

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none. 595

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work, 591 342 476 [885]

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him. 000

*115 (Later) He has been walking around without his "lap lap," saying it
291 is a "gud felo fashion."

April 16, 1937.

*115 Gwiyap heard that Gamri, Sowinambi's daughter on whom he has designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was betrothed she would kill her. This pleases Gwiyap. He said that he was going to "break talk" (break his betrothal).

April 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap has not paid the large indemnity, <u>ne fander ya</u> which is about
768 half the bride price, for his mother's death because her brothers did not
593 look out for her good. He therefore has broken the relationship between
604 her brothers.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[28]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do children. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the
[769] "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[28] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 187–8.

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Mamk) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

614 along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of
[769] a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

614 In discussing the totems of one of the other sibs, tobacco turned out
276 to be one of the plants included. We quizzed him on this, and he insisted
773 that the original ancestor had discovered it. It had come about in this manner: The original sib father had killed another man and from his blood a plant had grown. The sib father had tried to eat the plant, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked it, and it was very good. Later, people from all around came to get the seeds, but it had originated here. Our cook boy, overhearing the conversation, broke in at this point, saying that this was not straight, that Yambon (his place)
174 was the one 'belong tobacco'. This is fairly interesting in relation to
276 the controversy about whether tobacco was introduced by white men. If so, it was at least before Marak's time, and I should say he was sixty. And even more interesting is the fact that tobacco is a totem plant and has a myth of origin along with coconuts, yams, pigs, etc. This, of course, does not prove anything, but is some indication of antiquity, enough to put its origin before plantation owners settling in New Guinea; and why in the world should the traders and bird of paradise shooters bring tobacco seed with them?

132 December 9,1936. This is Tip taking a turn at the journal.
133 Now "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its
132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [597] [754] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[805] [177] [113] [19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

614 [769] along man", but we could not make out just how. There was one fragment of a tale about men being originally pigs, but some of them developed hands and feet and became men. There was no trace of any taboo on eating these objects, but it nevertheless seems to be definitely related to the totem notion.

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How "time bilong high water" is setting in. The Sepik has risen a great deal and the swamp to the south is being slowly covered by its 132 overflow. The weather remains the same or a little better. We have had

619 The Kwoma who live on these mountains are divided into five groups,
[721] Tangwishamp, Urambanj, Koriasi, Hongwam, and Yelagu. Although there is
[197] no political connection between any of these groups, and headhunting is carried on between them, the language and culture are identical in the
[197] first four of these. Yelagu language has a distinct but overlapping vocabulary and the structure of the language is similar enough so that they can communicate with each other. Their culture, from what little we know about it, is similar. Members of these groups intermarry and trade
[438] with one another despite the headhunting.

614 Hongwam is made up by the fusion of three ethnic groups, the Wanyi,
619 who were the first comers, the Hayamakwo second, and the Tug who came most
[773] recently. Each of these groups have a mythical ancestor, respectively the pig, the eagle, and the sago palm. Practically all birds, animals, fish, and vegetables are associated more or less definitely with one or the
[582] other of these groups. These groups do not function in controlling marriage which is determined by membership in the korump, or house tamberan group.

614 Wanyi had two functioning house tamberans, Hayamakwo one, and Tug
619 three. Beside these there are in each of the three groups several exogamous
621 units too small to build a house tamberan of their own. These latter groups are the result of a split in the korump from internal friction, of the migration of a small group of outcasts from another tribe, or of the inclusion of a remnant of a tribe which has been practically annihilated by a headhunting raid.

621 The korump is divided into little clusters of houses in which close
602 relatives dwell - usually brothers or father and grown sons. The household
592 itself consists of a man, his wife or wives, and a group of unmarried
736 children - not only his own, but more often than not, the children of his deceased brothers whom he is caring for.

Tobacco

276 Long, long ago, Sukugaratś shot Sokwaygurś and left him lying on
993 the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagaratś made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked
[562] and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

276 Cigarettes

[562] Cigarettes (himdangara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco
[192] is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (hiey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way.

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away.

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding.

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared.

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882 839 [123] intimate relationship with my other informants. This, together with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could determine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse suspicion. The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark [995] operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161-162.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
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[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[22]

• [795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[22] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 187–8.

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually *fearful* person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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lets, when they hear this rhythm, rush to their own house tamberans and repeat the rhythm on their gongs. The *marsalai* must tremble, it is said, when he hears the thunderous command issuing successively from each house tamberan in each of the Kwoma subtribes. Doubtless he hastily shuts his mouth.

A Kwoma male must submit to the hazing of age-grade initiation even after he has reached adulthood. There are four occasions on which he attends this ceremony as an initiate, and, since it takes place only once every five years, there are normally three rites during adulthood when he must permit his *ceremonial father* to slash his tongue and penis. Thus it is not until a man is over thirty that he ceases to be an initiate. On each occasion he advances a degree in prestige and is permitted to wear a certain hair ornament that those of lower grades may not wear. Just as the newly initiated adolescent derogated the uninitiated children, so the adult derogates those in stages below him and struts about wearing his newly acquired headgear.

After a man has passed through the initiation cycle, he takes his turn as an initiator. He adopts a *ceremonial son* whom he sponsors through the cycle. Finally, at the age of fifty or more, after twenty years as an initiate and twenty years as an initiator, he attends the age-grade ceremonies merely as a spectator.

The attitude of an adult man toward ghosts differs little from that of a child. He still reacts to them with a mixture of aggression and avoidance. Kwoma men are quite loath to walk very far from their dwellings after dark, and if they do so they either carry a torch or wear a dagger made from a human thigh bone, both of which are supposed to frighten ghosts and make them keep their distance. In spite of these precautions, men not infrequently encounter what they believe to be ghosts. One evening I heard frightened shouting, then the patter of feet rushing by the house, and finally angry shouts and imprecations from the house tamberan. The next morning I learned that Kar and Marok had stayed late on a visit to another hamlet and had been forced to re-

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885 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they
• 775 heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the
787 same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents.
789 The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills,
757 most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by
752 sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result
754 from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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clay or mud, and give up some preferred article in their diet during the interval between the first and second funeral ceremonies. Whether a person makes such manifestations of sorrow depends more on how close a bond of friendship or dependence he has established with the deceased than upon formal kinship ties. 602 764 [765]

Beliefs about ghosts, as well as fear of sorcery and the feeling of bereavement, determine Kwoma death customs. It is thought that the ghosts of the relatives of the deceased come to escort his soul to the land of the dead. It is further believed that they are attracted by the corpse and hover near the body both while it is in the house and when it is on the funeral platform, and do not leave until the bleached bones are finally buried. If a Kwoma does not express sufficient sorrow for the death of a relative, the ghost of the deceased is likely to become angry and either frighten or possess the unappreciative man or woman. Thus those who are not motivated by personal feelings for the deceased may still mourn to avoid antagonizing his ghost. 775 • 765

A corpse is allowed to lie in the house until a burial platform is built. Early in the morning of the day following the death, the relatives erect near the house of the deceased a covered platform set on stilts about ten feet from the ground. When it is finished, the corpse is placed upon a wooden shield carried by several of the male relatives and lifted to the platform with the aid of a ladder. The body is then washed, and three of the spears of the deceased are placed across the neck, abdomen, and legs and lashed to the floor of the platform to prevent the corpse from falling. The points of the spears are broken so that they will not be stolen. These rites are performed by any old man who is willing to play the rôle of undertaker. All who have had contact with the body wash themselves immediately as a prophylactic against the sickness which they believe would otherwise result. 764

A corpse is allowed to stay on the burial platform for several months. During this time the relatives who have chosen to go into mourning continue to fast and to daub themselves with clay. At the end of this time a second funeral is held, 765

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121 86 or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn 121 869 their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

[M6] *Marsalai* are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to 869 be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible 776 for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about [862] these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker [823] on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to [821] go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle [796] into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these [778] monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

869 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who 775 live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

121 775 182 764 [765] [781] 775 121 182 [789] [761]

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775 ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had
121 the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explana-
182 tion for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger ex-
pressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur,
121 the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the
182 theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory meas-
787 ures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession
775 also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of so-
cial control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order
to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the pos-
sessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing.
In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the
proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman
for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed per-
son, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost
indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation
from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend
his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus,
exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a
means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence
of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and
can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to ex-
tinction.

754 A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from be-
755 liefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his
121 relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs
182 and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the
[202] person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at
which accusations are made and denied and evidence is pre-
sented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all
those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink
water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation
for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and
is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who
have no better theory of disease and no more effective meth-
ods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical
practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the sup-
posed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an
[241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and
[534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokri which
[241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important
[182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly
[154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him
[764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure
[765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to men in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not
[794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

528 543 lage kwoyi were frequently spoken by the onlookers, and I gathered that this meant that brothers should be friends, or something of the sort.

January 16, 1937. Revision: Kis said that Dew was not angry because of theft, but because his brother had picked the betel papers before they were ripe.

123 177 439 January 17, 1937. The day before yesterday, Mar's sister Awa wanted to buy a harmonica. I told her I would give her one for 10 yams. She brought five and Fit eight, as he also wanted one. I persisted with 10 as the number required, so Awa gave 2 of her yams to Fit to fill his quota. She didn't want anything else with her 3 yams, but was disappointed at not getting her "musik". I felt sorry for her, so I told her that if she would make me a little net bag, I would give her one. The next day she brought one up, a nice little new one, and I gave her the "musik". She went running home with it. Pretty soon there were loud voices, and she came back with her "musik" looking rather upset and wanted to call off the bargain. I asked what the matter was; she said that Wof's wife had [475] become very cross about it and had told her that the harmonica would bring gambas (ghosts) if she blew it and that she could not have it. Mar's mother sided with her daughter, but to no avail, and she was forced to bring the "musik" back.

Yip's nerewboi came in and was very glad to see me and asked for his friend. He was very sorry that he was not there. He was present when Awa [415] brought back the harmonica and said that he would buy it. He had a very special net bag with two compartments which he would give me for the harmonica. He said he was a good man, and if I would give him the harmonica now, he would send the net bag in by one of his children the next day. He kept his word, and one of the children came with the net bag and the harmonica in it. I took the net bag and gave the harmonica back to the child and all was well.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
123 Neither Owiyap nor Mey likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
• 775 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Owiyap to come, but Owiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Owiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a"monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwan again to sign on boys. Owiyap
648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.

December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Owiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinawa. Owiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.

According to Owiyap /Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinawa and Way's wife know a little about it. /These are the only persons in Rumbina who can be possessed by spirits.

Ethnophysiology

826
827 The heart (mesuk) is the seat of life. It controls the breath which comes through the nose or the mouth. If a man's heart is injured, he dies. It is located where the ribs join the sternum in the little soft spot just under the breastbone. It is visible by day in the faint pulsating seen at this point. At night the mesuk moves up to the small depression just below the Adam's apple . It sleeps while the organism does. A person must not be awakened suddenly lest the mesuk have enough time to return to the daytime position. It is supposed to wake itself first; then the person opens his eyes. The mesuk is small in a child and proportionately larger as the man or woman grows. It is strong in a strong man and weak in a weak one. Birds, snakes, and other animals as well as ghosts also [825] [715] have mesuk.

Food goes in at the mouth, down the neck, and into the stomach where it stays for a while. At the time of defecation, it goes down the intestines and out the anus. Water goes directly to the bladder where it stops until time for urination, when it goes down and out the penis. Sperm is said to be produced in the bladder. The testicles are thought to have no function. Lungs are hung up on either side of the stomach but have no connection with the stomach.

Eyes have a small rope but it is not connected with anything. Neither are the holes in nose or ears connected with anything . The holes in the ears just stop.

The veins and arteries (nenawa) are to make the skin strong. They are unconnected and unrelated with the other vital organs. Blood is everywhere inside the skin. The kidneys are to make the back strong, as is the heart which is also for breath.

775 825 Spirit beliefs. Pigs, birds, dogs, opossum, mosquitoes, or anything that walks, flies and breathes, are believed to have ghosts (gamba); Gamba have hearts (masuk) the same as living man and animals, but in the dead the masuk is located in the throat as in a sleeping man. Here it keeps on beating.

Gamba go about in this way with all the organs of the human being, but do not eat food.

When a man is out hunting pig at night he may see a ghost. The gamba [763] are cowardly by nature. If they meet a strong man they run away; it is only people who are about to die who are surrounded by them. Men who die violently, as in an intertribal fight, see no gamba before they are killed.

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CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37–53).

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may learn to avoid or kill a scorpion even though he has never been bitten by one. So it is with other dangers, especially the more serious ones; if children were permitted to learn to avoid wild boars or crocodiles by actually experiencing pain from them, the society would soon disappear. Parental warnings come true frequently enough so that children usually heed them. 866

A child is not permitted to show excessive fear of his environment. If he is too afraid of a small snake or lizard to kill it, or if he is afraid to walk in the swamp lest he be pricked by a thorn, his older *brothers* will tease him and his parents will scold him. An overanxious child is usually called a "baby" in a derogatory manner. [861]

The warnings of parents and older siblings include supernatural dangers. A child is taught that certain glens, springs, rocks, and trees are dwelling places of *marsalai*, and he learns the names of the supernatural beings who inhabit them. He is warned that, if he goes too near one of these places, the monster will cause a violent storm and high wind that may blow down the dwelling of his parents, or it will "shoot" a sago needle into his foot for disturbing it. Such a needle, although invisible, is very painful and can be removed only by adult operators who have mastered the special magical technique. Actual storms and unseen needles are used to impress the validity of these beliefs upon the child. Whenever there is a severe storm, the adults in the hamlet speculate as to who has disturbed the *marsalai*. Was it Yat who was clearing a garden too near to the rock in which Kumbundum dwelt, or was it Wof who went hunting near the bog inhabited by Kurumbukwas? Similarly when a child reported that he had a pain in his foot which felt like a thorn but which he could not see, his parents would say: "There, you see. You have been 'shot' by a *marsalai*. We told you to beware of disturbing them." 869 776 •

A child is warned that he should not go near the house tamberan while the yam-cult ceremonies are being held. He is told that at this time the adult men of the tribe consort with *marsalai*. He is warned that although men can do so 869

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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882 794 533 eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

882 796 794 796 [534] [302] On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tamberan gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event. He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the prescribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[26] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[26] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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821 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind
• 776 storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

753 Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago
755 needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those
[776] who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

825 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier
776 than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth.
825 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick
776 that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another
789 of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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lets, when they hear this rhythm, rush to their own house tamberans and repeat the rhythm on their gongs. The *marsalai* must tremble, it is said, when he hears the thunderous command issuing successively from each house tamberan in each of the Kwoma subtribes. Doubtless he hastily shuts his mouth.

A Kwoma male must submit to the hazing of age-grade initiation even after he has reached adulthood. There are four occasions on which he attends this ceremony as an initiate, and, since it takes place only once every five years, there are normally three rites during adulthood when he must permit his *ceremonial father* to slash his tongue and penis. Thus it is not until a man is over thirty that he ceases to be an initiate. On each occasion he advances a degree in prestige and is permitted to wear a certain hair ornament that those of lower grades may not wear. Just as the newly initiated adolescent derogated the uninitiated children, so the adult derogates those in stages below him and struts about wearing his newly acquired headgear.

After a man has passed through the initiation cycle, he takes his turn as an initiator. He adopts a *ceremonial son* whom he sponsors through the cycle. Finally, at the age of fifty or more, after twenty years as an initiate and twenty years as an initiator, he attends the age-grade ceremonies merely as a spectator.

The attitude of an adult man toward ghosts differs little from that of a child. He still reacts to them with a mixture of aggression and avoidance. Kwoma men are quite loath to walk very far from their dwellings after dark, and if they do so they either carry a torch or wear a dagger made from a human thigh bone, both of which are supposed to frighten ghosts and make them keep their distance. In spite of these precautions, men not infrequently encounter what they believe to be ghosts. One evening I heard frightened shouting, then the patter of feet rushing by the house, and finally angry shouts and imprecations from the house tamberan. The next morning I learned that Kar and Marok had stayed late on a visit to another hamlet and had been forced to re-

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121 861 or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn 121 869 their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

• [796] *Marsalai* are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to 869 be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible 796 for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about [862] these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker [823] on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to [821] go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle [796] into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these [798] monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

869 775 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

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had previously experienced for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9–30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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Thus, not only can the supernatural fears of pupils extinguish, but so also can the fears of the teachers become reduced in the same way, so that they no longer maintain these beliefs by sanctioning them.

The fact that Kwoma children can learn not to heed, and Kwoma parents to stop issuing and sanctioning unrealistic warnings, raises a serious question. Why does this not occur more frequently? Why, in the course of time, have not all these supernatural beliefs disappeared as a result of this process? The answer to this is suggested by one of the basic postulates of the functional theory of anthropology. Parents continue to issue unrealistic warnings and to sanction them because they form an integral part of one or more systems of beliefs, customs, and organized activities which, as a whole, satisfy a social need.[14]

The belief in *marsalai* forms a large part of the charter[15] of the yam cult.[16] *Marsalai* are believed to be present whenever this cult holds a ceremonial meeting and to bless those who participate. In playing the instruments of the cult, the members are producing a representation of the voices of these beings. After a ceremony, no man who has attended may have intercourse with his wife, because the powerful and dangerous influence of the cult *marsalai* still clings to him, and might injure her. Thus, were the belief in these monsters to disappear, the Kwoma would be forced either to provide a new *raison d'être* for their cult ceremonies or to give them up altogether. It is not necessary here to present a detailed account of the functions of the cult, but a few of them may be mentioned to show how important this institution is in Kwoma society. The most direct function of the cult seems

[14] See B. Malinowski, "The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology," *Reale Academia D'Italia*, XVIII (1940), 22.

[15] Every institution consists in part of the traditional purposes and reasons for its existence which are believed by the members of the personnel. Malinowski has called this the charter. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 932-934.

[16] The personnel, norms, and material apparatus of this institution can be gathered from the descriptive chapters. The charter and functions are stressed here because of their importance in this context.

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796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the [554] bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can [562] become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their ag- [786] gressive feelings toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

121 182 Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic • 796 events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind 821 storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be pro- [823] duced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to [782] perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes [781] will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an [241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and [534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which [241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important [182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly [154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

795 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him [764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure [765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

796 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to man in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not [794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

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349 coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation
[177] brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The
262 natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we
125 were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us.
[417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the
[346] house tamberan so that the women and uninitiated children who would come into the
[178] front court could not see the sacred altar.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones. They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in various unsuspected places, particularly right over my head, where it came through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while. We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from mat bags stretched

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
708 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves.
The mask near the front was called asambwaŋ, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called abimakwa and belonged to Bangus (actually to the cicatrizer). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called sawimaŋ. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called no maski (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "lulual" of Bangus, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged o on the same note and fell off to a wi with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this.
[648] Owiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Sombundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis.
[821] When Tip touched it, Owiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bUng" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

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[534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banif' quite often.

[346] In the house tamberan there is the same alter set up in the center with
[178] a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden
[538] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This
[532] is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary
[614] figure under the water drum less important than the one on the alter. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon.
[535] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong
[533] counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few
[534] interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come, so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Honwem sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and
[703] Koriasi Tangwishemp. Only four of these were "savi talks". These four,
[178] however, were the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact
[554] that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions.
[726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

123
114
23 broadside shot at not more than thirty feet. I drew a quick aim and fired - the pig, just ahead of Maab, instead of dropping in its tracks, went bounding off into the bush. This was very bad, for not only would the sale fall through but the pig might go off and die in the bush. So a chase started then that was to last until after noon. John had come up with his .22 with a crowd of men as soon as they had heard us fire. We all began to scour the bush nearby and to get scoured ourselves by creepers, branches and nettles. The men and boys suddenly all had spears and the hunt was on. We who had guns were called all over the district by people who had just seen the pig. John saw it once and had two shots at it, but the .22 didn't kill it.

When we gathered together again at Marok's house, speculation was rife as to what had happened. Maab swore that we both had hit it and that he had seen the holes the bullets had made. Inasmuch as I found the one bullet I was able to fire in the ground under the spot where the pig had stood, I am almost sure that I didn't hit it. Maab's story was believed by [778] most everyone. Then it appeared that the pig was sugiliwas, and some supernatural agency had come down into it and given it power to run away. Marok seemed very proud of what the pig had done and told us that the pig was his people's (Wanyi) totem . Some said that it was maara, his sugiliwas, that was in the beast and wouldn't let it go until night because it didn't want Marok to sell his pig. We were quite willing to accept any such explanation for the sake of our reputations as marksmen.

The wear and tear on our clothes and bodies during the morning was terrific. John turned his nose into a yam stick in a headlong fall down a muddy slope, and I got a stitch in my side which made my eyes pop from answering false alarms at the house on top of the mountain. A hairless goat might feel at home in these surroundings, but as yet we can't even bleat.

356 with a digging stick. Wer's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[357] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the nothing.
diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ I said that if he had something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimuwe is finished.
754 She did not give the sungeyawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa) was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mes' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime. Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adolescence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *marsalai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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121 182 796 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[28] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[6]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[7] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *maternal uncle*,[8] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[6] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[7] There were six gardening groups in Rumbima hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[8] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [372] [136] [576] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Pokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

859 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mes is now our shoot boy, as Nemb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mes realized that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a muskat was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Nemb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

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881 561 elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who [608] has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes [304] the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three [292] older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[1] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three [535] grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. [786] On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[1] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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protectors. With regard to these affairs the Kwoma take the attitude that they are discreditable only if discovered. Every man knows that his wife is probably unfaithful to him, but unless he is extremely jealous he does not spy on her and punishes her only if she is indiscreet enough to be conspicuous.

There are two occasions of ceremonial sexual license. One occurs during the yam-cult ceremonies. As described in the previous chapter, the yam cult is divided into two sections, *Y'enama* and *Minjama*, and every Kwoma male is initiated into one or the other of these sections at pubescence. When the cult holds a ceremony, the *Y'enama* dance on the first day and night, and the *Minjama* on the second. On the afternoon of the first day, the married women of the tribe dance in the clearing on one side of the house tamberan. They bring with them net bags which are decorated on one side only. These they hold above their heads as they dance with the decoration either toward them or away from them, depending on whether their husband belongs to *Y'enama* or *Minjama*, and the men note the information thus given. Taking advantage of the fact that all the *Y'enama* men will be at the house tamberan that night, the *Minjama* visit their wives. The *Y'enama* have a chance to retaliate on the following night when the *Minjama* men are dancing. The second occasion for ceremonial sexual license occurs during one of the nights of the age-grade initiation ceremonies when the men and women dance together at the house tamberan. During the dance, the women slip tokens to the men of their choice as a sign that they are willing to have intercourse with them, and the couples unobtrusively drop out of the dance and repair to the bush. For several days before and after these occasions of license, salacious jokes and sly boasting are rife. The taboo on sexual relations between relatives operates with respect to all extramarital affairs.

When a man has children, daughters appear as a new interdicted category of women. The following myth represents the Kwoma horror of such a relationship and the intensity of guilt associated with breaking this incest taboo.

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121 182 796 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132]

[17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

587 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away
837 and was very indignant. She said Dagwur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new
[583] wife. This he did -- Gawas' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives, a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 During the Yenama ceremony a Yenama wife will make an appointment
• 786 with a Minjama man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

*115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

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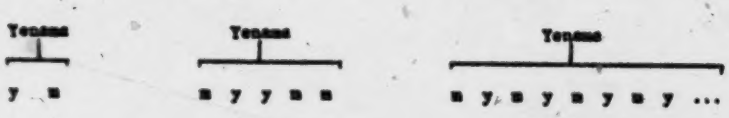
*115 583 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mind survivr (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has been both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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882 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day
584 he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him,
602 and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am
578 going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom
836 he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for
602 marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in
578 him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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A person is seldom, if ever, convicted of sorcery. I am reasonably certain that there were many fewer occasions on which sorcery was actually practiced than there were cases of sickness and death attributed to this cause. I was unable to discover anyone who would admit to having practiced sorcery, and the Kwoma themselves were unable to convict any sorcerer during my stay, despite their constant efforts to do so. This evidence should not, of course, be taken as proof that men never practice sorcery, but as indicating the probability that they rarely do so. 754

Mar's nervous breakdown illustrates how sorcery works from the point of view of the person sorcerized and how it may be used as an explanation for neurotic anxiety. One evening shortly after Mar began his courtship of Aya we heard him exchanging shouts with someone down the mountainside. Later he came to my house and told me that he had been arguing with Waramus. The latter had discovered that Mar wanted to marry Aya and had shouted: "You stay away from my daughter; you are nothing but an excrement eater. Do you think that I am going to let her marry a lazy person like you, and one who is her relative, too?" When Mar had told me this, he asked plaintively, "Do you think that I am an excrement eater?" I reassured him. He then bit his underlip, raised his hand, and shook it as though he were balancing a spear, "That damned Waramus! I am going to fight him tomorrow and break his nose." I asked, "Why don't you do it now, Mar?" and he replied, "It is too dark, but I'll do it tomorrow." 159 754

Mar did not carry out his threat, nor did he make any move to see Aya for the next few days. A week later he went with several of his *brothers* and *sisters* and his betrothed to work on their garden. Three days later Fit came running back from the garden and told us that Mar was dying. He said that Mar had had a nightmare the previous night and that his father's ghost had appeared and tried to take his soul away. We took some medicine and went back to the garden with Fit and Wof, who had also been told of Mar's sickness. When we arrived at Mar's bush house, he was moan- [787]

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159 754 [129] ing on his bark slab bed. He seemed unable to talk and could only groan inarticulately. We took his temperature and found that it was normal. When we asked him where the pain was, he shook his head, refusing to answer. Wof then diagnosed the sickness as the result of sorcery and said, "Well, if he dies, he dies, that's all." This elicited a groan from Mar. We told him that we had some very strong medicine which would counteract sorcery, at which he lifted his head and looked at us with a doglike expression and then took the Eno's salts which we gave him. We suggested that he go home, for the bush house was damp and lonely, but he groaned and shook his head at this suggestion, indicating that he could not make it. Wof then gathered some nettle leaves, formed them into a cone, into which he muttered a prayer, and then rubbed them over Mar's chest and belly. This made Mar gasp and come out of his lethargy enough to mumble that he believed Waramus was sorcerizing him for courting Aya. We finally raised him to his feet. Leaning heavily on us, he swayed and staggered but was able to walk. As the trip progressed, he seemed to become stronger and for the last part of the journey walked unaided, but when we arrived at his home he fell groaning on his bed, where he stayed for two days without speaking. Wof meanwhile approached Waramus, who denied that he had sorcerized Mar, but said that he still did not want him to court his daughter.

Mar did not leave his house for over a week, gradually recovering his voice and his strength. He believed that Waramus had sorcerized him but had stopped after being accused by Wof, and that this had saved his life. Waramus denied Wof's accusation, and as far as I was able to determine his denial was truthful. The case would have progressed in much the same way, however, whether he had done so or not. Thus it is evident that sorcery functions as an explanation for sickness and that accusations are made against persons who are feared, and finally that the actual performance of black magic is not pertinent.[33]

[787] [33] The fact that Mar had a nightmare in which his father's ghost attempted to take his soul suggests that his sickness may have been due to

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When a man does resort to sorcery, he is reputed to use the following technique. First he either steals or gets someone to steal sorcery material[34] from the person whom he wishes to injure. Then he either gives it to a noted sorcerer[35] to whom he pays a fee or, if he is confident in his own powers, proceeds himself. The sorcerer puts the sorcery material in a special, narrow-necked clay pot and places it on the fire. When the pot and its contents are very hot, he pours a small quantity of cold water into it. If the sorcery material completely disappears in the burst of steam which ensues, the victim will die; if some fragments remain when the pot cools, he will merely become very sick. The operator may not drink water during the process or the sorcery will not be effective. Another type of sorcery consists of inserting in the victim's food a white powder purported to be poisonous. Whether this powder is actually harmful I was unable to discover.

All deaths are believed to result from sorcery. Death repeatedly proves to the Kwoma the efficacy of this type of magic and increases everyone's fear of and anger against sorcerers. This is particularly true in the case of close relatives of the deceased. When a person dies, one of his relatives tolls the house tamberan gong in a slow, measured beat to announce the event to the tribe. I was on a hunting expedition with Sof, a young man who had recently returned from working on a white plantation, when the gongs of Sombundura house tamberan began to toll. He stopped in his tracks, and his jaws began to work. He said nothing for a minute and then in a very emotional voice spoke of the evils of sorcery. "This is a bad place. All anyone can think of is sorcery. That is all the old men think of. We young men who have worked for the whites are going to rebel against it. We are going to round up all the old men who practice sorcery and

sexual anxiety which was rooted in the Oedipus situation and which was evoked at this time by his courtship with Aya and the threats of Waramus.

[34] The Kwoma believe that food leavings, blood, sperm, and the feces of infants are effective materials for sorcery.

[35] No one ever publicly admits that he is a sorcerer, for to do so might mean death or ostracism. Many persons are believed to be powerful sorcerers and privately admit it, if it is to their advantage to do so.

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

ghost to leave and not to take the soul of the one who has had the nightmare. The belief in ghosts also offers an explanation for irrational acts, e.g., fits of unexpected anger expressed toward members of the in-group. When such occur, the blame can be transferred to a ghost by means of the theory of ghost possession, thus preventing retaliatory measures which would tend to disrupt the group. Ghost possession also provides a means of group catharsis of guilt and of social control. A ghost is believed to possess a person in order to express his anger at a living relative (usually not the possessed person himself) for some sin which he is committing. In order to make the ghost return to the land of the dead, the proper sin must be confessed by an exorcist as spokesman for the group. The exorcist, a relative of the possessed person, lists the sins of the community one by one until the ghost indicates the reason for his anger by means of an affirmation from the possessed person. The sinner then promises to mend his ways, and the ghost returns to the land of the dead. Thus, exorcising the ghost is a group confession of sins and a means of exerting social control. The belief in the existence of ghosts thus fulfills a variety of functions at Kwoma and can therefore be expected to show a strong resistance to extinction.

A large part of Kwoma medical practice derives from beliefs in sorcery. Whenever anyone becomes seriously ill, his relatives announce this event on their house tamberan gongs and command everyone in the tribe to stop sorcery. If the person continues to be sick, they call a sorcery court, at which accusations are made and denied and evidence is presented. Finally, the relatives of the sick person may visit all those whom they suspect of sorcery and make them drink water as a test. Belief in sorcery thus offers an explanation for sickness which allows for coöperative curing efforts, and is thereby of considerable functional importance to those who have no better theory of disease and no more effective methods of cure. A secondary function of this type of medical practice is that it offers, in the procedures against the supposed sorcerer, a formalized method of expressing aggres-

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Mawk, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Mawk) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

628 in the houses of their relatives here and went back the following day. Latai and another visited toward evening and were cross because the [937] Tengwishamps asked exorbitant prices for betel pepper. (Hamb had tried [435] to buy some and they had asked a big knife for a rope. Finally they settled for some beads and a razor blade.)

593 Yesterday noon Kum was crying out and Chinuwa answered him from down below in Wef's garden. She told him to stop his crying and then refused to answer. He kept up his crying for about half an hour. No one paid any attention to him except Gwiyap and Hay who were playing ball by the house, and they made a few remarks "Pas in maus shit muting" but did nothing about it.

578 In the morning, Weyakole's oldest daughter and Kar's wife were cut by War and Marok respectively.

123 Kar slept at my house last night. He was sitting after supper talking to him; Mar called me, so I went down to his house; the fire had been put out in the aguyin (porch). Dim figures filled the place. It turned out 787 that all the wives--Gwiyap sisters and Kwiyakai were gathered inside. Chinuwa and Gwiyap's older sister were holding Awambaka down because she was possessed by a ghost. Hay, Mar, Gwiyap, Mas, and Asa had gathered outside and would rush up the path at the slightest sound. This would amuse the wives very much especially Chinuwa and Ugangaya who were laughing and giggling all the time. Every once in a while Awambaka would begin to kick her feet around and try to free the firewood stick which she was holding in both hands. This would be a signal for everyone to scatter except Chinuwa and Ugangaya and Mar, who would try to talk to Awa. She would either not answer at all or else with an annoyed monosyllable "muh -- leave me alone". Finally she began thrashing in earnest when Hamb appeared and

787 turned his flashlight on her. They told Hamb to turn off the light, and then they all (Mar , Chinuwa and Ugangaya) wrenched the stick away from her, dragging her around the floor to do it. After they had gotten it away, she remained lying on the floor and was lifted onto a sago bark bed where she was left. She did not move and was no longer held. Then Marok squatted beside her and began talking to her very quietly and sympathetically asking her what was the matter. She said she was asleep and possessed by a ghost. Marok asked her who the ghost was but got no answer. Then he began listing the possibilities. "Was it so and so, or such and such, or the other?" He got no response. For a long time he got nonse ; the mosquitoes were eating me up, so I left.

This morning they told me (Mar and Owiyap) that in the evening they had all been at Wof's (Ugangai, Awambaka, Ewiya, Chinuwa, Wof and his wife). [276] Awambaka had been chewing betel, and all of a sudden the ghost had taken possession of her. She had shut her eyes, grabbed a stick and began playing about with it. Chinuwa and Ugangai had caught her and held her. Wof had told them to carry her to Mar's house. This they did. I had arrived soon after.

The ghost who had taken possession of her turned out to have been Marok's older brother (deceased). His message was that he was cross at Marok and Mar for cutting his sago. (Mar said that they would not cut it any more.) The general tone of Marok's pumping her was her answering yes [123] or no to his suggestions. The ghost also said he was cross at Wof and May, and when I was there, my house was mentioned.

534 February 22, 1937. Mar was down by the house tamberan bilasing Yat's gong.
323 Ker was working bembank and cutting grass by the house tabberan, and Marok was making large pots for his new house. Yat visited in the afternoon.

578 Yevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumwe Sumwe. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Owiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Owiyap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Tambon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Owiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Owiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Owiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a sugilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a sugilawas of the Wanyi people.

115 123 [755] After the treatment he sat down again and resumed his moaning. Later Mar sent Pit into the bush for more and larger nettles. When Pit returned with them, Mar noticed him and put his hands up to us to be lifted up. After another rub down, Tip and I put his arms over our shoulders, one standing on either side of him, and started off. As the journey progressed we found he had to be supported less and less. We went slowly, stopping quite frequently to rest. The trip took two hours, and we were exhausted at the end. When we reached home, Mar slumped down on his sago bark bed and resumed his former state. We left him and went to visit again in the evening after Owiyap had come up saying he had had a relapse and wanted us to see him. When we arrived he was in about the same state as when we had first seen him at the bush house. We gave him three cascara pills and left. December 6,1936.

Yesterday Mar was better, but not much. He was lying on his bed and moaning. He had not had a bowel movement; his temperature was still normal. We gave him a dose of 4 teaspoons of epsom and rubbed his face, chest and back with ambrosia, to which he reacted in much the same manner as to the nettles. In the afternoon he was somewhat better. Owiyap reported that his bowels had moved and that he had eaten.

115 787 This morning Owiyap came in and told us that Mar died during the night but then came alive again. The story he told was that during the night Mar had been visited by the ghost of his older brother who had told him to come to the land of the dead. Mar at this point called out to his mother, "Mother, come! My brother is here and I am going to die." His mother has a large ulcer on her foot and could not come down from the next house where

*115 she sleeps, but began to wail. Wof awoke at this and came with a torch
[787] to awaken us. He shouted at us near our house but we slept through it all. When I went to see Mar in the afternoon he was sitting up and seemed quite cheerful. He still talked very little and used no pidgin. While I was there he crawled out of the house and urinated. This he did on his hand and feet, belly up. I asked him why he did not stand and Owiyap quickly answered that he had a bad knee.

December 7, 1936.

The report today is that Mar is much better. Ear came around, and from him we learned that Mar's older brother was a "big man" before he died. At a ceremony his position was as high as that of Mar.

December 9, 1936.

*115 Yesterday Owiyap came to get me to treat Mar's leg. I went down to
123 find Mar asleep and had some trouble in waking him. He had a nasty surface
752 sore on his ankle. I swabbed it out with a solution of percuric potassium iodide and put a bandage with unguentine on it. He howled a good deal during the process but said nothing. Afterwards I fixed a little sore of Owiyap's and although he stood it much better, he squirmed a bit, and Mar laughed at this a little. I stayed for a while and he became more cheerful still saying practically nothing however.

*115 Today during the Mundik[1] episode Mar came hobbling up the hill leaning heavily on a walking stick to see what was going on. He went back after about

1. Mundik was a young man who killed his wife and, seeking refuge at Wasuk, was beaten by them and nearly killed for attending a ceremony without having the proper credentials (i.e., haloids of manhood). They consider him to be insane.

January 27, 1937.

#115 Mar came this morning to say he was on his way and stayed all day. This evening he said that everything is prepared for an early departure the next morning. (Yesterday he seemd to have been waiting for Numb to return).

January 28, 1937.

[123] This morning he came again and said he was leaving now. I told him to go, but he waited for a while and then asked me if I would join him, or at least come later. I could not go, but he waited and finally said that [439] he did not believe he would go after all. He said he would scrape some sago and trade it for fish with the Yambon and prepare food for a feast to pay for others to come and help him. He suggested that perhaps Numb would shoot a'gouria' for him for this feast, but added that perhaps Numb would be cross with him for asking. Finally about ten o'clock he felt that [461] he could delay no longer and left looking very sullen, accompanied by [241] Gwiyap's sister. There was quite a bit of pressure toward his going; both Gwiyap and Moy said that the amount of weeds in his garden was disgraceful.

February 3, 1937.

Mar returned this morning about 10:00, greeted me warmly and said that his work was almost completed; he left Gwiyap, Awa, and Kwiya there to finish it. He stated that he came today because of a nightmare that I was beating [787] him with a stick. He had awakened screaming with terror and started back [123] here as soon as it was light in order to find out if I was cross with him for something.

This afternoon he invited me to visit Mar with him. When we arrived, he appeared a trifle nervous but otherwise quite natural. He greeted the

*115 This afternoon however, Mar was very elated, striding about and talking
584 in a loud voice. He said that Mes has agreed to act as a go-between to ask
[759] Aye to meet him in the bush house. One of Mar's brothers warned him to be careful in his friendship with Mes (Mar has been joking with Mes alot lately) because he is susceptible to sorcery. His older brother died from it, and he, Mar, has had several attacks.

March 13, 1937.

Mar and the rest of his household do not like Yawa, his fiancee, but she says that she does not want to leave despite the fact that he has not had intercourse with her and that she has not cooked for him yet.

April 11, 1937.

*115 I arrived back from a short trip and found Mar lying flat on the floor
787 of my house, looking very ill and able to speak only in monosyllables.
602 His 'brothers' said that he could not talk. They explained that last
753 night they were at my house bandying words with their 'sisters' who were standing just outside. Awa taunted Mar saying that his hair was naturally white, not white because he had bleached it. Mar had grabbed a stick and rushed out after her. He had gone only a short way when he fell to the ground, apparently dead. When he had recovered enough to talk, he explained that he had met his father's ghost who had asked him why he was going to beat his 'sister', forbade him, and knocked him to the ground in a trance. His father's ghost had struggled with his (Mar's) soul and tried to take it back with him to the land of the dead, but Mar's soul had finally won out. He had lain, apparently insensate, on the ground for a long time. Chimawa, his paternal uncle's wife, pounded him, but got no reaction. Gwiyap, Mey and Fit got sticks and chased the ghost away. Finally, Mar came to enough to go to my house. His 'brothers' stayed awake all night with sticks in their hands and made frequent sallies with them to show the ghost they were serious. Half an hour after I arrived, Mar had

*115 787 602 753 completely recovered. I told him that I had left a bag of salt at the foot of the moutain, and that he could get it tomorrow if he felt well enough. He wanted to know why he should wait until tomorrow, and left them to get it, which is a hard job for anyone in perfect health.

April 13, 1937.

*115 [754] When Kar, Afok , Fokotay, Dawangi and Yat went to blow flutes, Mar and Mes decided to go. They said they were afraid of being sorcerized and had to work--get firewood and wash sago.

April 14, 1937.

*115 156 [648] The men of the village are planning to start on a headhunting raid on a neighboring tribe. I asked Mar if he were going with them and he said, "No, I am afraid of the white government and I don't want to be hung. I know I am like a woman for not going, but never mind. I'm no man. I'm a woman, that's all. I'll be a woman all my life. Never mind. I'll never be able to paint my face black like the men who have taken a head, but never mind." He almost wept while delivering this speech and seemed as though he were making a great sacrifice by deciding not to go. Both he and Mes asked [123] me to furnish alibis for them in case of trouble.

April 15, 1937.

*115 584 [123] Again Mar has said he has made an arrangement with Mowimbwi, Gwanta and Fambe to get Mes' sister, Aya, to go to a certain place to catch fish. Mar will meet them there and take Aya to his garden house. He doesn't want me to tell Mes and thinks I should protect him again Mar if he makes a fuss--to say that it was Aya's idea.

*115 582 After supper Yat, Mar's uncle, began shouting at him. He told Mar it was not good to marry someone from one's own sib because their blood would

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Gwiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and Hey bothhbegan helping around the house, and since Hamb is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Gwiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gamba (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Thein we asked him to drew a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Gwiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Gwiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Gwiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Gwiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Gwiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

#115 787 all and he said 'yes.' He got a bit irritated at me after I had asked him several time but finally he told me of a dream which he had had several nights before and which he had already told to Tip. In this dream he had seen his father with a great many yams, coconuts, bananas, etc. His father was carrying them back to the cemetery to eat. He also had a large cup in which to cook the food. Owiyap was looking on, and the smell of death was very strong, "all the same big fella pek pek" (like a big pile of feces). His father began eating his food and with it the bones of dead men. Then Owiyap remembered another fragment which was about large dogs with hands and feet. They were climbing up coconut trees and throwing down the fruit. Then he saw a lot of dead men--people he did not know, who had died long ago. They were big men just like "you two fella masta", and were going in a sort of procession up to their dwelling place on the top of a mountain. I asked him if there were any women in the dream, but he said no. The people live in a great tree with a hole in the bottom of it.

November 10, 1936.

[123] Last night Owiyap had a dream in which he and Tip and I were walking over to Sasarumun. (Tip had actually walked over that way yesterday afternoon). When we arrived, Owiyap warned us that the Sombindura were coming for us with spears to kill us. Tip, however, had his .22. That was all he could remember. As it occurred yesterday, he became irritated when I asked him if there were any more.

November 14, 1936.

#115 123 The day before yesterday, I was fooling around in front of the house with some of the kids. I was pretending to fight with Owiyap. Once when my back was turned, he hit me with the flat of his hand. I turned around quickly and started to chase him--laughing and shouting the while. We scrambled down the mountainside, onto a path which led down the mountain

*115 very steeply-- about the angle of an ordinary staircase, with holes cut in
123 the mud for footing. Gwiyap hit this path going full tilt and had not gone far before he slipped and took quite a nasty spill. I was not so sure footed and had slowed down to a walk. When I saw him lying down, I asked if he were all right, and started down to pick him up. When he saw me coming, he got up with a look of terror on his face, and sobbing, limped down the path. I stopped and told him that it was all right, that I was only playing and then he stopped and sat down. When I started back up the hill he went into the bushes to hide. Mar came at this point and we both went to look for him, but could not find him. When we got to the top of the hill, we waited, and yelled and about five minutes later Gwiyap appeared. He said he was fooling us when he hid in the bush and that he was all right. He showed no fear of me and laughed about the incident. He said that he knew I was fooling, but I could feel a slight undercurrent of resentment about the affair.

587 This morning Wof married Gwiyap's foster mother. He was talking about
*115 it the night before, and Gwiyap must have know his intentions. When Gwiyap
• 780 came with my tea, almost the first thing he said was that he had a dream
123 to report. Usually I have to ask him first. The dream was this. "Last
[757 night a big tall man came after me with a spiky leaf (used by the
[304 natives as a counterirritant, particularly after they are cicatrized at initiation). I ran down the hill and he chased me. Finally I got to the water and jumped in and died. Then a man like Mar came and took me out and carried me to the funeral platform and laid me out on it. Then I got up and came down from the platform. I was not dead." I asked him who the man who had chased him was, and he said he did not know, but that he was very big and tall and that he was a "man belong tamberanka" (one of the ghosts of dead Mongwem).

* 115 In talking over Owiyap with Tip, I was reminded of a couple of things about him that I have not yet recorded. In the first place, he has showed more interest in looking at pictures in the magazines and books that we have than the others --particularly the last number of the Pacific Island Monthly, which he has gone through half a dozen times, asking us what the pictures are--machines, ships, houses, etc., and then having been told, repeating them to himself, much like a child with a picture book.

Another thing is that several days ago, Tip gave him an old tooth brush. Since then, almost every morning he has asked us for it and has spent a long time scrubbing at his teeth and then looking at them in the mirror and showing them to us.

[191] Still another fact is the remarkable amount of pidgin he knows, for a child and for one who has obtained it 'second-hand' from returned "savvy talks". He is always eager to learn new words, and is very quick to learn to make a bed, to cook, or to do other things about the house.

November 15, 1936.

* 115 Tip got a dream from him this moring while I was asleep . Owiyap
● 787 was with Her going through the bush when they met a cinuk (snake). It was a very tall thing made of leather and emitted a noise like a toy bull-roarer, but very much louder. It was a gambe (ghost) . They chased it, killed it and buried it. Then they were afraid about what they had done. As they were leaving the spot, another gambe approached and asked them why they had killed the cinuk. They lied, saying "We didn't kill him", and hurried away.

*115 Later in the evening I began making shadow pictures on the wall.
123 Neither Gwiyap nor May likes this. They said that ghosts would come.
775 I knew that whistling at night was also supposed to bring ghosts, so I tried that to add to the effect. This worried them all the more. They were getting quite uncomfortable, so I stopped. Just at that moment some insect began to make a whistling noise. Both of them started at this and after a moment bolted for their own house.

*115 This morning we heard a bird of paradise crying, and Tip decided to go hunt it. He asked Gwiyap to come, but Gwiyap made excuses--the road was no good, and it was going to rain. So Tip went with Marur and Hamb. I asked Gwiyap what the real reason for his not going was and finally wormed it out of him. He had not killed a man; he was a"monki nothing" and since he couldn't wear the feathers, there was no point to his going along.

*115 Recruiters will be coming in to Hongwum again to sign on boys. Gwiyap
648 is anxious to go and expects that others of his age will go too. He is
464 looking forward eagerly to the chance. He knows that it is "hard work too much", but is not deterred by that fact.

The material gain is what seems most important to him. He recounts how many boxes of goods Kis brought back purchased from the money he received. The boys who have signed on and worked before will not sign on again.

December 1, 1936.

787 Last night a ghost possessed Mar's fiancee, Yawa. Wof exorcised it. According to Gwiyap, the ghost was really after Wof to punish him for marrying Chinuwa. Gwiyap could not go to sleep until early morning after this incident.

According to Gwiyap
/Mar and his wife know how to be possessed by spirits; Chinuwa and Way's wife know a little about it. These are the only persons in Rumbium who can be possessed by spirits.

January 26, 1937.

*115 593 I asked Owiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Owiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Owiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his men (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Owiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Owiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 584 883 Owiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Sombundum. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Owiyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

+115 Owiyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
• 787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwem carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Owiyap finally found that another Hongwem had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "kiap" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Kwiya came by carrying firewood and Owiyap yelled something bawdy
+115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Owiyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
+115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Kwiya, Awa, Way's older daughter, Mes' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bone nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mes' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mar about having intercourse with his sister (Awa), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awa in their house. May came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want May to know, for he might tell Mar.

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Owiyap inherithd Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kawas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sumge kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Gwiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Gwiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

* 115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Ewiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ave (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amwe or newelaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

* 115 291 Last night Gwiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

* 115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Gwiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

* 115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Gwiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down
● 787 to the water and threw her away. Then Gwiyap, Way, and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Gwiyap's mother's name was Kowabwas, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (gamba yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Nerik, their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a marsalai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water', where they saw a canoe which Gwiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Gwiyap said, "Never mind", and took Gwanta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to
[123] Malu. The Malus asked what they were doing their and were told they were hiding from the "kiop" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Gwanta and Gwiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the others behind. They stayed there and Gwanta killed a gourie pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Gwiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

*115 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the
648 head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He
123 thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.
829

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869 with impunity, it would be extremely dangerous for children and women to be near the scene. In fact, a child is told that he would die if he entered the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. Cases are cited to the children of women and children who had joined the men at this time either willfully [534] or by mistake and who had died as a result. The initiated tell the children that the gongs, trumpets, flutes, water drums, and bull roarers that they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of the *marsalai* who are present. Hints that these are man-made sounds come seeping down from adolescents and the careless remarks of adults, so that the child has a fairly accurate knowledge of the ceremonies before he ever participates in one. Despite his scepticism about the origin of the sounds, he nevertheless is awed whenever a ceremony takes place, and takes care not to venture near the scene. Furthermore, he takes care not to reveal to the adults that he has any suspicion of what really goes on.

869 796 Despite a child's awe of these meetings of the yam cult, he senses the excitement which prevails in the whole subtribe before a ceremony takes place and eagerly looks forward to the time when he will be old enough to attend them. He hears his father, *uncles*, and *older brothers* talk excitedly about the coming event, he sees them carefully paint their faces, comb their hair, don their best ornaments, and depart for the house tamberan. Then he hears the rhythmic harmonies of the gong orchestra, the high-pitched shouting of the singers, and the weird and plaintive flute melodies. These thrilling sounds burst out sporadically during the whole day, increase in tempo and intensity as night falls, and continue unabated as long as he stays awake. Stimulated by these events, [857] Kwoma boys make toy gongs from bamboo nodes and try to imitate the gong rhythms; they hum mimicries of the ceremonial songs; and they form miniature groups to practice the shuffling dance steps. Since they are not supposed to know these things, they do them in their forest playhouse or at times when there are no adults present.

869 789 Parents and older siblings also warn a child not to trespass in another person's garden lest he break out with boils. They

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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way.

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away.

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding.

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared.

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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821 796 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

753 755 [796] Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

825 796 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth. 825 796 789 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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lets, when they hear this rhythm, rush to their own house tamberans and repeat the rhythm on their gongs. The *marsalai* must tremble, it is said, when he hears the thunderous command issuing successively from each house tamberan in each of the Kwoma subtribes. Doubtless he hastily shuts his mouth.

A Kwoma male must submit to the hazing of age-grade initiation even after he has reached adulthood. There are four occasions on which he attends this ceremony as an initiate, and, since it takes place only once every five years, there are normally three rites during adulthood when he must permit his *ceremonial father* to slash his tongue and penis. Thus it is not until a man is over thirty that he ceases to be an initiate. On each occasion he advances a degree in prestige and is permitted to wear a certain hair ornament that those of lower grades may not wear. Just as the newly initiated adolescent derogated the uninitiated children, so the adult derogates those in stages below him and struts about wearing his newly acquired headgear.

After a man has passed through the initiation cycle, he takes his turn as an initiator. He adopts a *ceremonial son* whom he sponsors through the cycle. Finally, at the age of fifty or more, after twenty years as an initiate and twenty years as an initiator, he attends the age-grade ceremonies merely as a spectator.

The attitude of an adult man toward ghosts differs little from that of a child. He still reacts to them with a mixture of aggression and avoidance. Kwoma men are quite loath to walk very far from their dwellings after dark, and if they do so they either carry a torch or wear a dagger made from a human thigh bone, both of which are supposed to frighten ghosts and make them keep their distance. In spite of these precautions, men not infrequently encounter what they believe to be ghosts. One evening I heard frightened shouting, then the patter of feet rushing by the house, and finally angry shouts and imprecations from the house tamberan. The next morning I learned that Kar and Marok had stayed late on a visit to another hamlet and had been forced to re-

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885 775 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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Kwoma beliefs about ghosts form part of the charter of the funeral cult. Whenever a person is on the point of death, ghosts are believed to hover around in order to carry the soul to the land of the dead. After death they are believed to guard the body during the months that it is exposed on a platform, until the time when the bones are finally buried under the floor of the dwelling and distributed to the relatives and *friends*. The funeral cult functions directly to provide a means of expressing grief. It is at the first funeral ceremony, which begins when the person dies and ends after the corpse has been deposited on the platform, that the female relatives wail, and that the male relatives talk emotionally of their friendship with the deceased and express their hatred of those responsible for his death.[19] Second, this institution provides an opportunity for mourning. Relatives of the deceased daub themselves with mud and deny themselves some article of diet. Finally, the funeral cult provides for the disposal of the corpse, and thus functions to prevent sickness from contagion. The cult also has integrative functions in that it supports the relationship between relatives and *friends* through the distribution of the bones of the deceased at the time of the second funeral. The second funeral also provides an opportunity for a meeting of the members of the yam cult. Thus, were Kwoma teachers to allow pupils to disbelieve in ghosts, a new rationale would have to be discovered for the funeral cult or its functions would have to be taken over by some other institution.

Besides furnishing a reason for funeral practices, the belief in ghosts provides an explanation for strange noises at night and for dreams, and thus affords a rationale for action. When a Kwoma hears a strange noise at night, he rushes into the nearest house, closes the door, and shouts imprecations and curses at the ghosts, commanding them to return to the land of the dead. He often beats the air with sticks to strengthen his commands. If he has a nightmare he resorts to similar practices; the women may wail and beg the

[19] All deaths are believed to be caused by sorcery.

It turned out the next
787 morning that the wife of Mar (Wof's adopted son and one of our houseboys) had become possessed by a spirit which was talking through her. The words she spoke were unintelligible this time, but often they can be understood.
[789] Such possession is used to detect thiefs. The voices heard were Wof exorcising this ghost. The general opinion was that the ghost was angry at him and so he remained in his house and shouted at the possessed woman in the next house to frighten the ghost away. He evidently was successful,
[115] for there were no dire effects. We got the account from the kids, so it
[614] is not very clear, but it gives us a lead. According to them only two or
[562] three persons in each sib can be possessed, and these are of either sex. What it means beyond this we don't know as yet.

114 December 3, 1936. It was a bright cool day today,; the temperature at dawn
[132] was 68 which is the lowest we have observed. This change buoyed up our
124 spirits considerably, and they were even more raised when Marok, who is probably the most respected of the older men of the tribe, and a person of striking dignity, came to pay us a visit. He had come around previously when we were working on kinship. We asked him who his father and mother,
[123] etc. were. He told us, but immediately asked us the same questions. When we told him, he repeated them over very interestedly, thus putting us all on an equal footing.

614 Today we started by asking him (Marok) what sugilawas meant, and
769 found out that there were four belonging to his sib (Sombundura). Long
[532] ago, each was an important man, and each is represented by a different mask which is exhibited in the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. This suggested to him a list of plants and animals which 'belonged' to his sib: pig, gouria pigeon, cassowary, an edible leaf, and the large yam. These are in some way connected with their original ancestors, "they came up

578 Yevelas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumve'Sumve. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Oriyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Oriyap and Mas just voiced their disgust at the Yambon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Mar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Oriyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Mas and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura . Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Oriyap, who ran down to Rumbina, and Yat, Way, and Oriyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a sunilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalai and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a sunilawas of the Wanyi people.

Songs, exhortations

539 Wail sung to mourn a death

533 hoguinamiwffiyevaugk ahf — Who is looking for him?

764 gambe go ha sowahg — He is gone to the land of the dead.

afaiw mata nd ye yan hg — Father come and get him.

Wail sung to mourn a death

awi nahdhf — Mother come

nokwa ahf nahf — Give me sago

hogwi anhenahf — Give me meat

aif hewahf — I am hungry

789 [792] Casting a spell (yambe mamiiio) is used to protect gardens from pigs and theft, to prevent rain, thunder, lightening, to quell the wind, etc., and for healing purposes.

789 539 533 Exhortation to mamalai to quell the wind. If all the snakes are killed, tied up and put in a hold, the wind cannot blow.

unfnafif sowigo	Kill the snake (a certain kind in each case)
nayawua sowigo	" " "
hofima sowigo	" " "
kia hoff sowigo	" " "
wayfhof sowigo	" " "
apunhfifabwe jawf	Fasten him
nohf fayftin jawf	Tie him up
hay wagawf	Put him in the hollow of a tree.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tamberan gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event. He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the prescribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[26] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[26] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their coöperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their coöperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

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protectors. With regard to these affairs the Kwoma take the attitude that they are discreditable only if discovered. Every man knows that his wife is probably unfaithful to him, but unless he is extremely jealous he does not spy on her and punishes her only if she is indiscreet enough to be conspicuous.

There are two occasions of ceremonial sexual license. One occurs during the yam-cult ceremonies. As described in the previous chapter, the yam cult is divided into two sections, *Ycnama* and *Minjama*, and every Kwoma male is initiated into one or the other of these sections at pubescence. When the cult holds a ceremony, the *Ycnama* dance on the first day and night, and the *Minjama* on the second. On the afternoon of the first day, the married women of the tribe dance in the clearing on one side of the house tamberan. They bring with them net bags which are decorated on one side only. These they hold above their heads as they dance with the decoration either toward them or away from them, depending on whether their husband belongs to *Ycnama* or *Minjama*, and the men note the information thus given. Taking advantage of the fact that all the *Ycnama* men will be at the house tamberan that night, the *Minjama* visit their wives. The *Ycnama* have a chance to retaliate on the following night when the *Minjama* men are dancing. The second occasion for ceremonial sexual license occurs during one of the nights of the age-grade initiation ceremonies when the men and women dance together at the house tamberan. During the dance, the women slip tokens to the men of their choice as a sign that they are willing to have intercourse with them, and the couples unobtrusively drop out of the dance and repair to the bush. For several days before and after these occasions of license, salacious jokes and sly boasting are rife. The taboo on sexual relations between relatives operates with respect to all extramarital affairs.

When a man has children, daughters appear as a new interdicted category of women. The following myth represents the Kwoma horror of such a relationship and the intensity of guilt associated with breaking this incest taboo.

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591 and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work
342 for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually
476 slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the cen-
[351] tral post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young
[593] married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime.
[888] Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapidated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of their sons.

885 Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma
781 adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adoles-
[224] cence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the warnings issued during the previous periods of his life concerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

885 As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *mar-*
156 *salai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains
• 794 enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he
796 shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at
554 one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows promise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, differing only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia. Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the *marsalai*, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[28] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

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727 [266] Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed to eat the soup,[80] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

726 [721] The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and 727 fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

721 554 [994] A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man is eligible to join *Nokwi*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwi* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwi* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[829] [80] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

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The fact that Kwoma children can learn not to heed, and Kwoma parents to stop issuing and sanctioning unrealistic warnings, raises a serious question. Why does this not occur more frequently? Why, in the course of time, have not all these supernatural beliefs disappeared as a result of this process? The answer to this is suggested by one of the basic postulates of the functional theory of anthropology. Parents continue to issue unrealistic warnings and to sanction them because they form an integral part of one or more systems of beliefs, customs, and organized activities which, as a whole, satisfy a social need.[14]

The belief in *marsalai* forms a large part of the charter[15] of the yam cult.[16] *Marsalai* are believed to be present whenever this cult holds a ceremonial meeting and to bless those who participate. In playing the instruments of the cult, the members are producing a representation of the voices of these beings. After a ceremony, no man who has attended may have intercourse with his wife, because the powerful and dangerous influence of the cult *marsalai* still clings to him, and might injure her. Thus, were the belief in these monsters to disappear, the Kwoma would be forced either to provide a new *raison d'être* for their cult ceremonies or to give them up altogether. It is not necessary here to present a detailed account of the functions of the cult, but a few of them may be mentioned to show how important this institution is in Kwoma society. The most direct function of the cult seems

[14] See B. Malinowski, "The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology," *Reale Academia D'Italia*, XVIII (1940), 22.

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[16] The personnel, norms, and material apparatus of this institution can be gathered from the descriptive chapters. The charter and functions are stressed here because of their importance in this context.

794 The word sugilawas which John spoke of before seems to be a horn of
[124] plenty for information although we are far from ready to define it. Through talking of it we found out that there are three (?, groups, or something) named yenengere, minjame, and nokwisugwi which are sugilawas "true" . These seem to be male secret societies which function at ceremonies and which sometimes have ceremonies of their own. The first two of these we know to have emblems, small wooden figures and face masks, and large face masks respectively. How membership is determined in the first two is still a question. From the few cases we have it seems that if a man is in yenengere his first son will be minjame, his second yenengere, etc. But there also seems to be movement upwards as if they were based on age grades. Nokwisugwi seems to stand considerably above the other two. Men of our own age are not allowed in it. Payment of pig and possibly other foods is necessary for admission.

After tomorrow we will be able to tell more of this last group for we are to be allowed to attend a ceremony of this kind now underway in the
[534] Abagalis sib. A wooden trumpet has been blown down there for the last two days. No attention is supposed to be paid to it and only initiates are supposed to
[562] know what is taking place. Our house"monkis" however tell us in whispers that it is a singsing for maris, that all the wives goes out into the bush while
[534] the men "work something" in the house tamberan. Later on they go out and round up the women and then furiously beat a water drum made of a small canoe.
123 We feel duty bound to go out and shoot a couple of pigs now. Our progress through these grades of prestige has been unprecedented, I am sure. If we can only make the good-will that we have gained pay dividends in facts we should have something to show when we are through.

126 I am rather disappointed in the possibilities for photography here. I don't like to risk smashing my Leica when I'm stumbling about in the bush,

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 515 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted 794 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] [534] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either ninjema or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

794 partly by the fact that membership in the two cults is maintained at an [241] approximate equality. These cults are connected with yams in that the cults are thought to be essential to the growth of these vegetables, and [534] they are held two yam plantings apart. The second stage is the nokwi which [241] introduces mysteries of the water drum to its members. This is also connected with yams in that the young men are initiated into this only after they have planted their first yams--itself a sacred rite.

754 Black magic is constantly being practiced and everyone in the culture is always careful of food leavings and blood which are the two most important [182] materials for the hands of the operator. This belief is very strongly [154] integrated in the culture and seems to function in the expression of aggressions and to offer a readymade explanation of neurotic anxiety.

775 The dfad dwell on the top of a nearby mountain in a topsyturvy existence. These ghosts chase and frighten people at night but do not kill them. They sometimes take the form of a bird or animal in the day time. In particular they hover around a dead man, for their job is to escort him [764] to the land of the dead. (There is a double funeral, first an exposure [765] on platform and secondly, burial of bones beneath floor of the house.)

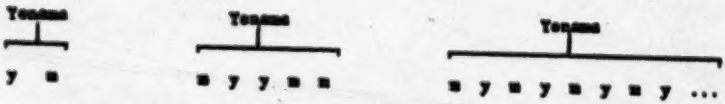
776 There are other types of supernatural creatures who dwell in rocks, waterholes, etc., in the guise of snakes. They cause wind, rain, thunder, lightening and the rainbow, and are dangerous to men in that if they are disturbed they will shoot him with a sago needle which is painful but not [794] fatal. These beings are associated with the men's cult. The uninitiated are told that the esoteria are made and operated by these creatures.

. . . . . .

128 This is the bare outline of the culture in itself incomplete. Some of the interstices and interrelations we have the information to fill in and others we have not.

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose members are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mind survivd (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

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portant for a man not to flinch in these circumstances, for to do so would not only mean a great loss in personal prestige, but would also be taken as an admission of guilt. The men, therefore, slowly back away from one another as the heat of the discussion cools down, or one of them will make a particularly telling remark and turn contemptuously on his heel and sit down. Their place is then taken by another speaker. Men sometimes make short comments without standing. Courts to settle a dispute usually come to a successful conclusion after everyone has aired his opinion and those less closely involved begin to discuss the matter more rationally. A meeting to discover sorcery guilt goes on endlessly, however, reconvening day after day. The Kwoma themselves admit that it is "talk nothing," but they attend, nevertheless. It gives them an opportunity to vent their hostilities, even though they seldom convict anyone.[48]

Although a Kwoma is suspicious of all foreigners, he nevertheless distinguishes between them in accordance with whether they belong to a tribe which is friendly with his subtribe or not. There is considerable trading between Kwoma subtribes and their neighbors. The Hongwam not only exchange sago flour for fish with the river tribes, but they are a link in the chain which passes shell money from the sea up the Sepik and into the interior. These shells are exchanged for pigs, tools, and carved wooden figures, and since they are difficult for the interior tribes to obtain, the Kwoma can make a profit as middlemen. Both of these forms of exchange entail visits between members of the various tribes. Furthermore, there is some intermarriage between neighboring tribes, and visiting takes place between the woman and her relatives, and Kwoma men sometimes attend ceremonies which are being held at a near-by tribe, or entertain foreigners at their own cult ceremonies. For these reasons it is advantageous for neighboring tribes to maintain sufficiently friendly relations so that these visits may take place safely. Under normal cir-

[48] Another reason for attending court is that to be absent raises suspicions of guilt.

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

121 883 836

[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

121 861 or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn 121 869 their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

[816] *Marsalai* are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to 869 be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible 776 for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about [862] these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker [823] on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to [821] go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle [796] into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these [778] monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

869 775 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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[14] See B. Malinowski, "The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology," *Reale Academia D'Italia*, XVIII (1940), 22.

[15] Every institution consists in part of the traditional purposes and reasons for its existence which are believed by the members of the personnel. Malinowski has called this the charter. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 932-954.

[16] The personnel, norms, and material apparatus of this institution can be gathered from the descriptive chapters. The charter and functions are stressed here because of their importance in this context.

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to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

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869 with impunity, it would be extremely dangerous for children and women to be near the scene. In fact, a child is told that he would die if he entered the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. Cases are cited to the children of women and children who had joined the men at this time either willfully [534] or by mistake and who had died as a result. The initiated tell the children that the gongs, trumpets, flutes, water drums, and bull roarers that they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of the *marsalai* who are present. Hints that these are man-made sounds come seeping down from adolescents and the careless remarks of adults, so that the child has a fairly accurate knowledge of the ceremonies before he ever participates in one. Despite his scepticism about the origin of the sounds, he nevertheless is awed whenever a ceremony takes place, and takes care not to venture near the scene. Furthermore, he takes care not to reveal to the adults that he has any suspicion of what really goes on.

869 Despite a child's awe of these meetings of the yam cult, he
• 796 senses the excitement which prevails in the whole subtribe before a ceremony takes place and eagerly looks forward to the time when he will be old enough to attend them. He hears his father, *uncles*, and *older brothers* talk excitedly about the coming event, he sees them carefully paint their faces, comb their hair, don their best ornaments, and depart for the house tamberan. Then he hears the rhythmic harmonies of the gong orchestra, the high-pitched shouting of the singers, and the weird and plaintive flute melodies. These thrilling sounds burst out sporadically during the whole day, increase in tempo and intensity as night falls, and continue unabated as long as he stays awake. Stimulated by these events, [859] Kwoma boys make toy gongs from bamboo nodes and try to imitate the gong rhythms; they hum mimicries of the ceremonial songs; and they form miniature groups to practice the shuffling dance steps. Since they are not supposed to know these things, they do them in their forest playhouse or at times when there are no adults present.

869 Parents and older siblings also warn a child not to trespass
789 in another person's garden lest he break out with boils. They

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882 eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and
794 flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming
533 initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

882
796 On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tam-
794 beran gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the
796 boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event.
534 He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the pre-
302 scribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[28] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[28] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their coöperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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224 [859] strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 262 [826] If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply. He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 703 237 223 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the lack of interest in small game. A man may expend considerable effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 593 885 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of both sexes. The technique which they master during adolescence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

[439] [476] [496]

226 462 [591] [433] [487] An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet. The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 462 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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protectors. With regard to these affairs the Kwoma take the attitude that they are discreditable only if discovered. Every man knows that his wife is probably unfaithful to him, but unless he is extremely jealous he does not spy on her and punishes her only if she is indiscreet enough to be conspicuous. 837

There are two occasions of ceremonial sexual license. One occurs during the yam-cult ceremonies. As described in the previous chapter, the yam cult is divided into two sections, *Y'enama* and *Minjama*, and every Kwoma male is initiated into one or the other of these sections at pubescence. When the cult holds a ceremony, the *Y'enama* dance on the first day and night, and the *Minjama* on the second. On the afternoon of the first day, the married women of the tribe dance in the clearing on one side of the house tamberan. They bring with them net bags which are decorated on one side only. These they hold above their heads as they dance with the decoration either toward them or away from them, depending on whether their husband belongs to *Y'enama* or *Minjama*, and the men note the information thus given. Taking advantage of the fact that all the *Y'enama* men will be at the house tamberan that night, the *Minjama* visit their wives. The *Y'enama* have a chance to retaliate on the following night when the *Minjama* men are dancing. The second occasion for ceremonial sexual license occurs during one of the nights of the age-grade initiation ceremonies when the men and women dance together at the house tamberan. During the dance, the women slip tokens to the men of their choice as a sign that they are willing to have intercourse with them, and the couples unobtrusively drop out of the dance and repair to the bush. For several days before and after these occasions of license, salacious jokes and sly boasting are rife. The taboo on sexual relations between relatives operates with respect to all extramarital affairs. 794 796 786 [835]

When a man has children, daughters appear as a new interdicted category of women. The following myth represents the Kwoma horror of such a relationship and the intensity of guilt associated with breaking this incest taboo. 835

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591 and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work
342 for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually
476 slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the cen-
[351] tral post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young
married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a
[593] site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and
share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since
the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man
usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime.
[888] Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapi-
dated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of
their sons.

885 Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma
781 adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adoles-
[224] cence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous
animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt
them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the
warnings issued during the previous periods of his life con-
cerning *marsalai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

885 As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *mar-*
156 *salai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains
794 enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he
796 shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at
554 one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong
beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows prom-
ise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked
to join the other section of the yam cult.[24] If he does so, the
initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into
the house tamberan at adolescence. He learns definitely at
this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, dif-
fering only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia.
Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both
of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the
marsalai, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and
feasting.

[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

372 brittle wood, dead and somewhat wormeaten. They break the wood in length varying from two to four feet and place it on the ground radially from a center. The fire burns only at the end of the logs with practically no flame or smoke, but with intense heat. As the logs burn, they are pushed toward the center of the fire. I can't decide whether it is the type of wood or the arrangement of it that produces such a fire.

114 I put some potatoes in the oven to bake and then some time later asked Kumb where the pigeon was. He had shot one the night before, and I had mentioned that I was going to roast it. He had thought I was kidding evidently, for it was already in his pot over the open fire. This was somewhat disconcerting, but as it turned out to be very tasty--probably more so than my attempt would have been--he couldn't but be forgiven. Kumb is a good cook. Since it was very hot after lunch, Tip and I both lay down, read, and dozed.

796 Today was the first day of the "singsing". Before we had finished breakfast, the gongs began beating. Soon after we finished eating and had treated the sores of a couple of youths that had come in, we started off to observe the ceremony. We were accompanied by Kar and Kumb who volunteered to show us the way. They led us down the north side of the mountain almost [123]

346 to the edge of the sago plain--about a mile from our house. When we arrived, a couple of the "finish timers" came out and escorted us into the house tamberan.

The roof is arched; the ridgepole slants from the back to the front, where an extension overhangs the front of the building. The roof form is the same as the Purari delta type, but the building is not on piles. In the center of the house tamberan was an altar formed from a pile of yams and taro enclosed in a diamond-shaped kind of wicker basket. It was

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole alter was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "singsing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer, or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the alter and shown each of the figures,

796
532 and told to whom they belonged. The two large ones belonged respectively
[123] to the "tultul" and the "lulusi" (pidgin for the native government repre
sentative and the village head man). We exclaimed over them and told them
they were "number one".

796 While we were being shown the figures a dance was in progress around
535 the alter. About half of the natives there were shambling around it,
[533] sometimes stepping from side to side in time to the beating of the gongs
[534] and sometimes merely walking, depending on whether or not the spirit moved
them. Sometimes everyone would be dancing; at all times at least two
of them were. The step was a sort of springy goose step, the beat emphasized
with a pause by the down-treading on one foot with the other in the air.
The raised foot was sometimes brought across in front of the other one, and
sometimes behind. In either case, the toes were pointed outward, and the
raised foot scraped along the ground. Coincident with the stepping, the
[415] body was twisted from side to side, particularly the shoulders. Practically
[276] all of the men held their betel gourds under their left arms and were
constantly dipping the spatulas in and sucking on them. Occasionally one
of the dancers would pick up a net bag (empty except for a withe inserted
around its edge to make it stiff and feelike), hold it above his head
either in one or both hands, and twist it back and forth in harmony with
the contortions of his body. The dancers would drop in and out of the dance
at will, have a rest, smoke, take their turn at beating the gongs, and then
return.

796 For clothes, the older men wore nothing except arm and leg bands
291 (and not all of them wore these); necklaces of dogs' teeth; shell; hair
301 ornaments of feathers and combs; or a combination of these. Most of the
"finish timers" wore laplaps or shorts; one of them wore a laplap over his

796 usual costume of an old bathing suit. The faces of practically all of
291 them were smeared with black paint, particularly on their eyebrows, and in
301 lines on their forehead. On some a narrow line of black was drawn along
[302] the hairline, framing the face.

796 In time to the dancing and the beating of the gongs, a chant was sung.
533 One of the dancers would start a short verse sung in a high monotone. It was spoken very rapidly, and I could not take it down very well. One verse sounded like ranyuliyuliyuliyuliyo. At the end of the verse everyone shouted in chorus wuyo or suyo, with a prolongation and accent on the first syllable. It was shouted on a lower note than the verse; the second syllable was even lower than the first. After two or three verses, there was a longer chorus which started with suyo sung twice, followed by a sort of chant of wahowaho, dadohoho, or hahohowo that was sung on a higher note than those with the vowel "o". After this longer chorus, they would lapse into silence for a moment, and the gongs would stop beating; but usually after only a few seconds, someone would start another song. After one person had started a verse, the others would join in. Some people were dancing almost constantly, more fervently than others; everyone, however, participated at some time.

796 There were six large gongs (logs) ranging from about eight feet long
534 and two feet in diameter, to half that size, lying around the sides of the house. The logs had been hollowed out in roughly the same manner as a canoe although the shell was much thicker, and usually only one end was pointed and carved. The slit on top was about six inches wide and about
[532] three quarters the length of the log. The carving was a rough representation of a crocodile. The beaters were round pieces of wood about a foot long

796 and four inches in diameter. They were not ornamented. The usual method
534 of beating the gong was to stand at right angles to it, the right side of the body next to the gong, a beater held in either hand. The gong was pounded near, but on either side of the slit, the beater striking endwise. This method was, however, by no means universal, for sometimes the drummer would stand facing the gong, or sit on it and idly tap with the side of the beater. The most usual and accepted method was the former; the latter the most informal. There were also several intermediate methods.

796 The rhythm consisted of accented beats and unaccented beats in alter-
533 nation. At each gong one of the drummers would pound out the accented, another the unaccented beats. Further, each gong would produce the rhythm of one accented and three unaccented beats. These beats were alternated among the gongs so that the accented beat of one gong would fall on the middle unaccented beat of another gong. Thus -/---/---/--- and ---/---/---/ would result in -/-/-/-/, (total effect). The rhythm of the gongs was more or less followed by the singers and dancers. This rhythm was not the only one employed, and Tip says that even it is not right. That is something we will have to check up on.

796 We stayed there and observed until just before noon. The dancing
123 and singing had been continuous until this time and then the dancers stopped for something to eat. We all went out into the small clearing in front of the house tamberan. In front of us was a line of coconut trees and beyond that a short drop, and then the sago swamp. On our left was a path
349 coming down the mountain, and on the right, jungle growth. In the left hand corner of the clearing and on the further side from where we stood another construction had been built. It was a representation of a ship with a mast, laddered rattlins, and crabclaw sails represented by two

349 [179] coconut fronds, standing up. They claimed that this was an innovation brought in by the "finish timers"; perhaps it has replaced some other element in their culture. It is interesting to note that Bateson took a picture, printed in Oceania, which is very reminiscent of this.

123 262 We first were given a coconut, the milk of which we drank. The natives were eating sago, pig, and roast sago grubs. After a while it was suggested that if we wanted to eat "food belong kanaka" we could. They did it in a way so that we could have refused had we wished, but seemed as though they would be flattered if we accepted. I remember reading several accounts of similar situations described by ethnographers and travellers where they had eaten some outlandish food, as they said, to avoid insulting the natives. I feel that if we had refused, they might have been mildly hurt, but not insulted. The sago was handed to us wrapped in a leaf--a gelatinous globule. It was absolutely tasteless, and I did not find it very pleasant. I don't think Tip did either. Neither of us finished our helping, but gave them to some of the natives who were glad to finish them for us. The roast grubs were really quite good, but despite myself, I was a bit disgusted--not so much, however, that I didn't get down a goodly number of them.

796 123 After dinner the dancing recommenced as before, and shortly thereafter we were told to leave. We were each given a coconut and a yam as a parting gift, told that the singsing would continue all night, but that it was taboo to us. [417] The next day someone was going to build a screen across the front of the [346] house tamberan so that the women, and uninitiated children who would come into the [398] front courtcould not see the sacred altar.

796 123 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply [797] a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has [91] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European [39] clothes. She seems to have quite alot of natural dignity. [177]

126 194 We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising. We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɨ, o, u and ɛ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ər. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvCV. 126 193 Length and stress seem to vary together. We have recorded the names of the various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ma is the imperative particle, nagə expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

123 Toward evening about a dozen of the natives had gathered around our
526 house and we went out to talk to them. Soon we were idly tossing stones.
They threw by stiffly rocking their whole bodies back and holding their
wrists stiff. They did bend their elbows, however. None of them could
throw as far as either Tip or I, but their accuracy at short distances was
amazing. Approximately every other shot would hit a small sapling about
twenty yards away.

114 While Tip and I were playing cribbage just before supper, it began to
132 rain-- a downpour with quite a strong wind. The house began to leak in
various unsuspected places, particularly right over my head, where it came
through with a gush and startled me. The storm lasted about half an hour when
the wind shifted and the rain stopped. The wind is very peculiar here. It
will blow up very strongly for about a minute and then will drop to almost
an absolute calm for another minute.

796 Yesterday was supposed to be the second day of the singsing, but in the
764 morning Mar came to tell us that it had been postponed because someone had
died the night before. He was a young man who had been sick for quite a while.
We did not think it wise to be too inquisitive, but found out that he had not been
buried, but "hung up". The singsing began again today however.

796 During breakfast we heard the gongs and chanting start, so we ate
[114] quickly and started down the hill. By this time the drumming and singing had
stopped.

796 When we reached the house tamberan, several of the natives greeted us
346 and shook our hands. Everyone talked with a hushed voice, explaining to us that
778 the singsing had not yet begun. We were led up to the altar which had been
[123] rearranged since the previous day of the singsing. It was in the shape of an
inverted truncated cone about four feet high constructed from net bags stretched

796 around a framework. At the front and back ends, tilting toward the center,
346 were two huge masks, about four feet long and a foot wide. They were
708 beautifully carved and painted in black, white , red, and green. At the
[532] top of each mask was fastened what looked like feather work, a semblance of
[237] hair. Capping this were plumes similar to those worn by the dancers themselves.
The mask near the front was called <u>seambwaré</u>, and belonged to Waskuk (an old man of Waskuk actually owned it); the one at the rear was called <u>abémakwa</u> and belonged to Bangua (actually to the cicatriser). The space between the masks on the top of the altar was covered with shell ornaments. A pumpkin seed shaped ornament of small cowrie shells fastened in rows on a woven or closely netted fabric was called <u>sawémaré</u>. Another was similarly constructed, but shaped as a crocodile, with two larger shells for eyes, and called <u>no maski</u> (no means crocodile). Plumes, cockatoo, pigeon, etc, were set in various
[535] places in addition to bit of yellow grass hung in bunches. Some of the dancers also wore this same yellow grass stuck into their arm and leg bands.

796 The front of the house tamberan had been hidden from view by a 6½' screen.
346 While it prevented the women and children from seeing the sacred precincts,
417 the men could and did stand up on the framework of the screen to look out onto the other side. The women and children were not to come until the next day, but some of the men, at least one anyway, were on the women's side. We did not dare look over the screen for fear of breaking some taboo.

796 After a few minutes, we were escorted to some seats (planks that had been
533 hewn from 2' x 6' x 8" logs, and roughly carved), and told that the singsing
[123] would begin soon. Some of the natives began to walk slowly and silently around
[352] the altar while the "luluai" of Bangua, (one of the Kwoma hamlets) Sowinambi, began a verse in a high voice which ended in a prolonged <u>o</u> on the same note and fell off to a <u>wi</u> with shorter duration, on a lower note. This verse was answered from the other side of the screen in exactly the same manner, but with different words to the verse.

796 Finally everyone joined in and the o wi was repeated three times. After about
533 ten more minutes of this, the tempo increased and a wierd rumbling sound was
534 made by the beaters of the drums being scraped inside the lips of the gongs.
Then the dancers picked up flutes and blew them, and bull roarers were whirred
just outside the house tamberan. One man made a wierd sound by blowing a flute
inside one of the gongs. All these various sounds gradually increased in
intensity to produce a very effective climax which was capped by the sudden
beating of the gongs and a shuffling dance and chorus similar to the previous
session of the singsing. The verses were still being sung in alternation by
[177] the lulusi and the people on the opposite side of the screen. It was interesting
that one of the dancers had a ten cent store tin flute which he piped very
seriously while dancing and skipping about. Several of the dancers held their
hands above their heads and kept facing one or another of the masks and gazing
at it very intently.

123 During the dancing one of the "savvy talks" came and sat by us, told us not
796 to tell the "kiap" (Verey) where the three Waskuks who had run away from a
648 plantation were hiding. Verey had tried to get them when he came up with us, but
they 'went bush' and stayed there. I suppose some of them were at the singsing
and were afraid of being told on. We assured the "savvy talk" that we would not
give them away. We told him that we did not belong to the government but that
we belonged to the Waskuk. Tip said he was a Bangus and that I was a Waskuk.* This
pleased them very much and soon it was repeated to everyone.

796 Again, as for the previous ceremony, at about noontime they stopped for
264 food. There were two separate meals; one was of yams and coconuts, and the
262 other sago, grubs and pig. There seemed to be some kind of taboo working which
prevented some people from eating one meal and others the second. Some people,

* It is difficult to guess what was understood by this since Bangus was a neighboring hamlet in contrast to Rumbina, the one in which we lived, whereas Waskuk was the name of the tribe; we were under the impression at this time that Bangus was the name of another tribe.

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
123 the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[177] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
859 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amusement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

114 stationed at Ambunti) were very gracious to us. We relaxed, talked, played cards, and read. Tip went back Monday, but Max persuaded me to stay at the station until the sores on my legs were cleared up. I had gathered quite a number of these by scratching mosquito bites until they became infected. The sores were not bad, but Max was afraid that they might turn into tropical ulcers if they were not attended to. By Thursday I was completely cured and already had my luggage packed in the canoe when the gongs began beating at Malu, a couple of miles down the river, announcing a pinnace. I decided to wait in case there might be more mail. It was Townsend, the District Officer in charge of the whole Sepik area making a patrol of the sub-stations. Soon after he arrived another pinnace arrived. It was bringing Purshouse, a cadet who was to accompany Townsend up the river to the Yellow River station. Counting McKechnay, the engineer of Townsend's pinnace, that made six Europeans at the station--quite a remarkable occurrence. Max and George had to combine resources to seat us all that night for dinner. The mail situation was disappointing--only three Sydney papers and the September issue of the Pacific Island Monthly. I got a ride on the pinnace up to the lake below Waskuk. They towed my canoe; it was a much more comfortable mode of travel. Once, however, the pinnace turned suddenly to avoid a log, and the canoe filled with water and almost swamped. I held it up by the tow rope while the natives bailed it out. My luggage, however was soaked, but there was no serious damage.

796 November 9, 1936. Tip was in good health when I returned. There had been a 346 singsing while I was gone to celebrate the building of a new house tamberan. 346 (I will copy his notes) " The new house tamberan belongs to Soniyambi of the yuvimbeyi sib at Bangwa. It may be said to start when the i'nik' center posts (kwatf) and beams and rafters are cut and stripped of their

346 bark at the foot of the mountain months before the final ceremony. Sago fronds are next cut and made up into 3' square shingles (ndup), which are stacked in piles around the clearing. The task of cutting and carrying [483] the materials is no small one. Many men are needed to lift and set the center posts in place. Some men push with forked sticks, others hold the pole in the hole dug to receive it, and another crew pulls on lines (wankí) fastened high up on the pole. The new house tamberan replaces an older and smaller one which stands stripped of its maratta inside the new one. The staging will stand until the ornamentation of the ends of beams has been finished.

796 346 "The day for the ceremony of dedication draws closer. It is finally set for the next day. The uninitiated boys sing and dance in anticipation, [202] for they will be allowed to go. The night before the maratta is to be fastened for good, gongs sound, giving official word to what everyone [533] seems to know already. In the morning the young men will fix the maratta [192] to the refrain of a hogwaswit (A leader sings a sentence and the workers answer with a long drawn out and falling owi.)

"As I approach, the young men are discovered perched like birds on the ridge pole. The hogwaswit reaches the coda. After singing three lines all together, the work is, for the time being, finished. I am told that this is a distinctly different singsing from the one we witnessed at the harvest [462] of the yams. Women are not present as the fastening is going on, but it [614] isn't taboo to them--merely men's work. All the sibs of Waskuk and Bangus are represented and seem to mix indiscriminately. The Waskuk lulunai, Marak is seated with a group of men in a little temporary house tamberan which houses the gongs. They tell me he is "cross" with the young Waskuk for joining the singsing so he starts one of his own with gongs in opposition.

796 346 [192] This is a 'singsing nothing' (hongwaiiw). It seems to be a ceremonial anger, for in a very few minutes I am told "he no got cross now", but the singsing keeps on in two groups, both singing different songs.

"Sowinambi comes up to me, taps his chest, and says, 'enji korumpé' (my sib). There are two hand prints on the first kwatí as high as a man can reach. These were made by Sowinambi who put black paint on his hands and left his prints, right and left--one hand for Waskuk, one for Bangus. [177] (This is an innovation introduced by finish-timers who have signed contracts with their fingerprints.)

"In the center of the new structure there are three wooden slat beds. Around one are gathered a half a dozen men who are holding a small ritual. There are three men who stand out as leaders: War, Sowinambi, and Hogwat, [537] representing the Rumbima, Wenyebankura, and Duwus sibs respectively. Each of these three takes a turn and sing-speaks as fast as he can until he forgets, or gets tongue-tied, or stops. War and Hogwat throw themselves [535] into it more than Sowinambi who stands quietly. The former two dance and [533] sway and gesticulate as they lead. The others and a few sitting close by on logs sing the awi chorus. In the midst of this some of the 'finish timers' and older men are indulging in a little rough horseplay consisting of sprinkling lime over the singlets or bare chests of each other. Old wrinkled 'leathernack' greets a middle aged man whom he sees sitting on a log, by approaching him and rubbing his limegourd on the other's jaw. The gesture is returned. Men are sitting in the house tamberan on sticks or logs because the ground is still soft and muddy. It has not been packed down by many feet as in the older house tamberans.

"At about two P.M. the sun breaks through the heavy fog which has held through the morning. Sowinambi passes the word for food to be brought.

796 346 [262] [562] A few women, one of them Sowinambi's mother, come bringing bags full of pots and coconut shell dishes and parcels of boiled sago, which the women have made, but will not eat. The old woman digs holes with a stick into which the men set their round bottomed pots. Another keeps flies from the sago and roast pig which have been laid out on large pieces of bark. Sowinambi has supplied the food which the women bring. He takes the first barkload and puts it down in the center of the clearing. There are two courses - - (1) boiled yam and coconuts and boiled red berries, and (2)hot water"sac sac" and roast pig. Other men then assist in carrying over the food. The food is arranged in groups of four or five barkloads each. Each group is set apart for a particular sib. Many men take part in the division, giving advice and carrying, but Sowinambi directs. When the division is finished, the men and 'monkis' gather about the dishes by sibs and start to eat. An odor reminiscent of Gloucester seeps about. Sowinambi sits beside me at the fire.

796 264 [362] [614] [231] He is not eating. There are low stuffy murmurs of conversation broken frequently by the yelps of hungry dogs who have received cracks over the backsides with the handle of an axe or a good kick. The handful of women linger at the edge of the clearing stuffing their baskets with the utensils used for the first course of yams and red berries. This course is finished in not more than five minutes. Men carry the bark scallops to the edge of the clearing where crumbs are dumped out. Food which remains is bound up in larger or smaller parcels of banana leaf to be taken home when the singsing is finished.

796 346 [562] [251] "The men return to the 'singing' and gong beating for the rest of the afternoon. At sundown the women and children arrive. They all go in the house tamberan--women along the side, men in the center. Singing and dancing keeps up all night. At about eight A.M. a party of the leaders

796 346 comes by going home to sleep. This day is for rest. Tomorrow the singsing will go on to its conclusion."

The "singsing" did not go on, however. It was postponed because one of 755 754 the Bengus men was very sick, and all attention was turned to beating the [796] gongs against poison. This was going on when I returned along with a lot of talk about the evils of poison, and not knowing what the place was coming to with so much of it being practiced. Two men have died within [123] a month, and now another one from the same sib is about to go. Tip went to look at this man before we went to Ambunti and gave him some quinine. The [753] next day he was better, and we thought he was cured. It seems, however, that the natives are so sure that he is poisoned that they are turning their attention to it rather than asking for more medicine.

[752] The poison situation was further aggravated by the fact that two days ago a young "monki" from Waskuk was cutting wood with his father and a tree fell on him and crushed his skull. He is still alive, but there is no hope for him. The natives recognize this as an accident, but now the Waskuk gongs are beating against poison. We have had no direct evidence that we [123] are considered responsible for the bad luck that seems to have hit the tribe, but it would be peculiar if some did not think that we were the cause of it. They always deny this if directly questioned. Last night Kum told Wis not to allow any old men into his house or he might be poisoned. This is all a very interesting situation, and when we know the language a little better, we can understand more about it.

114 November 10, 1936. Yesterday afternoon we were sitting out in front of our [372] house with a group of natives. [We have fixed up a small courtyard there and built a little fire in the center of it, for this seems to be an essential part of a native gathering. They use it to dry their tobacco and light their cigarettes.]

126 and the men are averse to having pictures taken of their more esoteric ceremonies. Some of the women had a "cross" on with me a while ago for taking a lot of photos of their trading with Yambon. They seem to have a sense of shame at their nakedness.

Developing our negatives is a risky business. By rising before six we can usually get our solutions to 70°F. But once we start to develop, we are at the mercy of the weather. If a mist sets in, it is likely to last all morning so that is takes an entire day for the negatives to dry as they should.

(Again Tip).

796 December 17th, 1936./The nokwi sugwi which we attended a week ago today was a banner occasion. We had heard it called, in pidgin, "singsing bilong meri", so we were ready for anything up to ceremonial rape. The morning was cold and rainy and only a few men were at the house tamberan beating the huge gong. We had arranged to go down to Abagalis with War, but we had [302] to wait about half an hour while he 'dressed'. This consisted of smearing [301] his body with a sticky oil, drawing a black band with charcoal around the hair line of his face, carefully painting his face with ochre powder, putting on broad shell-washer arm bands and a tiny rope of shells across the forehead, and finally sticking a bird of paradise 'duster' in his hair.

During this process we talked with War's brothers who are "finish-timers" of our age. These lads are still too young to go to this ceremony. What the qualifications are we do not know, but have an idea that the members [417] fulfill the homicide qualification. When we arrived at Abagalis we found that a high fence of sago fronds had been erected around the clearing at the north end of the house tamberan. Near the center was a 10' x 3' pit [534] dug in the ground and half filled with water. In the water suspended by both ends was what we will call a water gong. It is made of the good

796 [534] sized trunk of a tree hollowed out and open at both ends. It is hung bottom up in the water and struck with a long heavy post wielded by two men.

The outline of another similar pit which has been filled in was seen beside the one now in use. This I was told had leaked badly. The new one has to be filled from any of several bamboo containers stuck under the 'banif' quite often.

[346] [778] In the house tamberan there is the same altar set up in the center with a small amount of shell money, two stubby bamboo flutes, and a wooden [538] [532] trumpet on top. Above it rises a 3' carved wooden figure of a woman. This [614] is the woman for whom the ceremony is held. There is also a secondary figure under the water drum less important than the one on the altar. These two are sugiliwas of the tug sib (Bangus).

Between 30 and 40 men are present when we arrive in the early afternoon. [535] [533] [534] They are singing and half-walking, half-dancing around the water gong counter-clockwise. The gong keeps up a steady boom-boom-boom with few interruptions even when new beaters relieve those who are tired. The men drop out from time to time to smoke or to chat so that no more than half are dancing while we are there. Later on in the evening we are told this is not so; everyone is dancing almost continuously. But the sun was hot and there were still many men to come so it was being taken easily. Men from all of the Hongwum sibs are present and also a few men of Koriasi and [703] [178] [554] Koriasi Tangvishamp. Only four of these were "eavi talks". These four, however, were the regalia of a homicide which seems to point to the fact that killing for prestige still goes on in spite of government prohibitions. [726] These men may have won their letter in the prearranged fight with a small hamlet of Koriasi about three years ago. Six of the latter, four of them women and children, were killed then. (We haven't got this story straight yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

000 yet for we have only recently stumbled on it).

796 While John was joining in and trying to learn the dance step and songs
123 (which amused but did not anger the men) I sat in the house tamberan with
534 the older men and those not dancing and tried my skill with the wooden
trumpets. These are blown sporadically as are the flutes, and as the
[177] ordinary gongs are beaten. The trumpets have an interesting history. They
were captured from men from Avatip (on the Sepik below Malu) by the
grandfathers of the present older generation. They are finely carved wooden
cornucopias with a crocodile head motif at the closed end. The lip-piece
is on the side. I blew it quite easily the first time, but the men seem
[614] to make very hard work of it. The trumpets are now in the custody of
Kumbime sib.

796 In the late afternoon the men began to drop out to ornament themselves
in earnest. One man joined the dance with a man-killing spear, and the
[123] others increased the tempo. At about this time we began to get the feeling
that we were not wanted much longer, so when a couple of the men picked up
the two brace of yams and coconuts which had been given us, we took the hint
and headed for home.

128 These bare outlines of what we are doing and finding are becoming less
and less satisfactory. We know that it's the details that interest the
anthropologist, but to record all of same in this would be too long a task.
So we will skip over many of our notes on the last ceremony and become
796 impressionistic. At these ceremonies which we have seen so far, there
[171] has been nothing to compare with the amounts of food assembled for
Melanesian and Polynesian feasts. Everyone has a good meal and perhaps
a little left over, but one pig is made to go a long way. Another thing
which has struck us is the monotony of their singsings. There seems to be

796 keen enjoyment but no abandon--in what we have seen. We can see how the steady hour-long sound and movement would prepare the group to go out and spear a few of the out-group; we could feel a little of this ourselves.

796 123 We were told repeatedly that what we had seen at this ceremony was to be kept to ourselves; we were not to tell our house-monkis or any men who were not initiates. Of course women could not be told either. The younger boys were much impressed by our attendance. They were amused but a little shocked when John told them that the noise of the big gong was only a bullamukay. The savi talks however thought this a good explanation.

796 123 183 My 'monki', Gwiyap, also reminded me that I couldn't say anything about the affair to a non-initiate, for the knowledge alone is supposed to cause sickness and death; and then proceeded to outline the whole ceremony for me! He said that when his father was near death, he had told him all about this and other ceremonies and had told him that there was nothing to fear; men, not spirits, ruled this singsing. Another crack in the 'cake of custom'.

114 Our boy, Mar (see Dec. 9, 1936), is now well on the road to recovery. The snake has been 'raused' from his belly he believes, and his strength is slowly returning. He is very much quieter than when we first knew him, although he may be merely making the most of his convalescence to avoid work. We have taken on another lad from Yambon in the meantime, so we will not have to lose our tempers in order to have a good supply of firewood and water.

657 179 Max Mann, our good friend the young Medical Assistant of Ambunti, came here on the annual medical patrol on the 12th. This was a welcome break for us and for him too. He is not underworked by any means, having about 100 in his "house sick" to look out for and many patrols to make as well. His visit stirred up the people here as it always does, but after waiting

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwom
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Hayemakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by speering, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[95?] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

Gongs

534 [796] [202] 534 322 [412] [192] Gongs, used particularly at the yam cult ceremonies, are also used for calling people and signaling. Any given person may be called on the gongs by beating the signal of his father's sib followed by that of his mother.

In making a gong, the figure head is worked first and then the body is shaped. Very little wood is taken off as a large gong is desirable. The center is chipped out with a long handled chisel (yonkwo) and the sides scraped down with a scraper (asf). The scraper is worked by two men. One standing who pulls the scraper up and down, while the other stoops holding the scraper tight against the wood. While this is being done, the gong is sounded every once in a while to determine the thickness of the planking.

533 [192] Gong rhythms (ka represents left hand intermediate beat; gadgag represents low gong; gadgag represents middle gong; gading represents high gong.)

nokwo ?af

ka danga ka danga

donga donga danga gading

donga donga danga gading

dong gadong gading gadang

dong gadong gading gadang

nawrdnjo

gadang gadong gading

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (sawfud) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 Shells , yesi (small cowrie shells) and asfmangfrf (larger ones), obtained
[583] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[439] function as money.
[436]

The figure below , an ornament called nd mayfkf (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net bag.

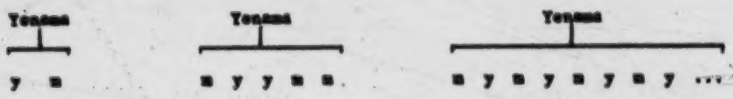
[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (amfngurf), shell ornaments (wanyivf) ,
yesi , asamangfrf and lofu wafi (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia.
The long tail feathers of the bird of paradise (mano) are the most highly prised for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouria pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the mapo.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (afo fokw) is attached
237

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mind suqwiyi (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yenama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

796 Three of four of the natives followed up the hill, carrying the coconut
123 and yams for us. When they got to the top they begged us for some red paint, so we gave them a half-full tobacco tin, and they returned to the singsing. The drumming and singing continued all afternoon and at least as long as we were awake that evening. It was quite effective while we were lying in bed listening to it.

October 16,1936

123 Yesterday Wisep went to Yambon (a Sepik river village) and returned with three ducks to supply
[797] a few eggs for us. He also brought back his wife and child. The wife has
[191] spent some time at a mission somewhere, speaks pidgin and wears European clothes. She
[391] seems to have quite alot of natural dignity.
[177]

We worked on language both yesterday and today, correcting and revising.
126 We have a workable set of phonemes which are by no means final, but which seem
194 to coincide with the evidence that we have. For vowels we have found i, e, ɨ, o, u and ɛ̈ . Consonants b, d, g, (lenis and unaspirated) m, n, v (bilabial) s, š , y, j, l and ar. The unvoiced complements of some of these are found in whispered syllables; quite a few of these syllables are found in the final position. The general structure of the language seems to be cvcvcvcv.
126 Length and stress seem to very together. We have recorded the names of the
193 various parts of the body, and quite a few everyday objects; a few of the more common verbs and some of their variant forms. The word order seems to be noun-adjective-verb. There are singular, plural, and dual pronomial forms which vary when used subjectively or objectively. Subject precedes object. Ha is the imperative particle, sasa expresses negation. We have not been able to make much sense out of tenses yet.

114 Yesterday the houseboys dug a garden and we planted some sweetcorn, watermelon, beets and lettuce. Let's hope it comes up.

754 May and War came back from Sowinambi's reporting that his wife was sicker than ever, that nothing had happened except that Tongwishamp did not come up to talk at the meetings and so were suspected.

Rwel and Kis stopped in and sat on my porch. I overheard them talking. Kis said his sore was due to poison, and he was sambo to all men now--the present company and his own brothers (only) excepted. Even Wof and Marok were under suspicion, and he was taboo to them also.

797 I came out and Rwel and Kis began talking about missions saying that they betrayed the house tamberan by showing figures (sugilewas) to the women, and if the mission ever came to Hongwon, they would take their women and leave.

114 Mar and Mas had come back at noon. They had not slept at the station but at Mas' house. They brought butter, flour, four tins of meat, four of vegetables, no sugar or tobacco, or any news of Bob Overall.

123 685 Yat and Kar came up in the evening, and I began to talk about a tin of meat which had been stolen yesterday afternoon. Suspects: Kis, who was in the bedroom dressing his sore; Wof, who was at the house when I left May in charge yesterday afternoon; and Yat, who had gone by yesterday afternoon, and also because Owiyap saw a tin of meat at his house. Yat did not have much to say, whereas the others harangued about their innocence, saying that they considered tinned meat to be human flesh and would not eat it (which was not true). They said it was not good to eat, and that they would give me all the sago I wanted if I liked it, etc. May first accused Kis, but War exonerated him, saying that he would have seen the tin if Kis had taken it. Wof was called on next, and he came up protesting vigorously. He said he was a big man and would not steal. War and Kar gave good alibis. Yat and Marok said they had gone right by the house to Sombundura and had done back after I had returned.

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534 first beaten to make it pliable. The helpers then tied on the tow line
[483] and jerked it along the path with cries of "oya hip!" pulling on the "hip". The workers often hissed as they worked. Several sticks were cut and used as bars to pry the log over roots, etc. If it were running on the side hill, stakes would be stuck up to keep it from rolling down sideways. Yat, Pwisambi, and War did the most work. The job took about three hours from
[262] when it was finished; the workers were paid with boiled sago and roast
[465] pig which Yat's wife had prepared.

342 February 14, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Marok set up the centre post for
335 an extension of his house. He used the same method to move the post as
[483] with a garamut (gong) except that when level ground was reached, the post was carried on the workers' shoulders. Yat, Kar, Mar., Mas, and Gwiyap helped. Kar was slightly annoyed at the lack of manpower in the sib.

The post was for an extension in his new house. The hole for it had been partly dug already, having been carefully put in line with the ridge-pole by extending a bamboo and sticking another upright against it.
[804] The butt of the pole was shaved down a bit so that its diameter did not vary for the distance it was to be underground, and its diameter was measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around it and breaking it at the point of overlap. The hole was widened with this as measure to allow ample space for the pole. Meanwhile Kar was making the kwats mbouka (the joint between post and ridge-pole). To do this the required length of the post was determined by marking on a bamboo the distance between the bottom of the hole and the extension pole. This was marked off on the post, and it was nicked to mark it. It was then cut with an axe-shaped wedge. The faces of the wedge were then concaved with an adze to make a cradle for the ridge pole. This is to keep the wind from blowing it off.

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[804]

Posts are measured and cut and moved to the building site. To measure the correct length a bamboo is marked by lashing a chip at the desired spot. The diameter of a post is measured by wrapping a bamboo splint around the post and breaking the splint at the point of overlap. The measure is used as a guide in digging the hole. The posts are also measured as they are set to insure a level ridgepole.

The figure on the preceding page shows the frame of a house, the center posts and half of the roof, and gives definitions for the labels. Following is the procedure used in construction the frame and house.

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1. Two nǭndź kwatź (b) (subsidiary central posts) are first set. The central posts (wǭndź kwat) stand at each end of the enclosed part of the house.
2. Tafź tompź (c) (side posts) are set.
3. Akź fayź (d) (plate) set.
4. A staging of log lashed from the tafź tompź (c) (sideposts) to the akź fayź (d) (plate) and lengthwise logs lashed on this. (For the house tamberan, a very elaborate staging is built-- subsidiary rafters are lashed to a temporary ridgepole up two-thirds way to the nǭndź kwatź (b) (subdisiary central posts).)
5. Akź towź (f) (ridgepole) lifted up and lashed. The main ridgepole extends only over the main room (skawź). The smaller ridgepole extension (yi tow) extends over the porch.
6. Yayamź (h) (rafters) set and attached. Those on the porch end of the house are slanted forward toward the peak. (see figure below)

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764 Kwoma culture defines the persons who shall dispose of and mourn for the dead. The relatives of the deceased gather to place his body on a platform where it is exposed for several months. Then the members of the subtribe attend a second funeral, for the ceremonial disposal of the bones, and a feast, after which the adult males celebrate the end of the mourning period at the house tamberan with gong, flute, and dance.

765 [534] [535]

571 These, then, are the variously constituted groups and categories of persons as defined by Kwoma culture. They provide the framework into which a child is born and in terms of which he has to learn to act.

114 621 361 614 613 773 The hamlet in which our house was built, and hence the one from which we gathered most of our information, is called Rumbima. It is situated on a mountain ridge near the geographical center of Hongwam subtribe. (See map.) The men of Rumbima claim descent from the giant fish hawk and hence belong to the *Hayamakwo* sib. They divide themselves into two lineages, the larger claiming descent from the culture hero Mangwiyow, and the smaller from Wasahof.

621 613 592 [114] [595] [597] Mangwiyow is reputed to have had five sons, each of whom sired a family line. Our house was built among the dwellings of the living descendants of these five brothers. The oldest living male in the line whose houses were nearest us was named Wof (household 1, family line 2).[18] He dwelt a few yards from our hut with his first wife Kaya, his levirate wife Chinuwa, his adopted son Mey (a nephew), his adopted daughter Buka (a niece), and his stepson Kum (Chinuwa's son by her former husband). Wof is a man of about forty-five[19] whose skin is grey and scaly from tinea. He has the reputation of being a powerful sorcerer.

[154]

621 592 Adjacent to Wof's house is the rather dilapidated dwell-

[18] Households are presented both on the map and on the household chart. Family lines may be found on the lineage chart.

[19] Since the Kwoma had no method of counting years, the ages given are rough approximations based on the physical appearance of the individual and on his estimated age at the time of the tribe's first fleeting contact with Europeans, the members of the Behrmann expedition of 1913. (See W. Behrmann, *Im Stromgebiet des Sepik* [Berlin, 1922].)

[105] [117] [113]

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in shouted choruses while they dance. The men of prestige sing the verses. One man will sing as many verses as he can either remember or compose and then announce that he is through by repeating the chorus, when another man continues. When no one can think of any more verses, the group dances silently until someone starts a new song. The man who can remember the most verses or who is most adept at improvising them gains considerable prestige.

Novices are not permitted to play the flutes during a ceremony, as this requires considerable skill. A pair of those who have learned one of these complicated melodies as a result of long, guided practice at the bush house are called upon to play the flutes when the ceremony calls for them. They stand facing one another each with a flute cradled over the left arm. One plays the big "male" flute, a large bamboo about seven feet long, and the other plays a "female" flute, slightly shorter and of smaller diameter.[27] Since these instruments have no stops and are therefore capable of producing only a few notes, the melodies are arranged so that the two flutes are played in series, thus permitting double the range of variation that would be possible if they were played in unison. This necessitates close coöperation between the two players, which apparently requires a great deal of practice to accomplish, and those who master it are rewarded with high praise.

The man of Rumbima hamlet who had gained most renown in the cult ceremonies was War. He could dance tirelessly though not brilliantly, he could lead a gong chorus, he was a skilled wood carver, and he could compete with anyone in the subtribe in remembering the verses of songs. The other men of Rumbima did not vie much with War, but put him forward as their champion against the high-ranking men of other hamlets. When a ceremony was given at Rumbima, it would be War who would arrange and direct it.

Even after a man has experienced the whole gamut of initiation rites, he still avoids the dwelling places of *marsalai*

[27] The "male" flute is about three inches in diameter; the "female," about two.

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821 796 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

753 755 [796] Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

825 796 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth. 825 796 789 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

Marsalai are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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lowed him. Mey's behavior can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear caused both by my whistling and by the sight of Mar starting to run while he remained; the response was running after Mar; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Had not Mar run away first, Mey might have discovered some other means of reducing his fear, but by imitating Mar he learned to avoid ghosts in the same manner as his older *brother*. Kwoma pupils in a similar manner learn to avoid *marsalai*, to protect themselves from the dangers of sorcery, and to escape the dangers associated with blood. Thus imitation is an important mechanism for the transmission of supernatural beliefs and practices.

Chance as a factor in maintaining supernatural beliefs has long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists.[9] The data from Kwoma tend to support this theory. Storms occur so frequently that it would be extraordinary if one did not occasionally occur after a person has disturbed the dwelling place of a *marsalai*, and this would help to prevent the extinction of the habit of heeding. The following case illustrates this point. Yat had cleared a garden site near a large rock thought to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. When the time came to burn the dried brush and branches, a necessary step in the process of gardening, he expressed some anxiety lest this might anger the *marsalai* which lived in the rock, but nevertheless went ahead with his burning. That night there was a bad storm with a high wind, and Yat took this as proof of his belief that he had indeed angered the supernatural being. Wof, Gwiyap, and Mar all explained the storm in the same way. The next time that there was a bad storm, I said to Gwiyap: "Yat didn't disturb a *marsalai* today. How do you account for the storm?" Gwiyap replied: "Maybe Yat didn't, but someone else did. Probably it was one of those stupid people from Wanyi."

Chance also operates to support warnings about ghosts. Marok and Kar stayed visiting in a part of the tribe some distance from their home until after dark, thus not heeding

[9] See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1928), vol. II, chap. xxi.

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796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their aggressive feelings toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

[554] [562] [586]

121 182 796 • 821 [823] [782] [781] Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to perform certain practices which are thought to control them. In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

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[17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

211 at one side of which there was a stone about thirty inches high and five inches square set on end. There were two chips out of the top of this.

[648] Owiyap, who was with Tip at the time, explained that it was put up by the Germans after they had killed a Waskuk man and woman in retaliation for the spear one of their entourage had received in the leg from the natives. The chips from the stone represented the two deaths and was put there as a reminder of them. The story also goes that the police boys of the Germans cooked and ate the Waskuk woman.

778 The next day on a trip in the other direction he discovered another stone of interest. This was another small monolith about three feet high and eight inches square. It was situated in the clearing of the Soubundura house tamberan in front of the house and on a line with its main axis.

[824] When Tip touched it, Owiyap and others were much aghast. They said that this would cause a big wind to come up. Actually the wind continued to blow that night, but it was calm the following night.

443 Yesterday morning, Nov. 12, Tip went down to the"bung" (pidgin for
439 market place) to watch the Waskuk women trade their sago with the Yambon
443 women for fish, betel nut, and beads - mainly fish. Word had been sent
203 announcing the trading by a mnemonic device consisting of a knotted string -
211 one knot for each day which was to intervene between the reception of the string and the actual trading. The trading was done very expeditiously,... I think I will copy Tip's notes.

[439] "A regular trade is kept up between Yambon and the Waskuk. The particular day on which it will be held is set by the Waskuks. This is communicated to the Yambons by means of something in the nature of a
443 knotted string.....The Waskuk trading place is situated at the end of the

323 February 23,1937. Marok's pots were decorated. I went to Mar's this
531 afternoon and did card tricks for Kwiye and Awa. Their reaction was to
123 close the left hand and clap the other hand over a circle of thumb and fore-
201 finger and bite the lower lip. Chiawa came down afterward--she had the same reaction.

123 A group of older men -- Kwiyamp, Wayakola, Wof, Yat, Marok, and Wer came to my house and sat around outside until about 8:00.

514 When Yat came up he made some scathing remarks about Mar's sister and mother for defecating near the path. Everyone joined in denouncing them.

821 Clouds came up from the South. Yat explained that Kar and Wer must have disturbed the marsalai that lives down there because the storm came from that direction. He had burned his garden by Sombundura today, but that was evidently all right.

587 February 28, 1937. Kuma, Latai's sister, was originally married to
578 Wonuma, Wer's younger brother. Wonuma died. Kuma went to Yelagu and married a man there. Later she left this man and returned to Hayamakwo to fulfill
518 the levirate with Wer. Three days ago she was with Kar and his second wife in his bush house. Wer had set some work for Kuma to do, and when he came that day, he found it was not done. She said that she had seen a ghost and the night before had been knocked out because of it. (She had actually gone through the motions). Kar's wife then spoke up that the trouble was the Kar had been having intercourse with Kuma. At this Wer beat Kuma and gave Kar a tongue lashing. Kar said it was not true. Kuma went home in a huff, packed up all her things, took her daughter and set off for Yelagu. Kar was very upset because he was afraid that she would sorcerise him. He tried to dissuade her, but to no avail. For the last two days Kar has

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821 776 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

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869 795 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

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[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

869 826 206 *Becoming a Kwoma*

Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, [157] or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not [856] bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow [262] up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

869 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, 262 because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adoles- 562 cents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a 252 woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychologi- 869 cal effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have • 823 upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walk- 123 ing through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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had previously experienced for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9–30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

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796 182 121 to be that it provides a means of artistic expression. Cult ceremonies furnish the chief opportunity for singing, dancing, rhythmic gong beating, flute playing, and the manufacture of carved figures. Numerous important integrative functions [554] are also fulfilled by the yam cult. It provides one of the bases for the social stratification of men, differentiating four prestige positions: boys who do not belong to the cult, members of the first stage, members of the second stage, and members of the final stage. The yam cult is closely integrated with head-hunting, in that only those who have taken a head can [562] become members of the highest stage. The yam cult excludes women and thus helps to define their status and to maintain the division of labor by sex. Through such exclusion it provides a socially accepted means for men to express their ag- [786] gressive feelings toward women. It also provides an opportunity for ceremonial license. Finally, the yam cult is associated with agriculture. The cult is thus an important institution, closely integrated into Kwoma culture, and to tamper with its charter by refusing to believe in *marsalai* is something which no pupil or teacher could lightly do.

121 182 796 821 Beliefs in *marsalai*, in addition to forming part of the charter of the yam cult, provide an explanation for cosmic events and a means of controlling them. Bad rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and rainbows[17] are thought to be produced by these monsters. These beliefs permit a Kwoma to • [823] perform certain practices which are thought to control them. [782] In the first place he can avoid disturbing them, and in the second place he can utter an aggressive prayer which he believes [781] will stop the storm or earthquake.[18] Thus, both because beliefs in *marsalai* form an integral part of the yam cult and because they perform other functions as well, Kwoma teachers would be very loath to cease believing in them, even if events made them skeptical of their supposed powers.

[132] [17] Wind storms and earthquakes not infrequently destroy Kwoma dwellings and are thus seriously dangerous.

[18] It is assumed here that any activity in the face of danger is normally more reinforcing than passive acceptance, even though this activity is not effective in averting danger.

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

• 824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbiina hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjapa* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

761 A man of Duwus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of mank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Gwiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Gwiyap's belt by playing with it. Gwiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Gwiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Mamoy came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahek who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Mamoy beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

Cordage manufacture

283 [192] The bark of the nkuisi tree is peeled off in short strips (one to two feet long). These strips are beaten on a stone with a wooden beater (an ordinary stick about two inches in diameter and a foot long). This breaks and loosens the outer shell of the bark and leaves the fibrous inner bark. It is then put in the sun to dry for a few hours. Next it is separated into small fluffy tufts. The tuft is rolled downward on the thigh with the palm of the hand. Another is similarly prepared and the two are rolled down the thigh separately but with the same motion of the hand. The hand is then brought back and the two are rolled together in the opposite direction. During this last movement the hand is twisted so that the index finger rather than the palm effects the twining. Two tufted ends are left over to which new tufted pieces are added and the process is continued.

Twine dyeing

386 824 Twine is dyed by fastening one end of the twine to the big toe and rubbing a raw berry held between thumb and finger back and forth over it. The berried used for dye are from two trees, *kpainffi* and *nowi*, the former producing a dark blue color and the latter an orange red. Men plant [245] the *nowi* trees near their houses by inserting the fruit in the ground with a digging stick. The Germans brought the seeds of this to Ambunti and it [177] was brought to the Boogwem through Yambon. (Yambon is a river tribe). Before [178] this the red dyeing was done with red clay.

286 386 The net bags worn by women and used for carrying are made from twines dyed red and blue, as well as from natural colored twines.

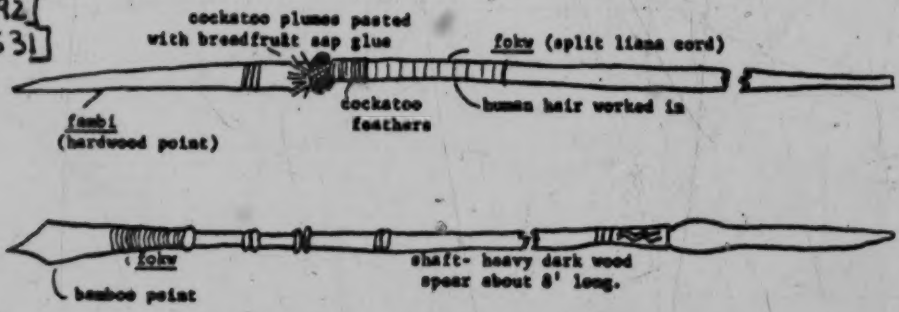
Spears

411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411 322 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. Those made from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[824] [192] [531]



Pottery Manufacture

323 Ochre colored earth is obtained and worked with water with a piece of stick a foot long, one to two inches in diameter, on a sago bark slab. There are numbrous pits in the vicinity where the proper material for pottery can be obtained. When the mixture has been thoroughly pounded, lumps are taken and rolled out into coils with the palm of the hand on another bark slab. The long narrow leaf of the ngola plant (which produces notí, the red berried 1' - 2' cobbwhose seeds are boiled and eaten) is taken and coiled so that it resembles a large raised doughnut. Additional leaves are coiled diagonally and fastened so that the "doughnut" ring keeps its shape. These leaf rings vary in size for small or large pots. Several may be seen about the house. They are called nonguesele.

[824] [192] [262] [192]

When the clay materials are ready, a large leaf or two freshly picked are placed across the coil. Then a rope of clay is taken and put onto the leaves and threaded around the form clockwise. The pots are not flat bottomed but rounded-- like a hemisphere of a coconut shell split lengthwise. As coils are added to build up the side they are pressed down firmly. There is little flare to the side walls.

The inner walls are smoothed with the ulnar side of the second joint of the index finger in a counter-clockwise fashion. The outside is smoothed with the palm of the hand.

When the pots have been completed they are left in the sun to dry for several weeks before firing. To fire a pot, three stones are arranged in a triangle and the pot is propped on these with a stick, on its side. Dry sago spathes are packed around the outside and inside, and then burned. Pots are usually fired inside the house, although they are sometimes moved into the sun. It is thought that one must not speak loudly while pots are being baked, for they may break.

Other containers

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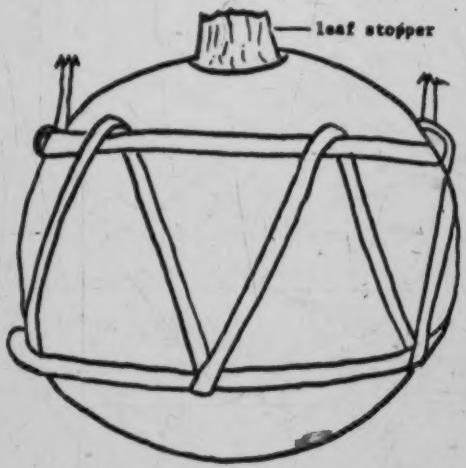
[192]
[824]

To make a lime gourd (weff), the stem of a green gourd is cut; the seeds are chipped out with a bamboo sliver, and shaken out with some of the meat. The gourd is then stuffed with leaves of a bush taro (kwasfabonkf) and filled with water. It is wrapped with breadfruit leaves and cooked for about fifteen minutes. Then it is removed, emptied, and scraped inside and out. Next it is put in the sun to dry. (If the taro leaves are not put inside, the gourd will turn black.)

415
192
[386]

Gourd pot (nafrfmaf)

This particular pot is used for storing the sap of kwer, a hardwood tree, used as a base for black body paint (keyi). A similar cradle is made for a long gourd.



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CHAPTER IV

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 [521] A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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821 776 just as he did as a child. He still believes that rain and wind storms, thunder and lightning, earthquakes, and rainbows are caused by angry *marsalai*.[28] Although he takes care not to walk near the dwelling places of these supernatural beings, he reacts aggressively toward them after they have brought about the annoying natural event. If a storm is brewing, a Kwoma man will customarily repeat an imprecation: "Cursed *marsalai* who is causing this storm to come, may you be killed. May you be bound hand and foot so that you cannot move. May you be stuffed in the bottom of a hollow tree so that you may no longer annoy us with rain and wind."[29] At the end of each line of the imprecation, the cursing man spits toward the oncoming storm.

753 755 [796] Many Kwoma men learn to abstract the unseen sago needles which *marsalai* sometimes shoot into the feet of those who disturb them. The method employed consists of rubbing the painful spot with a leaf and of repeating a malediction which supposedly causes the needle to come near to the surface. The operator then sucks the painful spot, extracts the needle, and spits it on a coconut leaf, which is wrapped up, immersed in water for a time, and then thrown away.

• 825 776 When the clouds of mosquitoes are thicker and hungrier than usual, it is believed to be the work of *marsalai*. A huge supernatural crocodile is supposed to live somewhere in the great swamp below the range on which the Kwoma dwell. Mosquitoes make their home in the belly of this monster and swarm out to pester the Kwoma when he opens his mouth. 825 776 789 When this occurs, or rather when the mosquitoes are so thick that it is believed to have occurred, the men of one or another of the Kwoma hamlets will beat a special rhythm on the house tamberan gongs, a message to this *marsalai*, angrily commanding him to shut his mouth. The men of other ham-

[823] [28] Earthquakes are believed to be caused by a huge *marsalai* when he thrusts his digging stick into the ground as he plants yams. If anyone should approach his swamp dwelling, the Kwoma fear that mountains would be leveled by the terrible quake that would ensue. Rainbows are thought to be caused by another *marsalai* when he spits betel juice through the sky.

[29] The curse is repeated for all the *marsalai* who are suspected in the particular instance.

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lets, when they hear this rhythm, rush to their own house tamberans and repeat the rhythm on their gongs. The *marsalai* must tremble, it is said, when he hears the thunderous command issuing successively from each house tamberan in each of the Kwoma subtribes. Doubtless he hastily shuts his mouth.

A Kwoma male must submit to the hazing of age-grade initiation even after he has reached adulthood. There are four occasions on which he attends this ceremony as an initiate, and, since it takes place only once every five years, there are normally three rites during adulthood when he must permit his *ceremonial father* to slash his tongue and penis. Thus it is not until a man is over thirty that he ceases to be an initiate. On each occasion he advances a degree in prestige and is permitted to wear a certain hair ornament that those of lower grades may not wear. Just as the newly initiated adolescent derogated the uninitiated children, so the adult derogates those in stages below him and struts about wearing his newly acquired headgear.

After a man has passed through the initiation cycle, he takes his turn as an initiator. He adopts a *ceremonial son* whom he sponsors through the cycle. Finally, at the age of fifty or more, after twenty years as an initiate and twenty years as an initiator, he attends the age-grade ceremonies merely as a spectator.

The attitude of an adult man toward ghosts differs little from that of a child. He still reacts to them with a mixture of aggression and avoidance. Kwoma men are quite loath to walk very far from their dwellings after dark, and if they do so they either carry a torch or wear a dagger made from a human thigh bone, both of which are supposed to frighten ghosts and make them keep their distance. In spite of these precautions, men not infrequently encounter what they believe to be ghosts. One evening I heard frightened shouting, then the patter of feet rushing by the house, and finally angry shouts and imprecations from the house tamberan. The next morning I learned that Kar and Marok had stayed late on a visit to another hamlet and had been forced to re-

132 several clear and fresh days and cool nights - wonderful for sleep. And
132 even more important is the fact that the mosquitos are very few. Why this
136 is so we have no idea. There seems to be no rhyme or reason to their
[825] comings and goings. The natives have a belief that they move in a body at this time from the river villages, Yambon, Malu, etc., up to the Hongwum where they stop for a time. Then they visit each of the other Kwoma settlements in turn before moving off to the north.

123 Our gathering of data in the last week has largely been influenced by events in the lives of individuals and ceremonial affairs. Plans for the day's work which we make in the morning often fall by the way before noon. For example, a week ago a small boy who is often about the house came running in to say that Mar, one of the Hongwum youths who fetches water and firewood for us, was dead. We had given him permission to go to his bush house and garden over near Ambunti Mt. two days before, and he had gone off in good spirits. This gave us a jolt. We asked if he were "dead finish". The answer came "no got, dead liklik dasol".

We packed a few medicines and immediately started out with a half dozen of Mar's kin over the same gruelling track which had nearly killed us several weeks ago. When we arrived we found Mar sitting near a fire list-
[753] less and moaning. They all agreed that it was a case of 'poison' because of the suddenness of the attack and because the patient could not 'talk straight'. Even we could notice that he was mouthing his words when we could get him to answer a question. He complained of intestinal pains, but no headache, and his temperature was exactly normal. We thought it best to get him back to his house proper and out of the wet swampy hollow where he was. He protested and did not have the strength to stand on his own feet.
123 We gave him a strong purgative. During this time Wof, his father's elder
755

578 Yevalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumse Sumse. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Owiyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 787 Owiyap and Nas just voiced their disgust at the Yambon because they defecated close to the house. Nar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Owiyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Nas and woke up calling to him.

533 202 825 789 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Owiyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Owiyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasemanj, a sugilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasemanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this naraalai and that Wasemanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasemanj is a sugilawas of the Wanyi people.

Ethnophysiology

826 827 The heart (mesuk) is the seat of life. It controls the breath which comes through the nose or the mouth. If a man's heart is injured, he dies. It is located where the ribs join the sternum in the little soft spot just under the breastbone. It is visible by day in the faint pulsating seen at this point. At night the mesuk moves up to the small depression just below the Adam's apple . It sleeps while the organism does. A person must not be awakened suddenly lest the mesuk have enough time to return to the daytime position. It is supposed to wake itself first; then the person opens his eyes. The mesuk is small in a child and proportionately larger as the man or woman grows. It is strong in a strong man and weak in a weak one. Birds, snakes, and other animals as well as ghosts also [825] [715] have mesuk.

Food goes in at the mouth, down the neck, and into the stomach where it stays for a while. At the time of defecation, it goes down the intestines and out the anus. Water goes directly to the bladder where it stops until time for urination, when it goes down and out the penis. Sperm is said to be produced in the bladder. The testicles are thought to have no function. Lungs are hung up on either side of the stomach but have no connection with the stomach.

Eyes have a small rope but it is not connected with anything. Neither are the holes in nose or ears connected with anything . The holes in the ears just stop.

The veins and arteries (nenawa) are to make the skin strong. They are unconnected and unrelated with the other vital organs. Blood is everywhere inside the skin. The kidneys are to make the back strong, as is the heart which is also for breath.

775
825 Spirit beliefs. Pigs, birds, dogs, opossum, mosquitoes, or anything that walks, flies and breathes, are believed to have ghosts (nambe). Ambe have hearts (nanuk) the same as living men and animals, but in the dead the nanuk is located in the throat as in a sleeping man. Here it keeps on beating.

Ambe go about in this way with all the organs of the human being, but do not eat food.

When a man is out hunting pig at night he may see a ghost. The ambi [763] are cowardly by nature. If they meet a strong man they run away; it is only people who are about to die who are surrounded by them. Men who die violently, as in an intertribal fight, see no ambe before they are killed.

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. [602] [571] Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[2] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [2] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

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826 He is taught that growth depends upon the renewal of blood,
856 and that food produces blood, which promotes growth as long as it is fresh. When blood has been in the system for a time, however, it begins to grow stale and finally rotten, and then growth ceases until the bad blood is removed from the body. It is furthermore believed that the best method of removing this bad blood from the system is through the penis.[20] As might be expected, children with a strong wish to grow up and with a method which they are told will accomplish it, take this means even though it is painful. Boys frequently go into the bushes and scrape their penises with nettle leaves so that the blood may flow out. For some reason that I could not discover, perhaps because penis scraping was associated with masturbation, boys performed this act only in private and were ashamed if they were discovered. One day Gwiyap, seeing that Mey had left his net bag lying in my house, opened it and pulled out a bundle of nettles. When Mey came in, I asked him about the bundle. He became very embarrassed and said, "Oh, just something of mine." When Gwiyap began to tease him about it, he ran from the house.

It would perhaps be more appropriate to describe this complex in terms of the fear of not growing up rather than in terms of the wish to grow up. The following cases suggest that this is probably the way in which Kwoma boys think of it. Fit asked me if I had performed this rite when I was a child, and when I answered that I had not, his mouth dropped
[123] in amazement. "How did you grow up, then?" he asked. Gwiyap, who was also present, settled the matter by explaining to Fit that white men are different from Kwoma. On another occasion Ham asked me the same question and was equally amazed at my answer. Apparently Fit had told him what I had said, and Ham had asked me to make sure that Fit was not teasing him.

[787] [20] This belief concerns health as well as growth, and, as has already been shown, phlebotomy is practiced in the case of sickness, in order to "let out the bad blood."

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [381] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 252 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him. 882 837 561

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits. 882 554 836

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried. 582 584

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since 582 842 [826]

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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244 241 262 826 beliefs about blood appear again to determine a facet of the yam-planting complex. It is believed that in the process of planting yams a man's blood becomes associated with the seed, and hence contaminates the produce. Thus, if a man should eat his own harvest, it would be equivalent to eating his own blood, and he would sicken and die. If he heeds the warning implied in this belief, he must have yams that are planted by someone else or go without them. Kwoma culture resolves the dilemma as follows: at the time of planting, a section of the garden large enough to produce sufficient yams for the planter's personal needs is set aside. [602] He does not plant this section, but calls on a *brother* to do it for him. This provides a section whose produce will not be contaminated by his blood and which he may therefore eat with impunity. In return he plants a similar section in his *brother's* garden.

241 244 After the yams are put in the ground, nothing but weeding need be done until the sprouts appear. The women of the [462] gardening group do this, bending from the waist rather than kneeling, and pulling the weeds with thumb and fingers. They keep the ground clear until the plants have a good start and then allow the weeds to spring up unheeded.

Soon after the yam sprouts have broken the ground, [462] stringers must be provided to support the climbing vines. In preparation for this, men and boys cut lianas from the forest and split them into sections about the diameter of the [284] little finger and about thirty feet long. They tie a loop formed by a half knot on the standing part on one end of [482] each of these ropes and coil them into bundles. The women carry these bundles in their net bags to the garden, where the men hang the lianas by the loops from the branches of [417] the denuded trees. To do this they use a long bamboo pole with a cross stick, lashed a few inches from the top to prevent the loop from sliding down the pole. The free ends of the lianas are pegged to the ground a few inches from each yam hill. Each hill is thus provided with a stringer, one end of which is attached to a branch and the other to a peg in the ground. Once every few days thereafter the men go over the garden and train the yam tendrils on the stringer. The gar-

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.[a] The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters.[b] The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house tamberan to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

[a] Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[851] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[470] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[423] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[467] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

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869 206 *Becoming a Kwoma*

826 Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow some-
[157] one to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache,
or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even be-
come seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not
[856] bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade
initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not
attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow
[262] up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is
warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish
may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that
if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow
he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the ani-
mal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This
warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting.
An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he
become sick, for the seed and produce have become contami-
nated with his blood.

869 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here,
262 because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adoles-
562 cents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a
252 woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in
processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife,
to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychologi-
869 cal effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have
823 upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walk-
123 ing through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a
waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it
for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap
heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, how-
ever, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walk-
ing stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing
this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity.
The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a
distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by
Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[123]

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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sion[20] which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *marsalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

[20] The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Kongwem
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Haymakwo, or Tu[illegible] These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226
231 and dogs are domesticated.

000 is sold to me. When the Tangwishamp bring favorbi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Wer, Waremus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga kafaamuni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Gwiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Pit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Gwiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Gwiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Gwiyap heard that Camwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urumbanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Gwiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urumbanj.

752 Knos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said naski (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatamiaj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyap just came in without his ?lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
935 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopment be postponed. Masak was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. Way came

Ethnophysiology

826
827 The heart (nesuk) is the seat of life. It controls the breath which comes through the nose or the mouth. If a man's heart is injured, he dies. It is located where the ribs join the sternum in the little soft spot just under the breastbone. It is visible by day in the faint pulsating seen at this point. At night the nesuk moves up to the small depression just below the Adam's apple . It sleeps while the organism does. A person must not be awakened suddenly lest the nesuk have enough time to return to the daytime position. It is supposed to wake itself first; then the person opens his eyes. The nesuk is small in a child and proportionately larger as the man or woman grows. It is strong in a strong man and weak in a weak one. Birds, snakes, and other animals as well as ghosts also have nesuk.

[825]
[715]

Food goes in at the mouth, down the neck, and into the stomach where it stays for a while. At the time of defecation, it goes down the intestines and out the anus. Water goes directly to the bladder where it stops until time for urination, when it goes down and out the penis. Sperm is said to be produced in the bladder. The testicles are thought to have no function. Lungs are hung up on either side of the stomach but have no connection with the stomach.

Eyes have a small rope but it is not connected with anything. Neither are the holes in nose or ears connected with anything . The holes in the ears just stop.

The veins and arteries (nenawa) are to make the skin strong. They are unconnected and unrelated with the other vital organs. Blood is everywhere inside the skin. The kidneys are to make the back strong, as is the heart which is also for breath.

192 [826] [262] [614]

marinokw	the brain, and the soft bone on the top of an infant's head. Its function is to make the head strong. It is dangerous for an infant to eat food in another sib until this bone has hardened and the child has cut teeth. The brain is thought to have a door, but no road.
mmboyé	ears
mborowang	neck
mesuk	heart
wofu	lungs
kumbu	stomach
sungu	intestines
mangorusuku	kidneys
mogu	bladder
eré	penis
mandé	testicles
sumé ouf	anus

757 Curing a boil. Boiling water is poured over the siafkofé (the leaf of a creeper), and the broth when cooled, is applied to a boil with a sponge. It is supposed to make the boil come to a head. If the boil breaks by itself, no more is done to it, and it drains. If it does not break when it is ready, it is lanced--either by the patient or by one of his family. [753] Boils are not caused by poison.

Ethnophysiology

826
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were more closely associated with it. All our best informants —Yat, Kar, Kis, Mar, Mes, Gwiyap, and Mey—spoke pidgin English, and all were of the Mangwiyow lineage with the exception of Mes. They also acted as interpreters when those who spoke only Kwoma were questioned. Gwiyap, Mar, Mey, and Mes were hired as house and shoot boys so that they were virtually always around. This permitted a great deal of unobtrusive questioning and observation of their behavior.

A short statement of the social positions in which the Kwoma placed the investigators may be useful in order to indicate the direction of the biases and lacunae in the data. At first we did not fit into any of the simple categories into which they had divided Europeans. A summary of the history of Kwoma contact with whites will clarify what being white meant to them. The first contact was in 1913 when the Kwoma killed a police boy[24] connected with the Behrmann expedition, for raping one of their women. A Kwoma was shot in reprisal. From this time until the Australians brought them "under control" in 1928, the Kwoma had little contact with Europeans. Since then they have come only occasionally in touch with white recruiters, traders, missionaries, and Australian government officers.

According to their own retrospective accounts, the first conception which the Kwoma had of the whites was that they were unnatural beings. They called them *ngamba* (ghost), a word which is also used to refer to a person who commits some heinous crime. It corresponds roughly in meaning to the English words "inhuman," "monstrous," or "unnatural"; and it would appear that this feeling persists, to some extent, to the present day. After I had been living at Rumbima for about six months, I came back from bathing at the spring below Mar's house without bothering to put my shoes on. Awa and Kwiya were sitting under Mar's porch. I had become quite friendly with these two girls, as I had frequently gossiped and joked with them on my almost daily

[24] Natives trained by both the former German and present Australian territorial governments to act as constables under the orders of a white officer.

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829 visits to Mar's house. They had never seen me without shoes
123 on, however, and when they saw my white feet they shud-
114 dered and turned away, indicating strong revulsion and horror. Mar told me afterward that the girls were sure that I was a ghost after they had seen my feet.

648 Another event that was important in determining the atti-
175 tude of the Kwoma toward Europeans took place in 1928. Two Australian police boys, while foraging for food at Hongwam, met and raped two Hongwam housewives. The husbands and relatives of these women attacked and killed the two police boys. When the Australian officer in charge of the district discovered the murders, he visited the tribe with a squadron of police boys, killed about twenty of the natives,[23] cut down their orchards, and burned their house tamberans. The natives who escaped fled into the bushes and swamps. The patrol officer built a house and stayed with his entourage until he had enticed the natives to return to their territory and had established order. During this time he tried to make clear to the natives that they had been punished for homicide and that, if they had grievances, they should bring their case to the "government" and not take the law into their own hands. He also let it be known that the Australian government was ready to punish anyone convicted of head-hunting or sorcery. Despite this warning, the Hongwam carried out a successful head-hunting raid a few years later. The patrol officer again visited the tribe; however, he could not discover the actual culprits, and so merely gave the assembled people of Kwoma a severe lecture threatening dire consequences similar to those of 1928 if there was any further evidence of head-hunting. He also forced a group of Kwoma, including Gwiyap, Mar, and Fit, to witness the hanging at Ambunti of some river natives who had been convicted of taking heads.

[121]

114 When we arrived at the government station at Ambunti on
648 our way to Kwoma, the patrol officer stationed there sent a police boy to Hongwam to order all the adult males to come to the station and carry our luggage over the mountain.

[23] Seventeen of those killed appear on the genealogical charts.

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him. As a result, none of my Kwoma friends would speak to me or bid me good-by.

In so far as we were included in the social structure of the Kwoma, we were known as *masta bilong Rumbima*. This meant that we belonged to the Rumbima hamlet of Hongwam subtribe, a natural consequence of the position of our house and the frequency of our contacts with Rumbima people. We were also placed in the kinship structure, being assigned to the Hayamakwo sib, Mangwiyow lineage, and Asanamp family line as younger brothers of Wof. Logically this should have made us *older brothers* to everyone else of the parent generation in the hamlet, but actually we were called *younger brother* by most of them. Those of the first descending generation called us *older* or *younger uncle*, except Mey, Gwiyap, and Mar who frequently called us *father*. The fact that we were not married, but were apparently older than any unmarried Kwoma should be, made our position in the maturation hierarchy somewhat anomalous. We were sometimes classed as adults and sometimes as adolescents. The latter tendency was accentuated by the fact that we did not know the culture but were learning it.

With this short account of the environment and of the various groups into which the Kwoma divide themselves, with this indication of our chief informants and brief description of our position in Kwoma society, the task of describing the habits which a Kwoma learns as he passes from stage to stage along his life cycle may now be undertaken. The framework presented in this chapter has but limited meaning for the infant, more for the child, and gains full significance only when adulthood is reached. The following chapters are an attempt to present the culture as it unfolds to the maturing individual at Kwoma.

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Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed to eat the soup,[80] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man is eligible to join *Nokwi*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwi* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwi* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[80] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

600 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a "singsing" rhythm from Wenyabankura
224 today. Mar and Gwiyap both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house tamberan. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
464 boys. Yat and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin". which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The next morning when Bob went down to the house tamberan and spread out his trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with [829] "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore, he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyap were working for us, and he stormed off down to Marck's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyap, Mar, May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived at the Tangwishamp house tamberan to find no one was there. Finally a
114 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
123 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
439 near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the "master belong Rumbinam" (from Rumbim) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Markam (tribe from which Wisep [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwam understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Oriyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with
602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not
593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the
595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

578 Yovalas came by and reported that last night there was some sort of fight at Sumve'Sumve. They were vague about it, but the upshot of it is that somebody burned someone else's house. Oriyap shook his head and said he thought there would be trouble.

829 Oriyap and Nas just voiced their disgust at the Yambon because they
787 defecated close to the house. Nar dreamed last night that "masta Bobbie" came and brought plenty of "lap laps," singlets, etc. and gave them to him.

Oriyap napped this afternoon and dreamed something about Nas and woke up calling to him.

533 April 19, 1937. Last night after I had gone to bed (about 9:30), the
202 Tangwishamps began beating their gongs. First there was a message on a
825 big gong, and then the rhythm was carried out on all the gongs: kuratum
789 kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kuratum kura kura kura. Soon afterward, this was repeated at Sombundura, and then at Afokolis. Then Kaya called out to Oriyap, who ran down to Rumbima, and Yat, Way, and Oriyap repeated the message. They were sending it to Wasamanj, a sugilawas (carved wooden figure) in the form of a crocodile, who lives in the sago swamp on the road between here and Tangwishamp. Wasamanj was responsible for sending the mosquitoes which had come up in a great swarm in the evening. There was such a swarm outside my net that their humming seemed almost deafening; everyone was restless and slapping and shouting. It is believed that the mosquitoes live in the belly of this marsalaj and that Wasamanj is responsible for sending or letting them out. The gong message was sent out in the form of a threat, and not as a prayer. The pleasure of running down and playing on the gongs, as well as the irritation against the mosquitoes, definitely entered into the stimulus for the action. Wasamanj is a sugilawas of the Wanyi people.

581 been married to a man from Tuk. She had been lazy, and he had namoed (beaten) her, and she had left him. Her father had died, and Afok was looking out for her. She stopped there for a while and then said she wanted to marry Mar and promised Afok that she would not be lazy, so he had brought her to Mar. She had been with him a long time (3 years).

123 524 Kum was playing this afternoon with May and began tapping him on the leg. I told him to hit hard. He did. May slapped him back with a newspaper, then challenged him to hit him again. I told him to (also), but he raised his hand and only brought it half way down, not striking him. He repeated this a couple of times and then began to kick him. May paid no attention, and the play stopped.

124 819 I tried to get the real ages of Kwiyokai, Awa, Gwiyap, Mar, etc. They did not know except that Awa was older than Kwiyakay; Gwiyap was older than May. May says he was the same age as Kum is now at the time of the police raid which would make him 12 or 13, and Gwiyap 14 or 15. Mar says he was the same as May when Awa was born, but I doubt it. This would make him 22; I think he is nearer 18.

Revision

Gwiyap just went down and asked Yawa. She said that Kaiuakai was older than he, that she was the same age as May who is also older than Gwiyap. This is surprising, for Gwiyap is not only larger but has a few sprouts of hair, whereas May has none. I asked them the reason for this, and they explained it was because May was afraid of scraping himself with nettles. I wonder if "Grilly" (Wof) has anything to do with it. Awa is the same age as Gwiyap, but is larger than he.

The situation at the time of the raid was this: May was 5, Gwiyap and Kamaken were 4--Mar and Fit were six. Therefore, their ages now are: Mey 14, Gwiyap 12, Mar 17, Mes is the same age as Mar.

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 3, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

#115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Kwiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both awa (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her awa or nawalaka (younger uncle and older aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

#115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

#115 123 #829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

#115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Tumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

*115 787 Way, having stuck the spear through the body of dead woman, carried her down to the water and threw her away. Then Owiyap, Way, and his whole family ran away into the bush and came to a yam house. (Owiyap's mother's name was Koumbuss, which means 'no yams'.) They sat down in this and made a fire. Way's wife inquired whose garden it was and said there must be a man about, so they left and went to their own garden in the bush. Way's two daughters got some tiny little bush bananas (nambe yofu). The mother carried a little pot-- "just like the one on your table" -- and they made soup. Then they walked through grassland. Way said they were going to a place where there were men who had taken heads. Merik, their son, began to cry and was very afraid, but they kept on until they came to a marsalai dwelling place where they became afraid and turned back. Next they came to the edge of a 'round water', where they saw a canoe which Owiyap wanted to take. Way said that it belonged to someone else who would fight them if they took it, but Owiyap said, "Never mind", and took Owanta across and then returned to get the rest. They then came to Malu. The Malus asked what they were doing their and were told they were [123] hiding from the "kiap" because they had killed the master at Waskuk. ("This dream is about you.") The Malus said it would be all right--that they would hide them. Owanta and Owiyap returned to their bush house, leaving Way and the others behind. They stayed there and Owanta killed a gouria pigeon with her hands and made soup of it which they ate. Then Owiyap went to defecate and came all the way to my house when he woke up.

*115 648 123 829 After reporting the dream, he said that he did not like the idea of the head hunting raid-- that he thought he would go to America with me. He thought this place would be 'shot up' by the police again.

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882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 252 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mae and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mae decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mae offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbima calling with a new gong--do you hear me?] and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a something toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatsminj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Owiyap just came in without his ?lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the woman did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopment be postponed. Mauk was going
[583] to Koriasi with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. May came

October 28, 1936.

*115 124 [123] Owiyap came back from the bush house the day before yesterday and seemed glad to see us. He embraced us both. He and Hay bothhbegan helping around the house, and since Hamb is gone, we officially made them houseboys and gave them "lap laps." Yesterday while we were working, Owiyap took up a pencil and drew a picture of a couple of digging sticks--something which we had not mentioned for some time. We had drawn the material culture objects at Wof's house over a week before. We then asked him to draw a gamba (ghost). This he did--a male one first. Then we asked him to drew a female one, [831] which he also did. He mentioned that the male figure had two penises. Then he gave the names for the male and female genitals and said that one puts his penis into a vagina (laughing). We asked him the name for this, and he told us. He got a great kick out of the conversation.

October 29, 1936.

*115 593 Today we told Owiyap and the other houseboys that we were going to Ambunti tomorrow. As Owiyap wanted to come with us, we said he could, but that he would have to tell Wof, who is a sort of foster father to him. Owiyap was incensed at this, and said Wof was not his real father and had no authority over him.

November 9, 1936.

*115 787 There was a very strong wind last night. Owiyap came in and reported that he had dreamed of his father, who had appeared and told Owiyap that a big wind was coming to drive away the mosquitoes. I asked him if that were

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 123 Gwiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Gwiyap if he were going with him, to which Gwiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Gwiyap inherited Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 ● 831 Kewas came in this morning with an erection. Gwiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Gwiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Gwiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Gwiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunga kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
• 832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, Uka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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his face, combs his hair, and nowadays also dons his gayest laplap, and either walks past the girl's house or down a path where he is likely to meet her. He also plays an active part by resorting to love magic. He tries to put scrapings from a fingernail of his left hand or blood from the left side[13] of his penis into the lime gourd or cigarette of a woman whom he desires. If she ingests these magical substances, it is believed that she will have an uncontrollable sexual desire for the man who gave them to her.

In his sexual activities a boy also runs the risk of making a girl pregnant. If this should happen, her relatives try to force her to name the father of the child. If she names a particular youth as the father, he will be forced by her relatives either to marry her or to pay them an indemnity in shell money. Threats of sorcery or violence are employed to bring about the marriage or extract the payment. The reason given for the indemnity is that if a girl has had a child before marriage no one will pay a full bride-price for her. If a boy is willing to marry the girl anyway, he is not greatly inhibited by the fear of making her pregnant, although there is some social stigma attached to such an event. If the girl is unattractive, however, this factor assumes greater importance.

The danger from the relatives of a girl has certain consequences in controlling an adolescent boy's general behavior toward a girl as well as in determining his mode of sexual behavior. Breaches in etiquette with respect to females become much more serious than they were during childhood. We have seen that, if he stared at the genitals of his mother or sister as a child, he was scolded by the female at whom he stared; when he reaches the age of puberty such behavior is defined as specifically sexual. If he now stares at a girl, her relatives classify the act as a sexual advance and react to it accordingly. To be sure, they do not react as strongly as to an actual liaison, but they usually criticize him and may even insult and threaten him. Even staring at a girl's body in gen-

[13] The only explanation that I could get for the idea that the left side is important was that work is done with the right hand, and that this, for some reason, made the left side preferable in sexual matters.

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eral, and not specifically at her genitalia, may lead to suspicion, if it is more than a quick identifying glance. A boy must restrain his eyes even when the girl's relatives are not present, for she may report his breach of etiquette with similar results. For these reasons we had considerable difficulty taking photographs of females. As the Kwoma women phrased it, a photograph "caught" their genitals and made it possible for them to be looked at without the possibility of social control. After we had taken several pictures of women in ignorance of the prevailing sentiments, we were told by both the women and by their relatives to take no more.

To avoid the sanctions against looking, a boy either keeps his eyes fixed on the ground or sits or stands with his back to a woman whenever he is in her presence. If he happens to be sitting facing a path down which a woman is walking, he must arise and stand with his back to it until she has passed. He may not speak to her until she has passed him; when they are both back to back he may speak to, but must not look at, her. Whenever he meets adult females on a path, they turn aside and stand with their backs to the path until he has passed. He must keep his eyes on the ground and must not stop and talk to them until they are behind him. If a boy goes visiting, he must be very careful in his behavior. He may only quickly glance under the porch to note who is there and must then keep his eyes on the ground until he has found a seat facing away from the women, when he may gossip with them over his shoulder.

An adolescent boy must obey these rules with respect to all adolescent and adult females except those who live in his own household, with whom he need not be so elaborately careful. His behavior toward them does not differ appreciably from that which he learned during childhood; he may not stare at their genitals, but he is not restricted from looking at them in general. When no one else is around and when a girl has made sexual advances toward a boy, he may look at her. In fact, this is defined as part of the preliminaries to sexual behavior. Just as boys avoid the sanctions against sexual intercourse by having affairs in secret, so they develop techniques

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

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593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [513] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

513 593 [838] 262 584

wife. They are only in bed together to have intercourse and then sleep by themselves.

After supper I went down to Mar's. He was eating soup. He had consumed most of a small saucepan (2 quarts). He said he was thinking of Aya. I said, "Well, why don't you get her?" He said he would like to, but Way had forbidden him. I said, "Why, are you afraid of what the big men say?" Gwiyap said, "Yes master." Mar is always afraid of what the big men say. "I'm not the same. If it had been me, I'd have married Aya a long time ago."

123 685 754

I hadn't been at Mar's long, before Wof sang out asking who was looking out for my house. I said no one, and he told me I had better return or someone would steal something. I told him everything was locked up and stayed. He grumbled for a while, and after about five minutes he sang out that he was going there. I followed. He got a firebrand and looked around the house and then gave me a lecture on the danger of leaving my house unguarded. In the first place my stuff would be stolen, and in the second, there was danger of sorcery being worked, and I and my house boys would all die. If I had a door which I could fasten, it would be all right, but since I had not, I shouldn't leave my house unattended, particularly at night. I said that it was raining, and I didn't think anyone would be abroad. He told me it made no difference -- that there were apt to be prowlers at any time. Then he said he was not cross with me but merely <u>sawuto maani</u> (explaining things) to me for my own good.

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Wof said he had been to Koriasi and gathered pay from his sister. "Big fela more" --they had carried May's pig and Mauk's yams.

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Then Wof asked me if I would give him an gouris pigeon to make soup to pay for lopping down trees in his garden. He stressed the fact that

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he was my <u>laka</u> (elder sibling). I said I would. The kerosene is almost gone, so I went to bed without lighting the lamp.

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No, I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went. February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of War and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
593 him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
754 him what was the matter with Waya, his fiancee. He replied that she was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either. March 3, 1937.

I went to War's house with Owiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion. As we approached the house Mar called out for Mes who was not there. Owiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not go in the porch but stood up outside. Owiyap paused before going in but finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
837 and by him had Dogaremanu. When her husband died she went to live with Tat. He went to work for the whites and Dagwaur took care of her. One day she went to get firewood and Dagwaur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mes.—analyst]

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Pit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yenbon.

* 115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Enya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ave (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amwa or newulaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 * 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

* 115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

* 115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

* 115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

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boys of this age even refrain from touching them while urinating.

I cannot say whether this prohibition also prevented private masturbation. I asked Ham, Fit, and Mey, all of them boys in the childhood group, whether they played with their penises when they were alone. All of them denied it with considerable embarrassment. They hung their heads, pretended not to understand me, and changed the subject as quickly as they could. This embarrassment suggests that they were guilty about masturbation, but it does not indicate whether they actually did not masturbate or whether they did and were afraid to admit the fact.

Boys who have not seen one another for some time rush together, throw their arms around each other, and hug and pat one another and rub one another's cheeks with their lime gourds. They exhibit this behavior with boys of their own age and sometimes with older men, but never with a female. Such an embrace is permitted between the sexes only when they are both aged and related. Mey, Fit, and Ham frequently chose to sleep together in my house rather than at their homes. They were often joined by adolescents. Although this was attributed to the advantage of mosquito proofing, they usually slept huddled together and often with their arms around one another.

Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connotations: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simulates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated "her." Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their "honor." When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month.

Boys often tease one another sexually when they sleep

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In his sexual activities a boy also runs the risk of making a girl pregnant. If this should happen, her relatives try to force her to name the father of the child. If she names a particular youth as the father, he will be forced by her relatives either to marry her or to pay them an indemnity in shell money. Threats of sorcery or violence are employed to bring about the marriage or extract the payment. The reason given for the indemnity is that if a girl has had a child before marriage no one will pay a full bride-price for her. If a boy is willing to marry the girl anyway, he is not greatly inhibited by the fear of making her pregnant, although there is some social stigma attached to such an event. If the girl is unattractive, however, this factor assumes greater importance.

The danger from the relatives of a girl has certain consequences in controlling an adolescent boy's general behavior toward a girl as well as in determining his mode of sexual behavior. Breaches in etiquette with respect to females become much more serious than they were during childhood. We have seen that, if he stared at the genitals of his mother or sister as a child, he was scolded by the female at whom he stared; when he reaches the age of puberty such behavior is defined as specifically sexual. If he now stares at a girl, her relatives classify the act as a sexual advance and react to it accordingly. To be sure, they do not react as strongly as to an actual liaison, but they usually criticize him and may even insult and threaten him. Even staring at a girl's body in gen-

[13] The only explanation that I could get for the idea that the left side is important was that work is done with the right hand, and that this, for some reason, made the left side preferable in sexual matters.

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eral, and not specifically at her genitalia, may lead to suspicion, if it is more than a quick identifying glance. A boy must restrain his eyes even when the girl's relatives are not present, for she may report his breach of etiquette with similar results. For these reasons we had considerable difficulty taking photographs of females. As the Kwoma women phrased it, a photograph "caught" their genitals and made it possible for them to be looked at without the possibility of social control. After we had taken several pictures of women in ignorance of the prevailing sentiments, we were told by both the women and by their relatives to take no more.

To avoid the sanctions against looking, a boy either keeps his eyes fixed on the ground or sits or stands with his back to a woman whenever he is in her presence. If he happens to be sitting facing a path down which a woman is walking, he must arise and stand with his back to it until she has passed. He may not speak to her until she has passed him; when they are both back to back he may speak to, but must not look at, her. Whenever he meets adult females on a path, they turn aside and stand with their backs to the path until he has passed. He must keep his eyes on the ground and must not stop and talk to them until they are behind him. If a boy goes visiting, he must be very careful in his behavior. He may only quickly glance under the porch to note who is there and must then keep his eyes on the ground until he has found a seat facing away from the women, when he may gossip with them over his shoulder.

An adolescent boy must obey these rules with respect to all adolescent and adult females except those who live in his own household, with whom he need not be so elaborately careful. His behavior toward them does not differ appreciably from that which he learned during childhood; he may not stare at their genitals, but he is not restricted from looking at them in general. When no one else is around and when a girl has made sexual advances toward a boy, he may look at her. In fact, this is defined as part of the preliminaries to sexual behavior. Just as boys avoid the sanctions against sexual intercourse by having affairs in secret, so they develop techniques

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [964] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] [838] [839] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in in- • 834 tensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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593 833 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual intercourse even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 833 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [613] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy. 834 885 888

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor. 587

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives. 768 583 [602]

A man may marry as many women as he can win and pay for. While I was at Kwoma, out of a population of approximately 375, one man had four wives, and two had three. The rest of the adult males had either two or one in about equal numbers; only the aged and recently widowed had none. 595

Soon after a man marries he must build a house of his own, as custom no longer permits him to escape wind and rain by living in his father's house. To do this he must first gather food for a work-bee feast, and then call on his relatives to help him. Since a feast must be prepared for each day's work, 591 342 476 [885]

tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him. 000

648 that he was not a big man but a "monki nothing", and he couldn't look out
464 for the place. Kar had said, "All right, Mneki, you think me no big fela man," (All right, never mind, you think I'm not a big man) and the next day had delivered an ultimatum that no one was to go with Bob. Just before Bob left, he had confronted Bob and asked him if he still thought him "something nothing", and Bob had answered somewhat ironically--"No, you're a big mari" (woman). Kar has spoken of this episode three times now, and it evidently rankled strongly.

123 Kar said that War had told him that I had come to visit him yesterday
574 and had said that if I were "black skin" he would have given me a lot more food, but being a white man, he didn't know whether I would like it or not, and had been afraid to offer it to me. He had been a bit worried whether I had thought him ungenerous and had asked Kar his opinion of the matter.

123 February 5, 1937. I went down to Way's in the afternoon. He had a pain in the testicles and sent word that he would like some medicine. He was sitting on the porch and explained about his pain. His wife, who was standing holding her child (4months) also explained about his pain, pointing to his testicles while he was holding them up for inspection.
[334] There was no embarrassment on the part of either. I gave him an empirin
[372] tablet. They were burning a palm frond bundle and also a heap of coconuts. The house was full of smoke.

[286] Then I went to War's house. His wife was sitting on one porch making
[361] a net bag with her daughter. War was on the other porch. The houses
[252] almost touch and are directly facing each other. War was boiling sago, and he gave Kar some food. A storm came up, so all of them moved into the next porch. War stood near the edge scowling, spitting, and mumbling. May also spit and mumbled.

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 123 Owiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Owiyap if he were going with him, to which Owiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Owiyap inherithd Yatafauf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kowas came in this morning with an erection. Owiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Owiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Owiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Owiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunga kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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he had had sexual experiences, but feared punishment or disapproval if he confessed, so I told him that boys of his age in America had intercourse and cited several examples. He was much interested, and asked if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him that the boys kept it a secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that Americans had a means of preventing pregnancy. He expressed his amazement at this, and the subject was dropped. The next night, however, when we were discussing other matters, he brought up the subject again and mentioned six girls, three of them his *sisters*, with whom he claimed to have had sexual relations. One of them was Awa, Mar's sister. He recounted his experiences with great gusto, but warned me not to tell Mar about them, especially about his affair with Awa.

About two months later Gwiyap appeared with his hair combed and a new laplap around his waist and told me that he had a date that afternoon with Famba, a girl of his own generation and lineage, whom he addressed as *sister*. After playing ball for a while with some of the other boys, he departed. That evening I asked him how he had fared. He answered that his "shitnothing" *brother*, Fit, had followed him to the tryst. He had told him not to come and finally had chased him back with a stick, but when he finally met Famba he had not dared do anything because he was afraid that Fit had sneaked after him and was spying.

Two weeks later while I was sitting with Gwiyap in front of my house, Kwiya came by carrying firewood. She was a girl of about the same age as Gwiyap who lived in the same house and belonged to the same lineage. As she passed he exchanged bawdy remarks with her, as is the custom between *brother* and *sister*. Then he said to me that he thought he would go to America with me when I left because so many girls liked him and asked him to cohabit with them that he would certainly get in trouble if he stayed at Kwoma. He then recounted his sexual experiences. There was Kwiya, the girl who had just passed, and Awa, Mar's sister, both of whom were his household mates. Then there was Famba,

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta. When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[18] *Sumwo sumwo mowo*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowo sakana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[23]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[23] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

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882 602 554 156 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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protectors. With regard to these affairs the Kwoma take the attitude that they are discreditable only if discovered. Every man knows that his wife is probably unfaithful to him, but unless he is extremely jealous he does not spy on her and punishes her only if she is indiscreet enough to be conspicuous.

There are two occasions of ceremonial sexual license. One occurs during the yam-cult ceremonies. As described in the previous chapter, the yam cult is divided into two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*, and every Kwoma male is initiated into one or the other of these sections at pubescence. When the cult holds a ceremony, the *Yenama* dance on the first day and night, and the *Minjama* on the second. On the afternoon of the first day, the married women of the tribe dance in the clearing on one side of the house tamberan. They bring with them net bags which are decorated on one side only. These they hold above their heads as they dance with the decoration either toward them or away from them, depending on whether their husband belongs to *Yenama* or *Minjama*, and the men note the information thus given. Taking advantage of the fact that all the *Yenama* men will be at the house tamberan that night, the *Minjama* visit their wives. The *Yenama* have a chance to retaliate on the following night when the *Minjama* men are dancing. The second occasion for ceremonial sexual license occurs during one of the nights of the age-grade initiation ceremonies when the men and women dance together at the house tamberan. During the dance, the women slip tokens to the men of their choice as a sign that they are willing to have intercourse with them, and the couples unobtrusively drop out of the dance and repair to the bush. For several days before and after these occasions of license, salacious jokes and sly boasting are rife. The taboo on sexual relations between relatives operates with respect to all extramarital affairs.

When a man has children, daughters appear as a new interdicted category of women. The following myth represents the Kwoma horror of such a relationship and the intensity of guilt associated with breaking this incest taboo.

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"Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *homba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

583 bush house and spend the day. He would come back after dark and report to
123 me. He kept reiterating that I was his "papa true" and must look out for
583 him if War made trouble. That I should tell Mas that it was "like bilong mari." He wanted to know if I would give him a som thing toward bride price, and I said I would give some oyster shell. He seemed pleased and said he didn't know but he would take his sisters along with him for fear Mas would back it with one of them. He told me to help protect his mother if War attempted to spear her. Later he said maski (nevermind). When I pressed him, he said this would not happen. He kept reiterating all this, particularly that he was not going for long, only for one day, and then he would come back to work and that he would come up by my bed and tell me when he arrived. This last bit he said over and over. He also said that Yatsminj, Kar, Kis, Wof et al. were his fathers. He had talked to them and they said they would stand up for him. He said that War was likely to get a spear and shield and come up to the house tamberan with it (evidently a ceremonial fight). I was to stand by, and if he fought, help him. All the time he was telling this, he was very excited.

831 Gwiyap just came in without his "lap lap." I remarked about it, and
826 he said that he had a big penis, which was no good. He said that here the women did not like it because it would hurt too much -- it would be like a
[522] dog, and they would have to go down to the water to get apart. He laughed and thought it was a good joke. I asked him if he had had intercourse with
835 Uka, and he said no. Then I asked him if he had had intercourse with Afi and again he said no since she was his real sister, and he would be very much ashamed.

252 April 18, 1937. Way suggested the elopment be postponed. Mauk was going
[583] to Korisai with the pig, and Mar should wait until he came back. Way came

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intimate relationship with my other informants. This, together with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could determine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse suspicion. The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161–162.

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his face, combs his hair, and nowadays also dons his gayest laplap, and either walks past the girl's house or down a path where he is likely to meet her. He also plays an active part by resorting to love magic. He tries to put scrapings from a fingernail of his left hand or blood from the left side[13] of his penis into the lime gourd or cigarette of a woman whom he desires. If she ingests these magical substances, it is believed that she will have an uncontrollable sexual desire for the man who gave them to her.

In his sexual activities a boy also runs the risk of making a girl pregnant. If this should happen, her relatives try to force her to name the father of the child. If she names a particular youth as the father, he will be forced by her relatives either to marry her or to pay them an indemnity in shell money. Threats of sorcery or violence are employed to bring about the marriage or extract the payment. The reason given for the indemnity is that if a girl has had a child before marriage no one will pay a full bride-price for her. If a boy is willing to marry the girl anyway, he is not greatly inhibited by the fear of making her pregnant, although there is some social stigma attached to such an event. If the girl is unattractive, however, this factor assumes greater importance.

The danger from the relatives of a girl has certain consequences in controlling an adolescent boy's general behavior toward a girl as well as in determining his mode of sexual behavior. Breaches in etiquette with respect to females become much more serious than they were during childhood. We have seen that, if he stared at the genitals of his mother or sister as a child, he was scolded by the female at whom he stared; when he reaches the age of puberty such behavior is defined as specifically sexual. If he now stares at a girl, her relatives classify the act as a sexual advance and react to it accordingly. To be sure, they do not react as strongly as to an actual liaison, but they usually criticize him and may even insult and threaten him. Even staring at a girl's body in gen-

[13] The only explanation that I could get for the idea that the left side is important was that work is done with the right hand, and that this, for some reason, made the left side preferable in sexual matters.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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he had had sexual experiences, but feared punishment or disapproval if he confessed, so I told him that boys of his age in America had intercourse and cited several examples. He was much interested, and asked if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him that the boys kept it a secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that Americans had a means of preventing pregnancy. He expressed his amazement at this, and the subject was dropped. The next night, however, when we were discussing other matters, he brought up the subject again and mentioned six girls, three of them his *sisters*, with whom he claimed to have had sexual relations. One of them was Awa, Mar's sister. He recounted his experiences with great gusto, but warned me not to tell Mar about them, especially about his affair with Awa.

About two months later Gwiyap appeared with his hair combed and a new laplap around his waist and told me that he had a date that afternoon with Famba, a girl of his own generation and lineage, whom he addressed as *sister*. After playing ball for a while with some of the other boys, he departed. That evening I asked him how he had fared. He answered that his "shitnothing" *brother*, Fit, had followed him to the tryst. He had told him not to come and finally had chased him back with a stick, but when he finally met Famba he had not dared do anything because he was afraid that Fit had sneaked after him and was spying.

Two weeks later while I was sitting with Gwiyap in front of my house, Kwiya came by carrying firewood. She was a girl of about the same age as Gwiyap who lived in the same house and belonged to the same lineage. As she passed he exchanged bawdy remarks with her, as is the custom between *brother* and *sister*. Then he said to me that he thought he would go to America with me when I left because so many girls liked him and asked him to cohabit with them that he would certainly get in trouble if he stayed at Kwoma. He then recounted his sexual experiences. There was Kwiya, the girl who had just passed, and Awa, Mar's sister, both of whom were his household mates. Then there was Famba,

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[648] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[964] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[861] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sakano*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[196] [19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest.
[539] "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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liaison. Those who break the rule are most frequently neurotic individuals who dare not or cannot get a spouse from without the sib; this was the case with Mar and his betrothed, Yawa. Susceptibility to sorcery, that is frequent sickness, is regarded as an excuse for breaking the rule, since it is believed to be dangerous for such a person to have contacts outside the sib. Out of eighteen cases, only one marriage and one betrothal were between relatives. Both cases were between *brother* and *sister*, and in both there was no known blood connection.

Theoretically a boy's parents decide whom he shall marry. They discuss with the parents of a girl of the proper age the advantages of a marriage between their children, and often exchange small presents to formalize the betrothal if it is mutually agreeable. There is no set occasion when betrothals take place; usually they result from an informal conversation at the market or in the house tamberan. There is no prescribed age for betrothal. Parents usually do not arrange a marriage for their child until he has reached the age of puberty, although a betrothal may be agreed upon even during the infancy of the parties primarily concerned. There is nothing particularly binding about a betrothal. The exchange of gifts is balanced, so that, if the engagement is broken, neither family is the loser. Although betrothal binds neither boy nor girl to marriage, it is important enough so that they seriously consider one another as mates and only break the engagement if, for some reason, they feel a mutual antipathy.

More marriages result from actual courtship, which follows approved rules, than from betrothals arranged by the parents; sometimes they result from philandering. The woman takes the initiative in courting as well as in philandering, for here too the youth fears retaliation from the girl's relatives if he is too forward. Courtship is carried on during chance meetings on paths, or in visits to the house of the girl on the pretext of seeing her father or brothers. On these latter occasions the boy does not even speak to the girl, but shows off by making witty conversation with her brothers

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it [835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on [124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope [757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of [593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[22]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil- [769] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[22] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man."

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister's* lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud.

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness.

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 584 602 578 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him, and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 836 602 578 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety.

121 883 836 In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219-245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept *of free* trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33-54, 134-152.

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal

583 591 611 595 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] [534] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either minjema or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

114 Watakaup came in the afternoon with an invitation to come to Ambunti. I think I'll go.

April 22, 1937.. It was raining this morning, so I decided not to go to Ambunti but sent Mar and Mas to get karosene, flour, etc. I went down to [289] War's to look at his house. The whole family was at home. The women were sewing mat bags, as well as War who was sewing a bag. His was working a wafa nggaa from afoaamu bone. Mar was lying on a bed sick.

I went up to the house tamberan to get its construction. Way was shaping the outside of a gong, but the mosquitoes drove me home. I sent 836 Gwiyap and Way to wash clothes. Gwiyap came back full of excitement about Gwanta. He had seen her on the way, and she let it be known she wanted to have intercourse with him. He bribed Gwanta with 2 razors, one for him and one for her, to come and tell him when she next went down to get water so he could meet her there. He said he was going to ask her to come and sleep [593] with him at Wisep's house in his "klambu". She had suggested it the other night but her father had forbade her.

This afternoon he put on Mar's singlets and a brand new orange "lap lap" and went down the hill. He stayed all afternoon. Tonight he said he had called at Way's house. Gwanta and her mother were there--they sat and talked. She was sitting on the bed, and he asked her if there were plenty of "nats nats." She said yes. Then he told her if they bothered her too much to come up and sleep in his mosquito net. She said she would. Gwamb who was also there, said he would come too, but Gwanta said no--how many people do you think the net will hold. Mar remarked that she did not call him by his name and that she told him not to go with us but to stay.

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yet, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a nasas from Limbon. Kis was working on Kar's nasas. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yet went to Marok's and the two went to Sombundura. Pokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Gwanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Gwanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa="nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yet's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Gwanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chinawa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.

587 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away
837 and was very indignant. She said Dagwur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new
[583] wife. This he did -- Gwase' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 During the Yeamma ceremony a Yeamma wife will make an appointment
786 with a Minjema man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

#115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

#115 583 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

November 29, 1936.

*115 About a week ago Gwiyap and Tip were down at the market place watching
883 the women trading. A girl came up to Gwiyap and talked with him. He then
584 told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a net bag.

*115 Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had
• 836 intercourse. He was noncommital, "Mi no savvy"; I mentioned that I had,
123 and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it sedret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Owiyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

+115 Owiyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwem carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Owiyap finally found that another Hongwem had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "kiap" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Kwiya came by carrying firewood and Owiyap yelled something bawdy
+115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Owiyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
+115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Kwiya, Awa, Way's older daughter, Mas' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bone nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mas' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mar about having intercourse with his sister (Awa), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want Mey to know, for he might tell Mar.

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882 836 602 124 835 [648] [464] he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta. When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister nothing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on" to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 837 [561] Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [196] [18] *Sumwe sumwe mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sakana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [539] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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593 A woman supposedly takes the initiative in sexual inter-
833 course even after marriage. It is the wife who visits her husband's bed. Informants admitted that the husband sometimes takes the lead, but that much more frequently the woman does so. The Kwoma men spoke of this custom as being related to that of the woman taking the initiative in clandestine love affairs and courting.

834 A man may not have sexual intercourse with his wife when
833 she is menstruating, lest his penis be damaged by menstrual blood; nor when she is obviously pregnant, lest he damage the foetus; nor when she has an infant still at the breast, lest she have a second child and thus be forced to neglect the first one;[21] nor when he has just returned from a cult ceremony, lest his recent contact with the cult spirits harm the woman. This last restriction lasts from one to three nights, depending on the degree of sacredness of the ceremony. In any case he must wash himself carefully before lying with his wife to remove the dangerous spirit "infection." Finally, a husband and wife take care not to copulate while their children are still awake.

• 837 A Kwoma man's sexual behavior is not restricted to intercourse with his wife. He continues to have affairs with other women in a manner similar to that described for adolescents. He carries on his affairs secretly at carefully arranged trysts. He must be very careful not to stare at another man's wife, lest it cause suspicion, and must wait for the woman to take the initiative, lest she bring upon him the wrath of her

[593] [833] [613] [192] [196]

describe their feeling about brother-sister incest. In this context the effect may be derived from the punishments which a child receives during the weaning period for trying to sit in the lap of, sleep next to, and otherwise gain physical contact with, his mother. It is possible that if a man should sleep in contact with his wife, this earlier situation would be to some extent recreated and he would have feelings which he describes as *komba* as a result. The fact that Gwiyap referred this feeling to fear of the big men of the hamlet suggests that it may be related to the Oedipus situation. It should be remembered that at the same time that the mother no longer permits her infant to sleep next to her, the taboo on sexual intercourse which applied during the infancy of her offspring is lifted and the father, when he visits the mother at night, literally takes the place vacated by the child.

[21] Polygyny and philandering lessen the frustration of all these restrictions.

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protectors. With regard to these affairs the Kwoma take the attitude that they are discreditable only if discovered. Every man knows that his wife is probably unfaithful to him, but unless he is extremely jealous he does not spy on her and punishes her only if she is indiscreet enough to be conspicuous.

There are two occasions of ceremonial sexual license. One occurs during the yam-cult ceremonies. As described in the previous chapter, the yam cult is divided into two sections, *Y'enama* and *Minjama*, and every Kwoma male is initiated into one or the other of these sections at pubescence. When the cult holds a ceremony, the *Y'enama* dance on the first day and night, and the *Minjama* on the second. On the afternoon of the first day, the married women of the tribe dance in the clearing on one side of the house tamberan. They bring with them net bags which are decorated on one side only. These they hold above their heads as they dance with the decoration either toward them or away from them, depending on whether their husband belongs to *Y'enama* or *Minjama*, and the men note the information thus given. Taking advantage of the fact that all the *Y'enama* men will be at the house tamberan that night, the *Minjama* visit their wives. The *Y'enama* have a chance to retaliate on the following night when the *Minjama* men are dancing. The second occasion for ceremonial sexual license occurs during one of the nights of the age-grade initiation ceremonies when the men and women dance together at the house tamberan. During the dance, the women slip tokens to the men of their choice as a sign that they are willing to have intercourse with them, and the couples unobtrusively drop out of the dance and repair to the bush. For several days before and after these occasions of license, salacious jokes and sly boasting are rife. The taboo on sexual relations between relatives operates with respect to all extramarital affairs.

When a man has children, daughters appear as a new interdicted category of women. The following myth represents the Kwoma horror of such a relationship and the intensity of guilt associated with breaking this incest taboo.

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835 539 "Once upon a time, long, long ago, a man came home one night after dark and lay with a woman, thinking that she was his wife. Later he discovered that she was his grown daughter. He was very ashamed. He decorated himself in all his finery, painted his face black, and went to the house tamberan to sleep. Early in the morning he arose, cut a bamboo, and sharpened an edge on it. He went down to the lake, embarked in a canoe, and paddled out into deep water. Here he cut off his penis with the bamboo, jumped into the water, and drowned himself. Since then it has been taboo for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughter."[22]

837 835 602 The frequency of philandering with *sisters* decreases when they marry and leave the hamlet, because the factor of proximity no longer operates. They are replaced by the wives of a man's *brothers* who live conveniently near to him. They are classed as relatives, designated by the term *brother*, and are [262] sexually taboo. The belief that a man will become ill if he eats food cooked by anyone except his wife serves to prevent philandering with a *brother's* wife. If a man deviates from this custom and has sexual relations with her, it may lead to an embarrassing situation. He frequently eats at his *brother's* house, particularly when he is helping in some coöperative economic task, and he must either risk becoming sick by eating the food offered him or publicize his illicit behavior [678] by refusing to do so. If a man suspects his *brother* of such adultery, he may threaten to beat or sorcerize him. The accused usually denies the fact, and establishes an alibi if he can. Such accusations and denials are not infrequent in Kwoma life. If the husband's suspicions are not allayed by his *brother's* denials, they may actually come to blows, and, if the offense be too flagrant and the husband powerful enough, the culprit may be forced to flee the community or be killed.[23]

[762] [192] [196] [22] It is interesting to note that the man kills himself; no one else holds him responsible for the crime. The native explanation for this is that he committed suicide because he was "ashamed." The term for this feeling is *komba*, the same word used for the feeling about brother-sister incest and about sleeping with one's wife.

[23] Takawur had fled from the tribe and was living with one of the river tribes because War's wife had accused him of attempting to rape her. Had he stayed, War might have killed him.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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885 if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence.
602 Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War
835 returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken ad-
578 vantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with
837 Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

421 Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from eco-
578 nomic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his prop-
602 erty against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an
593 adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between
[885] *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

578 The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on
593 fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one
626 another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
[578] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
[648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungawi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields. Mawandayn has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old Haymakwo house tamberan near Wenyabunkura. They have built a new little one and call it Cumbwinembara. Pokwago is pregnant. Yat wants to take Mawandays to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group from Sombundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Hwal was
241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mas, Hay, Mar, Asnampa, Way, Kawas helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed so I continued to Masa's; on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

*115 about?" No answer. It was a lizard on the roof. "All the Kwoma are having
[823] intercourse now", Mar volunteered. Another pause, and "Tomorrow I will go
to my bush house". I asked him if he had work to do but he said "No,
I'll just go there. When I told him to go ahead, he added that he didn't
intend to go but was only fooling. "I'll stay here and help you." There
was another noise at which Mar jumped up and decided to go but first requested
a lantern which I didn't give him. He left, but a few minutes later he
returned saying he had forgotten the file he was going to borrow. "I saw
a ghost on the way but I chased it away. Yes." He took the file and went.
February 6, 1937.

*115 Mar's mother scolded him severely for going to the house of Mar and
584 stressed sorcery danger as the reason. Mar answered that I went with
[593] him so that it was all right. This evening he spoke to me of Aya; I asked
[754] him what was the matter with Yaya, his fiancee. He replied that she
was lazy, weak, unattractive and that her genitals were no good either.
March 3, 1937.

I went to Mar's house with Owiyap and Mar at the latter's suggestion.
As we approached the house Mar called out for Mee who was not there.
Owiyap knew it but had not said anything. Mar made some remarks as if
he was rather surprised and rather annoyed that Mar was not there. He
was obviously going to see the sister. He approached the house still
talking in this vein so the mother who was there could hear. He did not
go in the porch but stood up outside. Owiyap paused before going in but
finally went in and sat down.

587 Later that day Mar told me that Wanyakowa was first married to Wonuma
● 837 and by him had Dogaranamu. When her husband died she went to live with
Yat. He went to work for the whites and Daguwur took care of her. One
day she went to get firewood and Daguwur followed her. When she was leaning

[i.e., probably Mos.-analyst] -150-

587 over he came on her from behind and had intercourse with her. She ran away
837 and was very indignant. She said Dagwur was just like a ghost and went to live with War. Yat came back from his job and was angry with War and a big argument followed which was settled by War's buying Yat a new
[583] wife. This he did -- Gawes' child, Kafa. He paid two axes, two large knives,,a lary shell necklace and twenty strings of shells.

837 During the Yenama ceremony a Yenama wife will make an appointment
786 with a Minjema man. He will come around in the evening after she has put her children to bed and said that she is going out. Then she will meet the man in the bush close to the house and have intercourse with him there.

#115 836 Before I came Mar had once decorated himself grandly and gone to the marketplace. He met Kis' present wife (though she was not married at the time), who asked him to go into the bush with her. He agreed but before they did they met a group of men smoking in the road. Kis joined them, and they returned to the market. Later Kis' wife spoke to Mar about what had happened, but she never came up to him again and now she is married to Kis.

March 7, 1937.

#115 583 Mas is married to Mar's sister and has not paid for her yet. Mar wants to marry Mas' sister Aya, but War will not allow it unless he pays immediately. Mar can ask payment to be completed on his own sister and then return it to War but he is afraid to force War, not because he is afraid to fight him but because he is afraid of sorcery.

December 9, 1936.

*115 The day before yesterday Gwiyap said that he felt sick. We took his
123 temperature--it was 103°. We gave him five grains of quinine and told him
to go to bed. This he would not do. He kept rushing about. As usual,
[753] he could not keep still. There was no talk of his being "poisoned," and
he would not admit that he was very sick. (Contrast with Mar). The next
day, he was all right.

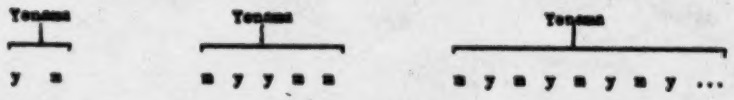
578 There is some talk of a feud between Nowel (Sow's child) and Gwiyap.
*115 Gwiyap says that he is going to fight him if he comes around the house and
he told us not to be cross with him if he beats Nowel up.

January 21, 1937.

583 Gwiyap's yaka (paternal aunt), his father's (Siyowa's) younger sister
[736] Uka, was cared for by Siyowa after their father died. Uka was married to
a man from Duwus who did not have the money to pay for her at once. If
he had been able to pay for her, the money would have gone to Siyowa.
[837] Her husband went to work at Bululo, and there were many who wanted to
have intercourse with her. Siyowa would not let them, saying that if her
husband returned, he would be ashamed if she had had intercourse with others.
Those who desired her were angry at this and sorcerized Siyowa, and he died.
[428] Before his death, however, he told Gwiyap that when the pay came for Uka,
it would go to him. (I think this is a rationalisation of normal inheritance).
Since Siyowa's death, Marok had been looking our for Uka.

Moieties

616 Normally if a man belongs to Yenama, his oldest son will be Minjama, his next oldest Yenama, and so on. If however, there is a preponderance of members in either moiety this is adjusted by shifting the alternation. Examples follow of three men and their sons and their moieties.



The equality of the moieties can also be adjusted by buying a young man with a pig into the moiety whose numbers are low. Normally a man belongs to the moiety into which he is first adopted but if chosen by the elders as a good worker, may change if he gives a pig and can sing for a long time without sitting down or sleeping.

616 The mind sugwiyf (carved figures) at the yam cult ceremonies
532 associated with each moiety are for Yenama-- a number of small carved human
796 heads; and for Minjama, a full carved figure of a man and several small human
794 heads. These figures are exhibited by a member of the cult during the time of the ceremonies; at other times they are kept in the owner's dwelling.

796 Women belong as do their husbands. During a Yenama ceremony the
794 Minjama women turn their net bags toward the house tamberan; the Yanama women
616 turn the back of the bag toward it, so that the men at the other side of the
593 sib can tell their affiliations. A woman whose husband has seen both
786 ceremonies is permitted to turn her bag either way. Men of Minjama have
[837] intercourse with women of Yenama while their husbands are attending the ceremony, and vice versa.

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864 boys of this age even refrain from touching them while urinating.

I cannot say whether this prohibition also prevented private masturbation. I asked Ham, Fit, and Mey, all of them boys in the childhood group, whether they played with their penises when they were alone. All of them denied it with considerable embarrassment. They hung their heads, pretended not to understand me, and changed the subject as quickly as they could. This embarrassment suggests that they were guilty about masturbation, but it does not indicate whether they actually did not masturbate or whether they did and were afraid to admit the fact.

201 Boys who have not seen one another for some time rush
864 together, throw their arms around each other, and hug and
838 pat one another and rub one another's cheeks with their lime
[834] gourds. They exhibit this behavior with boys of their own age and sometimes with older men, but never with a female. Such an embrace is permitted between the sexes only when they are both aged and related. Mey, Fit, and Ham frequently chose to sleep together in my house rather than at their homes. They were often joined by adolescents. Although this was attributed to the advantage of mosquito proofing, they usually slept huddled together and often with their arms around one another.

524 Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connota-
838 tions: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simu-
864 lates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated "her." Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their "honor." When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month.

838 Boys often tease one another sexually when they sleep
864

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together. In a manner similar to that associated with the "homosexual" game, each claims that the other is his wife and will have a child by him. On one occasion Ham slept in the mosquito net with Wysep, one of my houseboys, when the latter's wife was away. The next morning Gwiyap and Mey began teasing Ham, saying that they suspected that Wysep had had sex relations with him and that pretty soon "his belly would swell up." Ham hotly denied the accusation, but the kidding persisted until Ham retired from the scene. 838 • 864

As far as I could observe, there was very little genital contact established either in the games or when the boys slept together. Sodomy is believed to be unnatural and revolting, and informants were unanimous in saying that anyone who would submit to it must be a "ghost" and not a man. Although this sanction theoretically applied only to the person who played the passive rôle, it seemed to be effective in restricting the practice. [524]

The sexual training of a girl during childhood differs somewhat from that of a boy. Although she is punished for masturbating, in a manner similar to that of the boy, her conditioning differs in other respects, the most marked contrast resulting from the fact that the difference in her anatomy relieves her from the punishment which a male receives for having an erection in public. On the other hand, she is scolded by parents and older siblings for exposing herself unduly. She is taught to sit modestly with her legs stretched out together before her, and never to draw her legs up or sit with them apart. She is also warned not to lean over when a man is behind her unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her back. Furthermore she is told that a modest girl should step aside from a path if she sees a man approaching and stand with her back to the path until he has passed. She should not address him until he has gone by, at which time she may speak to him over her shoulder. When a girl is immodest, however, she is punished much less severely than is a boy. She is rarely more than scolded for such a lapse. The girl is also treated more leniently than the boy in that she is not restricted from looking at the genitals of the other sex. 864

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] [832] [835] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 834 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in intensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her changes of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

533 February 2, 1937. Yesterday the gongs started beating at Sombundura, and they kept up all night. Flutes played intermittently. The people at Rumbima said that it wasn't much of a ceremony--there was little excitement compared to the Bokwi ceremony. The beat was similar to the Ndunkwi of Yambon. The gongs were still going this morning, and several people went by somewhat ornamented but without paint on their faces.

[171] [301] [302]

578 This morning while I was still in bed, I heard a scramble and then Fit ran down the path to his house yelling. He was chased by May who had a smoking firebrand in his hand and was belaboring Fit with it. Later May came in with a cut on his forehead. He said that he had called Fit names, Fit had lost his temper, and sworn at him. He had rushed May while he was sitting down, and cracked him on the head with his fist. May had scrambled up, grabbed a firebrand and threatened him. The spectators all thought it a good joke. Although Fit ran down to his house, there was no talk from the elders that I was aware of. Later Owiyap and I were talking about it, and he asked me if we fought the same way. I said no, that we more often played at fighting that way.

[522]

838 February 3, 1937. I woke up this morning and heard the voice of Ham in
522 Wisep's house. They were kidding him about sodomy. It was treated in a joking manner. He denied it and accused Marur and Wisep. He said that Marur had been having sexual intercourse with Wisep for a long time--this brought howls of laughter. The joking went on intermittently through breakfast. I told Marur to bring Ham to me, that I wanted to have intercourse with him. There was laughter, and Marur chased Ham, who ran away. Later Marur caught him and asked me if he should bring him now. I said, "No, he isn't big enough", but added that he, Marur, was about right. They laughed heartily at this, and Ham danced around Marur pointing his finger at him.

[123]

838 finger at him. Later I asked May if sodomy was the fashion among the Kwoma. He replied that it was the custom of the Markam (tribe from which Wisep [829] came). Then I asked him if the Hongwum understood this, and he said, "I think?" and walked away. He did not seem to be embarrassed or shocked, but did not like to talk about it.

578 Qwiyap, Wisep and Marur went in to the station. May just came in with 602 his net bag, (bilum) which was empty except for a broken glass (the one which Bob had given him). He was quite upset. Fit, it seems, in revenge for yesterday's fight had emptied his bag, stolen a knife and a spoon from it, and broken the mirror, and then had left to stay with his mother who lived in Wenya (his mother was formerly married to Mar's father's younger brother). May had told Mar's mother about this, and she had railed about the incident. This is not a thing that brothers should do. She told May to wait until Fit came back and then get his net bag and do the same to it. This May plans to do.

I went to visit Wof. He and his wife were there sitting in the [123] porch section. Wof got up and greeted me very warmly and obsequiously.

123 Wof sat down and began scowling. His wife was preoccupied and did not 593 greet me as effusively as usual. Kum was standing at the side of the 595 house with his back to us, and Kaya (Wof's first wife) spoke to him sharply, scolded him for something, and I noticed that he was sobbing quietly. I asked what was the matter, and May said that his mother had gone away, and he was crying for her (May had joined in the scolding and so had Wof). Mas who was sitting there said, "Oh, don't do that."

Kum had been sitting on a log in front of the house, and now he started wandering around the porch. Wof barked at him, and he sat down quickly looking very sheepish and scared. (May told me later that he, Kum,

123 685 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs to Rumbime--its bad business.)

224 752 Moel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him. Kwelump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he was too young.

593 578 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiyap said that she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a stave. The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 271 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where his wife Masamokwet was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the house boys.

123 685 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "sal-aboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War at the house tamberan. It was a recurrence of the Yolangu affair. It

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Merok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--
524 while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an
522 abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about
831 it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He
838 was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Fokotay, Daw, Yaminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbims calling with a new gong--do you hear me", and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss
685 about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

000 is sold to me. When the Tangwishamp bring fayombi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 Wer, Weremus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunge kafaamoni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Fit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mer is kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Gamwi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambanj girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambanj.

752 Enos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

252 up just after dawn to say they were cutting up the pig. Way, Marok, and Kar were doing the work -- Wof was looking on. Before the work was finished, War, Afok, Fokatay, and Tafalas came up. They sat around Wof's house and smoked, talked and chewed betel for ten minutes or so and then drifted off. They all sat facing away from the house, the women at the back..

501 Mas had planned to work on his canoe and came up carrying an ax. War told him to wait until he came back from Koriasi, and he would help. It wasn't worth it to ruin the canoe, as Mas and Mar were not good enough workmen. The others agreed, and Mas has given up the work.

191 [522] The house boys are teaching Afok pidgin. He treats it as a joke, and everyone is amused.

752 123 Kwos came to the house and said that his father had told him not to come, but that if I wanted to put salve on his sore, I should come down there. His right eye looks pretty bad; it is secreting pus. His right cheek is cracking like roast pork. His left eye is all right, though the eyelid is still somewhat swollen.

838 123 439 576 Mas and Owiyap were playing the homosexual game, calling each other friends -- without the usual hilarity but rather unusually. Cimpangay came bringing firewood for us -- and asked for beads. Wan tok (one who speaks my language)was his greeting fof Owiyap.

436 437 Marok and his wife, Uka, Chimuwa, Yawaf, Difa, Mboran, Dar, War, and Wof went, carrying pig and two net bags of yams contributed by Marok. Owiyap and Mar contributed a "lap lap" each. They will receive a lot of shell money in return. May would have contributed something, but he is a "wonki nothing".

593 Since Nguseruka's brother was killed by the police boys, she will not come to Rumbium because there is no one to look out for her, and she may be raped or sorcerised. Otherwise she would come with money, and soup

March 27, 1937.

856 [123] Owiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Owiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Kwiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ava (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amwa or nawalaka (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 13, 1937.

115 291 Last night Owiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Owiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Tumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and hold Owiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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882 intimate relationship with my other informants. This, to-
• 839 gether with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could de-
[123] termine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse sus-
[795] picion. The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161-162.

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [464] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent [838] girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, [839] either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in in-834 tensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

602 582 842 [614] Since relatives belong to the same sperm-blood strain, they should not marry. Although members of the same sib are not necessarily related in the biological sense, the idea of their relationship is extended by the assumption that every member of a specific sib is descended from a single common totemic ancestor. The degree of similarity in the sperm-blood strain in two persons is thought to depend upon the number of generations back to their common ancestor—common parents being the closest, a common totemic ancestor alone the most distant. Relatives in the female line are included in this theory, but only the children of the biological siblings of the [572] mother are considered to be related. *Friends* are brought in line with this theory as a result of being scarified at the same time, so that their blood is mixed on the bark slab on which the operation is performed. The close female relatives of a [608] *friend*, therefore, should not be married. Since the *ceremonial father* scrapes a boy's tongue and penis at the age-grade ceremony in order to purge him of bad blood and stimulate his growth, their blood too becomes associated. In consequence, a boy should not marry the close female relatives of his *ceremonial father*.

582 602 [578] [583] The Kwoma also believe that the marriage of relatives breeds in-group antagonisms. The relatives of the bride must often bring strong pressure to bear on the groom in order to collect the bride-price. Implied threats of sorcery are not at all uncommon, and insults are usual unless the payment is promptly made. If such bickering should take place between relatives, it would weaken the power of the in-group, and therefore should be avoided if possible. When the bride-price is paid, on the other hand, the families of the boy and the girl become "safe" with one another, and thus if they were previously unrelated, the in-group is extended. If the two families are already related, this advantage is not gained.

[183] Despite these sanctions, marriages not infrequently occur between relatives, most commonly between *brothers* and *sisters*. This deviation from the Kwoma ideal follows in part from the factor of proximity as described in connection with philandering. Such a marriage may, in fact, result from a

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already been told. The status of father and mother is important enough to summarize here, however, even at the risk of repetition. By the time a Kwoma couple marry, they are well aware of the assets of a large family. They know that a son will help with gardening, housebuilding, and the other economic tasks, that, when he grows up, he will stand by them in the struggle against sorcery and in disputes over property, that he will increase the prestige of the family in the community, and finally that he will support them when they grow old. The young couple know that a daughter is also an asset. She will help with economic tasks until she marries and she will also bring prestige to them. Furthermore, her bride-price will bring in shell money which the sons will need to pay for their wives. For these reasons a man and woman set out to produce children as quickly as possible and are gravely disappointed if they cannot do so. Indeed, a barren marriage often leads to divorce.[39]

The Kwoma believe that a fetus is formed from the mixture of the woman's blood and the man's sperm and that repeated insemination is necessary to cause fertilization. They know that the cessation of menstruation is a sign of pregnancy, but do not cease their sexual relations until the woman is big with child. A woman observes certain food taboos during pregnancy. She does not eat certain kinds of fish, flying fox, or cassowary in order to insure a normal and healthy child, and she may not eat birds lest the child grow feathers in place of hair.

When the expectant mother goes into labor, her husband must leave the house, and he and all other men must stay away until the child is delivered. Her own mother is called to attend her, and the adult women of the household or nearby households assist. These women take charge of the baby when it is born, cut the umbilical cord, and bury the placenta under the floor of the house to prevent it from coming into the hands of a sorcerer.

[39] I am not certain whether barrenness constitutes formal grounds for divorce. The fact that there were several couples still married, who had no children except by adoption, suggests that it is not. In two of the four cases of divorce on which I have detailed information, barrenness was given as one of the reasons for the separation.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark strips. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

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not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).
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583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
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595 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
794 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
[532] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[534] minjema or yenana; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
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his face, combs his hair, and nowadays also dons his gayest laplap, and either walks past the girl's house or down a path where he is likely to meet her. He also plays an active part by resorting to love magic. He tries to put scrapings from a fingernail of his left hand or blood from the left side[13] of his penis into the lime gourd or cigarette of a woman whom he desires. If she ingests these magical substances, it is believed that she will have an uncontrollable sexual desire for the man who gave them to her.

In his sexual activities a boy also runs the risk of making a girl pregnant. If this should happen, her relatives try to force her to name the father of the child. If she names a particular youth as the father, he will be forced by her relatives either to marry her or to pay them an indemnity in shell money. Threats of sorcery or violence are employed to bring about the marriage or extract the payment. The reason given for the indemnity is that if a girl has had a child before marriage no one will pay a full bride-price for her. If a boy is willing to marry the girl anyway, he is not greatly inhibited by the fear of making her pregnant, although there is some social stigma attached to such an event. If the girl is unattractive, however, this factor assumes greater importance.

The danger from the relatives of a girl has certain consequences in controlling an adolescent boy's general behavior toward a girl as well as in determining his mode of sexual behavior. Breaches in etiquette with respect to females become much more serious than they were during childhood. We have seen that, if he stared at the genitals of his mother or sister as a child, he was scolded by the female at whom he stared; when he reaches the age of puberty such behavior is defined as specifically sexual. If he now stares at a girl, her relatives classify the act as a sexual advance and react to it accordingly. To be sure, they do not react as strongly as to an actual liaison, but they usually criticize him and may even insult and threaten him. Even staring at a girl's body in gen-

[13] The only explanation that I could get for the idea that the left side is important was that work is done with the right hand, and that this, for some reason, made the left side preferable in sexual matters.

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, 301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrised with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel. [881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is 584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal 583 591 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

611 595 794 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are [532] [534] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either minieme or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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CHAPTER II

INFANCY

854 KWOMA infants[1] up to the time they are weaned are never far from their mothers. It is, in fact, very seldom that they are not actually in physical contact [575] with her. Having turned over most of her household duties to [602] her co-wife or some female relative, the mother may hold the child all day and give it her undivided attention. She sits either on the earth floor or on a bark slab under the porch of the family dwelling with the baby nestling on her outstretched legs. At night the infant sleeps cuddled by her side. Whenever she has to move, she carries the child with her cradled in her arm, sitting on her neck, or, less frequently, straddling her hip. The hours that she spends sitting, however, far outnumber the total time spent in standing or walking around with the baby. This is especially true during the first few months, when she considers it dangerous to the child's health to leave the house. If the child appears robust at the end of three or four months, the mother may venture out to the house of a neighbor to visit and show off her infant, but she will not go beyond the limits of the hamlet [754] until the fontanel hardens. This precaution results from the belief that infants are especially susceptible to sorcery before this time and that they should therefore not be subjected to [574] undue risks. For the same reason any visitor except a close relative is unwelcome in a house where there is a newborn [123] infant. Two children were born in the hamlet during my stay, but I was not allowed to see either of them until they were about three months old.[2]

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[1] The infants from whom most of the data were obtained were Yat's son Njan, who was born a few weeks after my arrival, Way's son Kadowan, who was born a few weeks after Njan, and Suw, the son of War, an infant who was slightly over three years of age, but retarded by yaws and malaria.

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recurring discomforts that an infant experiences. The mother 853 •
keeps her breast constantly available, so that for the most part the infant is able to satisfy this drive by merely exercising the innate sucking reflex. He does learn, however, that certain preliminary behavior is useful in bringing satisfaction more quickly and efficiently. He learns to turn his head to take the nipple in his mouth, to stop sucking from one breast when it becomes dry, and finally even to lift himself from a prone position to a vantage point from which he can suckle. Suw, one of the older infants of the hamlet, had learned to do all these things very adeptly. Kadowan and Njan, whom I first observed when they were three months old, depended almost entirely on the mother to lift them to the proper position, to help them get the nipple into the mouth, and to change the breast for them at the proper time. Nevertheless they already manifested some of these instrumental acts in incipient form.

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to grasp other objects besides his mother's breast and to put 856
them into his mouth. At times he even crawled about the porch floor in order to examine things which caught his interest. One of his first responses to these objects was to lift them to his mouth. Compared to ourselves, the Kwoma are exceptionally permissive toward this type of behavior. I once saw Suw with the blade of a twelve-inch bush knife in his mouth and the adults present paid no attention to him. As a result of such trial-and-error investigations, the child learns to discriminate between the edible and inedible. Mother's beads, father's adz, or brother's pith ball not only do not satisfy hunger but sometimes even hurt one's mouth.

Toward the end of infancy the Kwoma mother begins to 862
prepare her child for weaning by introducing foods other than milk into the diet. At first she bends over and transfers masticated food from her mouth into that of her child. Later she gives him a spoonful of soup or a bit of gruel. Even infants as young as Kadowan and Njan were given a small piece of pork to chew on; this probably served both as nourishment and as a pacifier.

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866 throwing himself on the ground screaming with rage. On another occasion he wept silently with his forefinger in his mouth. Usually, however, he would move away a little, look at his mother, and then move cautiously toward her again, as though in a state of conflict. Merik exhibited similar behav-
• 853 ior, but to a less marked degree. His mother had not respected the prohibition against cohabitation while still nursing, so that his infancy period had been cut somewhat short by the birth of a younger sibling. His behavior seemed to indicate that he had already learned that he could not hope to regain his infantile pleasures, but that he was not yet mature enough to turn to the childhood play group.

With weaning, then, many of the demands which the Kwoma child has learned to make during infancy become no longer successful. His mother no longer responds in the same helpful way to many of his requests. His demands to be taken into her lap, scratched, patted, or warmed, are now ignored. When she no longer heeds his demands, he becomes more vociferous. Unless he is in serious danger, however, she still does not cater to him. He then reverts to the earlier response of crying. When this fails, he tries other responses in his repertory. For example, one morning Kum's mother put on her net bag to go to the swamp to collect sago. Kum, observing her, said, "Mother, I want to go too." "No," she replied, "you must stay at home." Kum repeated his request more vigorously, but his mother did not heed him. Then he began to cry, but still without success. His crying increased in intensity until he was screaming. His mother, having finished her preparations, started down the path. Kum ran after her and clasped her leg, trying to hold her back, and shrieking. When she disengaged her leg he threw himself on the ground and rolled over and over in the grass.

If a child is too vociferous and persistent in his demands, he is actually punished. One morning Kum was calling to his mother, who was a short way down the mountainside gathering firewood: "Mother, come! I am hungry. Mother, come! I am hungry." She answered at first that she would be home

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

602 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

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[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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permit him to discover the reward by free trial and error. There are three techniques of guidance: leading, instructing, and demonstrating.

The most primitive technique by which a teacher can make his pupil perform the correct response is by leading. To do this the teacher physically limits the random responses of the pupil so that he makes the right response more quickly, or so that he is prevented from making wrong responses. Such guidance is used by the Kwoma primarily when the pupil has not yet learned to talk and therefore cannot follow instructions. The following case illustrates the use of leading. Njan, while lying in his mother's lap one afternoon, began to cry and struggle. His mother lifted him up to her breast, and, holding his head with one hand, directed her nipple into his mouth with the other. Njan began to nurse. Had his mother not directed his head, he would probably eventually have found her nipple as the result of random movements and satisfied his hunger. The mother, by holding his head, prevented him from making errors and thus forced him to make the right response more quickly. Informants stated that mothers taught their children to defecate in the latrine by leading them there and holding them in the proper position. These are the only situations observed in which Kwoma teachers employ the technique of leading, though there may well be others.

Verbal guidance or instruction is probably the most widely used of all teaching techniques. As indicated in the preceding analysis of punishment, scolding, threats, warnings, and inciting, instructions normally form a part of these techniques. In other words, teachers usually motivate and guide at the same time. On rare occasions, however, when the pupil is already motivated by some other agency, a teacher need simply help the pupil to make the right response, or not to make the wrong response, by instructing him.

The following case illustrates the use of instructions as a teaching technique. Fit was trying to light the fire in my cook house one afternoon. A strong wind was blowing, and the matches kept going out. Mar, who was watching him,

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the general permissive attitude which a mother exhibits toward her infant suggests that she may also allow it freedom to discover this mode of gratification. On the other hand, the fact that older children are not permitted to masturbate in public might influence the mother to prohibit this type of behavior in her infant as well. The fact that both Kum and Merik, boys who were in the weaning period, fingered their genitals without being punished suggests a permissive attitude toward masturbation as perhaps the more plausible assumption. 864

Although a mother tries to protect her infant from pain inflicted by the natural environment, frequent experience with suffering is unavoidable. It is practically impossible for her to ward off the clouds of hungry mosquitoes that are continually present. The extreme temperature variations are often unpleasant. In the afternoon, with humidity at a maximum and the temperature around ninety degrees, the heat is stifling. By contrast, a damp foggy morning with the temperature at seventy is uncomfortably cold; I would shiver in a thick sweater while the natives huddled by their fires. Teething is another source of pain which every infant must endure. Yaws and malaria are prevalent diseases at Kwoma. Informants told me that no one ever grows up without contracting the former. Certainly few youths or adults can be seen who do not bear scars of yaws sores. The infant's physiological immaturity makes him for the most part dependent on his mother to help him cope with these natural pains just as he depends on her to feed him. 854 • [136] [132] [164]

Crying is selected as the most effective response which a Kwoma infant can make both to pain and to hunger. It constitutes an injunction to the mother to discover the source of the trouble. Her first response is to present the breast. If this fails to quiet him, she tries something else. If she believes that the child is crying because he is too hot, she moves him away from the heat of her body. If she thinks he is cold, she cuddles him. If his crying calls her attention to a mosquito on him, she brushes it off and scratches the bite. If she suspects that sores from yaws are hurting him, she tries to move

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854 him into a more comfortable position. If he seems to be crying because he is sick, she tries to distract his attention by
[524] crooning to him, rocking him gently, and patting him. One mother, by putting a stone in a tin can, had invented a rattle which she used in these circumstances. Each time a mother reacts to her child's crying by discovering and removing the source of discomfort, she rewards this response in her child. The situation in Kwoma is such that, for the young infant, crying is followed by the alleviation of pain more frequently than is any other response.

When the infant begins to talk, he learns an even more efficient technique for securing help. A mother does not always know the trouble when her infant cries, but his words elicit immediate and appropriate help. A Kwoma infant who has learned to speak may say, "Mother, my back itches," or
[861] "I am cold; warm me." The mother rewards these demands by removing the source of discomfort. This indicates one of the advantages of learning language and hence why an infant is motivated to do so.

856 Thus during infancy the response to discomfort which is most strongly established is that of seeking help by crying or asking for it. Responses such as approaching the breast, moving to avoid pains, and other independent acts are also established. They form a basis for later learning, but hold a less important position in the response repertory of an infant than that of seeking help.

854 A motive which becomes strongly established during infancy is the wish to be near to and touch the mother. Almost all the pains and discomforts which an infant experiences are reduced while he is either sitting in his mother's lap or lying by her side. He is fed there, he sleeps there, and he is warmed and cooled, scratched and petted there—always while in bodily contact with his mother. The following case indicates the strong attachment that an infant has for his
854 mother's lap and how loath he is to leave it. Mbora one after-
866 noon was teaching her infant son Suw to venture from her lap. She was rolling a ball a little way from her and then

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.[a] Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

[a] Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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854 757 or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[6] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

854 865 Very few aggressive responses are established during infancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

858 As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[753]

[6] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 61.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *owambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yogisa fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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the hands of a sorcerer. As soon as the mother is able, she takes care of the baby and nurses it.[40] Both parents show special concern for the child until his fontanel closes,[41] as they believe that he is particularly susceptible to sorcery during this time. For this reason the mother stays at home and does not receive visitors. The father, in order to insure the child's safety during this period, does not chew betel, or scratch himself except with a stick, and he holds his cigarettes between tweezers.[42]

Under certain circumstances, when the parents do not wish to bring up an infant, they may either offer it for adoption or kill it. If a woman gives birth to a monstrosity, she disposes of it as soon as it is born. She treats one of twins in the same way. Parents may decide not to bring up a normal child when there are already several children of one sex in the family and the new baby is of the same sex. If the children are all girls, for example, there will be no one to inherit the land nor to protect and care for the parents in their old age, so the mother may offer for adoption or kill a new girl infant in order to free herself more quickly to produce another child with the hope that it be a boy. Similarly, a boy infant may be killed or offered for adoption if the previous children are all male, since it will be very difficult to obtain sufficient shell money to pay for their wives if they have no sisters. The optimal family, therefore, is one in which boys and girls are equally balanced. Infanticide and adoption are employed to approximate this ratio.

The mother has full responsibility for the immediate physical care of her offspring during infancy. For the first few months she permits no one else to handle the infant, but after this she allows her co-wife to give her short respites. She may permit the father, uncle, or aunt to hold the infant for a few moments for their amusement, but she rarely intrusts it to

[40] The above information was obtained from male informants and hence is incomplete and not necessarily reliable.

[41] Informants described this as "when the baby's heart stops beating on the top of his head."

[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

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854 an older sibling and then only under her direct supervision.
593 The father's duty with respect to the well-being of his infant
[754] is primarily to take special precautions against sorcery and to be ready to issue a strong anti-sorcery protest the moment the infant becomes ill. Unless he has a second wife or daughter old enough to work, he may have to cook his own meals, process sago flour alone, and make some reciprocal arrangements with the wife or daughter of a brother to supply his
[853] household with wood or water. The mother may not indulge in sexual intercourse during the infancy of her offspring lest she be forced to wean it while it is, according to Kwoma standards, too young. Thus the birth of an infant necessitates considerable changes in the habits of both its father and its mother and is a burden to them as well as a promised asset. Despite this, Kwoma parents may not express annoyance at these frustrations by hurting the infant in any way; they may not even punish it except very mildly and only under the circumstances which have been described. This prohibition seems to be effected more by the fact that it is incompatible with the strong wish for children than by any direct sanctions.

593 It is not necessary to repeat here the details of the behavior of Kwoma parents toward their child as he passes through the various stages from infancy to adulthood, since these facts may be inferred from previous chapters. It may simply be stated, however, that the parents take the final responsibility for their child's well-being and for teaching him to behave in the way that the culture dictates as right and proper.
[626] Parents who neglect their children are censured by other
[684] members of the hamlet. Takawur, for example, had to flee from the tribe after he attempted to rape War's wife. He left his young son, Gwamp, behind him at Kwoma. Way, Takawur's brother, took care of Gwamp. Although the event had occurred several years before, Takawur is still criticized for not providing for his son, whereas the rape is now no longer held against him.

603 Although a *brother* is separated from his *sister* when the
[591] latter marries and moves away from the hamlet, they con-

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The market at which Kwoma women are trading their surplus of sago flour for fish brought by the river natives. The woman in the foreground is Marok's sister, Uka, holding a lump of sago flour in each hand. See Chapter VI, pages 119–120. The scars on her chest and around her navel are those she received as a mark of adulthood. See Chapter VI, page 106.

578 and telling her that she was no good and that he thought he would drive her out of the house or spear her. I asked Mey if he liked Chinuwa, and he said no; he was afraid of being sorcerized too.

593 Then he told me of War who had been sorcerized by his second wife.
595 He had speared her in the leg and cut her with a bamboo on the arm, and
754 after that she was good. He was careful to spear her in the leg so as not to kill her. According to Mey, this often happened in the case of the no. 2 wife. The first wife usually loved her husband and did not sorcerise him. This also is what happened if one married a woman, and she did not marry her husband of her own free will.

000 Now, a couple of hours later, Wof has just come up to the house and seems in excellent spirits. He hugged Mamb, went up and greeted Mamb's wife, and came in where I was writing. He then went out and sat glumly in the cook house.

753 February 4, 1937. Wof came up today with a big sick. His head and stomach were pained, and he asked for medicine. He had no fever, but looked pale. Someone was sorcerising him (this might have been predicted from yesterday). I tried to pump Mey, but he was no help about yesterday's business.

123 I went to see Marok but found he had gone into the bush. Then I
[854] stopped in at "Grilly's" house. His wife was sitting on the porch with an infant girl in her lap asleep. She gave me a coconut. The "lapun" in the next house was working something from a cassowary bone. His wife was
[231] working on a fish net. They have three cats which they call puss.

Then I came back. A couple of women came by; they stopped and greeted me. I was doing card tricks for some children and told them to come in and watch. They giggled a bit and came in, stood in the doorway and

000 482 their cigarettes.] While we were sitting there a group of women came by carrying firewood in their large net bags. Women carry large net bags with the handle across their forehead and the bag over their back. Men carry much smaller ones at their side with the handles over their shoulder. 562 The women went by us quickly with their eyes on the ground. When they were past us, they stopped and a couple of the older ones spoke to some of the men. They stood with their backs toward us, looking over their shoulders. We have observed this back-to pose several times before. I don't know whether it is an indication of their status with regard to men. They always seem to be uncomfortable when they are in a male gathering. Several times girls have gathered firewood for us to get pay in beads. They will dump their firewood quickly and stand shyly away from any group of men which might be there until they receive their pay. When we have seen them in their own house, they have seemed much more sure of themselves, but still tend to turn their backs to you and avoid your gaze. Old women [855] are much less shy than younger ones. This situation is going to make it [123] difficult for my special project, for children up to the age of four or five are constantly with their mothers. I guess it will be a matter of biding my time until I can make an entré into a family group. I feel confident that this will be possible.

114 November 13, 1936. On the nights of the eighth, ninth, and tenth, there 132 was a terrific wind blowing in gusts which shook the house with their violence. They blew our mosquito nets about and made it impossible to [136] sleep. This wind also brought up a great cloud of hungry mosquitoes from the Sepik which made the days intolerable also, so as a result, we did very little work, but instead talked about how we wished we were home.

211 Tip made an excursion across the valley to the west toward Koriasi, and there found a rather interesting thing. He came upon a small clearing

123 at her embarrassment. I asked where Suw was, and they said that he was
[322] asleep. I saw a partly finished sugilawaa (carved figure) roughly
[412] blocked out from a chunk of wood. All the work so far had been done with an adze. He had two--one with a bit about 3/4 inch wide and another 1½ inches. The finishing touches are done with a knife.

855 Suw woke up and came out and crawled into his mother's lap. I came back
123 into the porch and Suw was a little frightened and clung to his mother, held one of her breasts with one hand and put his head between her breasts. I playfully hit Ham on the tail with my walking stick, and Suw began to whimper. His mother held him close to her and soothed him and then laughingly explained to me that he was afraid because I had hit Ham. The ball rolled over to Suw and his mother, and she picked it up and handed it to him to throw which he did. Later it rolled over to the other side of the house, and the kids told Suw to go and get it. His mother spoke softly to him pointing toward the ball and urging him on with a little shove. He looked at it for a while and then turned back to his mother with his finger in his mouth and cuddled up to her.

262 Then it was time to eat. Ham brought War three pieces of rolled
123 boiled sago and a half dozen roast sugar cane sprouts. His wife then asked me if I would like a sago fritter. I said yes, so she tore off a piece and wrapped it around a roast sugar cane heart and gave it to Ham who brought it to me. It was quite good, the fritter rather rubbery, but the roast heart of sugar cane excellent.

593 I went back to Wof's. He was still in a dour mood and so was his wife; he snapped at May and at Owiyap's little sister for not making the sago properly. Wof's wife sent May for the chop sticks to make the sago.

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recurring discomforts that an infant experiences. The mother 853
keeps her breast constantly available, so that for the most part the infant is able to satisfy this drive by merely exercising the innate sucking reflex. He does learn, however, that certain preliminary behavior is useful in bringing satisfaction more quickly and efficiently. He learns to turn his head to take the nipple in his mouth, to stop sucking from one breast when it becomes dry, and finally even to lift himself from a prone position to a vantage point from which he can suckle. Suw, one of the older infants of the hamlet, had learned to do all these things very adeptly. Kadowan and Njan, whom I first observed when they were three months old, depended almost entirely on the mother to lift them to the proper position, to help them get the nipple into the mouth, and to change the breast for them at the proper time. Nevertheless they already manifested some of these instrumental acts in incipient form.

Suw, who was almost old enough to be weaned, had learned 854
to grasp other objects besides his mother's breast and to put 856.
them into his mouth. At times he even crawled about the porch floor in order to examine things which caught his interest. One of his first responses to these objects was to lift them to his mouth. Compared to ourselves, the Kwoma are exceptionally permissive toward this type of behavior. I once saw Suw with the blade of a twelve-inch bush knife in his mouth and the adults present paid no attention to him. As a result of such trial-and-error investigations, the child learns to discriminate between the edible and inedible. Mother's beads, father's adz, or brother's pith ball not only do not satisfy hunger but sometimes even hurt one's mouth.

Toward the end of infancy the Kwoma mother begins to 862
prepare her child for weaning by introducing foods other than milk into the diet. At first she bends over and transfers masticated food from her mouth into that of her child. Later she gives him a spoonful of soup or a bit of gruel. Even infants as young as Kadowan and Njan were given a small piece of pork to chew on; this probably served both as nourishment and as a pacifier.

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854 him into a more comfortable position. If he seems to be crying because he is sick, she tries to distract his attention by
[524] crooning to him, rocking him gently, and patting him. One mother, by putting a stone in a tin can, had invented a rattle which she used in these circumstances. Each time a mother reacts to her child's crying by discovering and removing the source of discomfort, she rewards this response in her child. The situation in Kwoma is such that, for the young infant, crying is followed by the alleviation of pain more frequently than is any other response.

When the infant begins to talk, he learns an even more efficient technique for securing help. A mother does not always know the trouble when her infant cries, but his words elicit immediate and appropriate help. A Kwoma infant who has learned to speak may say, "Mother, my back itches," or
[861] "I am cold; warm me." The mother rewards these demands by removing the source of discomfort. This indicates one of the advantages of learning language and hence why an infant is motivated to do so.

• 856 Thus during infancy the response to discomfort which is most strongly established is that of seeking help by crying or asking for it. Responses such as approaching the breast, moving to avoid pains, and other independent acts are also established. They form a basis for later learning, but hold a less important position in the response repertory of an infant than that of seeking help.

854 A motive which becomes strongly established during infancy is the wish to be near to and touch the mother. Almost all the pains and discomforts which an infant experiences are reduced while he is either sitting in his mother's lap or lying by her side. He is fed there, he sleeps there, and he is warmed and cooled, scratched and petted there—always while in bodily contact with his mother. The following case indicates the strong attachment that an infant has for his
854 mother's lap and how loath he is to leave it. Mbora one after-
866 noon was teaching her infant son Suw to venture from her lap. She was rolling a ball a little way from her and then

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. 865
He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who 602
is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community."
When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to 865
avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely 865
allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is 554
strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully 602
command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, [192]
which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs 826
according to which he can hasten the process of growing up. 856

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826 He is taught that growth depends upon the renewal of blood,
• 856 and that food produces blood, which promotes growth as long as it is fresh. When blood has been in the system for a time, however, it begins to grow stale and finally rotten, and then growth ceases until the bad blood is removed from the body. It is furthermore believed that the best method of removing this bad blood from the system is through the penis.[20] As might be expected, children with a strong wish to grow up and with a method which they are told will accomplish it, take this means even though it is painful. Boys frequently go into the bushes and scrape their penises with nettle leaves so that the blood may flow out. For some reason that I could not discover, perhaps because penis scraping was associated with masturbation, boys performed this act only in private and were ashamed if they were discovered. One day Gwiyap, seeing that Mey had left his net bag lying in my house, opened it and pulled out a bundle of nettles. When Mey came in, I asked him about the bundle. He became very embarrassed and said, "Oh, just something of mine." When Gwiyap began to tease him about it, he ran from the house.

It would perhaps be more appropriate to describe this complex in terms of the fear of not growing up rather than in terms of the wish to grow up. The following cases suggest that this is probably the way in which Kwoma boys think of it. Fit asked me if I had performed this rite when I was a child, and when I answered that I had not, his mouth dropped
[123] in amazement. "How did you grow up, then?" he asked. Gwiyap, who was also present, settled the matter by explaining to Fit that white men are different from Kwoma. On another occasion Ham asked me the same question and was equally amazed at my answer. Apparently Fit had told him what I had said, and Ham had asked me to make sure that Fit was not teasing him.

[157] [20] This belief concerns health as well as growth, and, as has already been shown, phlebotomy is practiced in the case of sickness, in order to "let out the bad blood."

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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[42] A man observes these same taboos when he plants yams.

869 206 *Becoming a Kwoma*

826 Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow some-
[157] one to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache,
or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even be-
come seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not
• [856] bleed his penis he will not grow up.[1] When the age-grade
initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not
attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow
[262] up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is
warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish
may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that
if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow
he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the ani-
mal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This
warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting.
An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he
become sick, for the seed and produce have become contami-
nated with his blood.

869 One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here,
262 because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adoles-
562 cents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a
252 woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in
processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife,
to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

121 The following case will serve to illustrate the psychologi-
869 cal effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have
823 upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walk-
123 ing through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a
waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it
for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap
heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, how-
ever, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walk-
ing stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing
this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity.
The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a
distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by
Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[1] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

000 is sold to me. When the Tangwishamp bring fayambi, they expect a knife for
435 a bunch containing 20 or 30 nuts, the equivalent of 2 large bunches of
276 bananas, or a net bag of yams.)

754 War, Waremus, Way, Wof, and Kar have gone to Sowinambi's for sunga kafeamuni (sorcery court). Mas and May came back from shooting with one gouria pigeon. May left his net bag and found a bundle of nettles in it.
826 Mas explained that May got them to scrape his penis to make it and him
856 grow. Later I asked May what they were. He laughed, embarrassed and would not answer. "Something bilong me". Owiyap explained that this was the "fashion of monkis" -- that he was big "finish" and did not do it any more.

685 May reported this afternoon that Fit had stolen a knife from his net bag and gone to his mother's.

838 Kar came up tonight, played the homosexual game with Owiyap, and put him down, spread his legs apart and spit on his penis--much to the delight of all. Mas berated May for running away and not helping Owiyap "fashion no good." Yat came at supper time, and he, Marok and Kar ate most of the
595 gouria pigeon. Kar is making arrangements to get a third wife. Mar is kidding him about it.

Owiyap heard that Ceawi, Sowinambi's daughter, on whom he had designs,
584 said that if he married the Urambeni girl to whom he was bethrothed she would kill her. This pleased Owiyap who said he was going to break his engagement with the girl from Urambeni.

752 Enos was playing with a cold cartridge, lighting the powder. I had demonstrated burning gun powder at noon. It did not light at once when he tried it, so he leaned over to blow it, and it went off, burning his face badly, closing both eyes. Mas had warned him. They all blamed him, scolded him for being careless,

March 27, 1937.

*856 [123] Gwiyap and Fit asked if I had ever cut my genitals and scraped them with nettles. When I replied in the negative they inquired how was it that I had come to grow. They were so convinced that this is essential to growth that they were very surprised that white men could grow without it.

April 5, 1937.

838 171 Sodomy is not openly practiced, however Gwiyap says that it is practiced at Yambon.

A 115 When I talk with him about the attractiveness of Ewiya or Awa, although at first he talked avidly, he now seems embarrassed and changes the subject.

601 595 If a man has two wives the child calls them both ave (mother) unless the other wife is a widow of an uncle. Then he calls her amve or newelake (younger uncle and elder aunt, respectively).

593 833 Intercourse after marriage is at the wife's instigation and not the man's.

April 15, 1937.

* 115 291 Last night Gwiyap was sitting in the mosquito netting and took off his "lap lap." He said he liked to walk about thus--he did not like to wear it.

* 115 123 829 Talk turned to America, and he asked me alot of questions, particularly about the status of black skins in America. I told him that they had houses and money, and worked just as white people do, and tried to convey that their status there was much higher in relation to whites than it was in New Guinea. He asked me if black boys married white women. I said that they sometimes did. Gwiyap said that he would like to go to America and stay there. He said, "If I go to America, I'll be all-a same masta," (just like a white man).

* 115 787 He had a long dream last night. A woman had died and was on a platform. He did not know who she was except that her name was Yumakwo. Way was stabbing this woman with a rope which has the point of a spear. His daughter came up and held Gwiyap by the arms and asked him to come with her into the bush, as she did not like what her father was doing.

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

• 857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwaun, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yewa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbiima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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867 264 lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, [592] belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are [754] his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man [602] suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

[604] The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

867 Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another • 857 person without being punished only if the owner gives per- 261 mission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[754] [602] [1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then." 867 857

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy. 261 867 857 261 685

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention. 867 857 123 685 [261] [754] [868]

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting 868

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error. [86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] Nokwi is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin-terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is forced to clean up after himself. The following example indicates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis. One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor and that they were going to punish him for it. While they were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in, scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished. Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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869 with impunity, it would be extremely dangerous for children and women to be near the scene. In fact, a child is told that he would die if he entered the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. Cases are cited to the children of women and children who had joined the men at this time either willfully [534] or by mistake and who had died as a result. The initiated tell the children that the gongs, trumpets, flutes, water drums, and bull roarers that they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of the *marsalai* who are present. Hints that these are man-made sounds come seeping down from adolescents and the careless remarks of adults, so that the child has a fairly accurate knowledge of the ceremonies before he ever participates in one. Despite his scepticism about the origin of the sounds, he nevertheless is awed whenever a ceremony takes place, and takes care not to venture near the scene. Furthermore, he takes care not to reveal to the adults that he has any suspicion of what really goes on.

869 796 Despite a child's awe of these meetings of the yam cult, he senses the excitement which prevails in the whole subtribe before a ceremony takes place and eagerly looks forward to the time when he will be old enough to attend them. He hears his father, *uncles*, and *older brothers* talk excitedly about the coming event, he sees them carefully paint their faces, comb their hair, don their best ornaments, and depart for the house tamberan. Then he hears the rhythmic harmonies of the gong orchestra, the high-pitched shouting of the singers, and the weird and plaintive flute melodies. These thrilling sounds burst out sporadically during the whole day, increase in tempo and intensity as night falls, and continue unabated as long as he stays awake. Stimulated by these events, [857] Kwoma boys make toy gongs from bamboo nodes and try to imitate the gong rhythms; they hum mimicries of the ceremonial songs; and they form miniature groups to practice the shuffling dance steps. Since they are not supposed to know these things, they do them in their forest playhouse or at times when there are no adults present.

869 789 Parents and older siblings also warn a child not to trespass in another person's garden lest he break out with boils. They

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig hunter is a *harafa ma malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[859] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her-
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[487] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongwem
423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
631 Wanyi, Hayamakwo, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.
[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.
[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
[462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
trees first being lopped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently
222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.
224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
[796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.
[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and
[957] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
262 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
826 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
226 and dogs are domesticated.
231

123 This morning just as it was beginning to get light before dawn, Ham came and roused me saying that Kar was waiting for me to go to his garden (we had planned the trip the day before). I had breakfast and went. Kar was on War's porch. Everyone was ready. Kar and I went out, as War and the
123 wives would follow when the house was straightened up. We arrived at the
241 garden about two hours' later skirting the south edge of the mountain. It was a muddy walk. The large garden was on the side hill. Half hour later War, two wives, and three children, Sunga (Kis' wife), Kar's wife, Haya and Toka arrived. Kar and War first wandered around the garden pulling up a weed here and fastening up a yam runner there (very similar to the way an American farmer acts). Then they set to work fastening runners to tree limbs. They started at the top of the field and worked down to the bottom. Then pegged the loose ends on the way up and then worked on another section. The two older women wandered around pulling up a few weeds here and there and then sat down. Sunga and Kar's wife went over the whole garden pulling up grass. They finished before Kar and War and then sat
[857] down. The female kids didn't do much of anything except play about. Kis
[252] and Hay went to get coconuts, bananas and dry yams for us--they gathered
[264] firewood, made the fire, and cooked the yams and bananas. The women ate
[262] boiled sago off and on as they worked. Kar and War worked steadily until 1:00, then they ate native spinach and sago. Their food had been prepared previously, so they didn't use the fire. The women had already eaten and
[461] now went to the bush house. As soon as Kar had eaten, had a smoke, and chewed a betel nut, he went with me and War, and then he set to work again. He had a couple more days' work and then will come back. Suw, his mother,
356 and Sunga stayed; the rest came back with me. When we reached War's house, it was swept clean; everything was put away and the door shut and fastened

356 with a digging stick. Mar's oldest daughter (age 9) appeared from the
[857] back (Kar's house). She had been left to look after the house.

123 February 8, 1937. Kum came up this morning and talked until noon. Wof
came up this afternoon and moaned about everyone else getting things (the
diwai etc. that I have been buying) while he got/ nothing. I said that if he had
something to sell, I would buy it. He brought up a spear. I had one just
like it and so I said no. He was quite hurt, so I give him a plane iron for
578 nothing. According to May, the argument between Wof and Chimawa is finished.
754 She did not give the sungayawa (sorcery materials) to another man but kept
it in her bilum (net bag).

302 This afternoon I went to Mar's and sat down. Mar's wife (Yawapa)
was shaving Awambaka's (Mar's sister) hair. (Hair is shaved because it
will grow in strong afterward). May was there. He did not look at Mar's
578 sisters. Kum was there but left soon after and started to carry a bit of
firewood away with him. Awambaka immediately yelled at him, picked up
a broom, and threatened him with it. He dropped the firewood.

123 Mar brought out the perfume that I gave him yesterday, and I told him
593 to let his sister smell it, but he wouldn't do it.

124 Then I went to Wof's house. A group had gathered there on their way
to my house--three Hayamakwo men and Mas' mother who were coming back to
[532] look at my house. I went home. The men came into my sleep room, looked at the
[778] diwais (carved figures), and we discussed who had made them and usually one
of them could tell. In the morning Kumb had said that some of the big men
were cross because I had left the figures around, so we put the most sacred
ones in a box. I showed them to the three men, and they shook their heads
and clucked their tongues and spoke in a whisper. Others had seen the same
things lying about and had not reacted half as much.

857 752 Fit and May have been playing all afternoon. May was chasing Fit. About 5:00 May caught Fit, who was holding a razor blade. Fit swung his hand to get free and cut a deep gash beside May's mouth and another on his finger. Owiyap explained carefully to me, and it seemed partly for May's benefic, that it was not deliberate on Fit's part. May did not seem to bear a grudge. Fit ran away for a half an hour or so, but came back at the end of that time. There were no hard feelings.

521 May, Afalowanj, Marak, Way, Yat, and Wof were at the house tamberan. 484 [628] There was general conversation. Three "finish timers" from Tangwishamp came by. About six Tangwishamps and as many Hongwans were helping to carry their cargo.

602 571 754 April 3, 1937. If Owiyap pays Payap, he will not only not pay him at hant sugwiga, but he will no longer accept anything from him, because now there is no obligation not to poison him. He will no longer eat at his house or accept betel, etc. from him. His son is also removed from the [601] relationship. He will no longer call them nem but use their name. His daughter, Mamma, will still care for him, and he will pay something to her at hant sugwiga. The relationship will not be broken. It can't be.

439 262 [251] Today there was a market with Yambon. Yawaf carried a mat bag of sago and brought seven strings of fish which were smoking over the fire this afternoon wrapped as they were in leaves. Owiyap ate five or six fish, a wrapped sago and a plate of soup.

578 602 Owiyap and War straightened out their difficulties. Owiyap paid the shilling and War told him that he was really not very cross since Owiyap was a child yet, and it was War's job to take care of him.. Payap is War's mother's adopted brother. He is Owiyap's mother's father's brother's adopted son.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who
628 had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone-daggers.
[648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the women or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It
883 was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Fit and Mey said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 Mar and Mes worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to
262 their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food
313 stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch
123 anything. Kaya and Chimuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chimuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 Wof and War went to Dunus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is
[593] a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was
[262] provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 — I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting
[378] around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was
[136] [redacted] house tamberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly.
[576] Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is con-
476 spicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 Chinuwa and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work
863 room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 Mes is now our shoot boy, as Hamb has quit. Yesterday Mes killed
784 two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that
226 he could not eat any. Mes realised that he should not eat them because he
[177] had killed them, but Gwiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mes was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalisation that Hamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Daw, Yatminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbima calling with a new gong--do you hear me", and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

March 4, 1937.

*115 787 123 Gwiyap had a dream last night that Bob Overall had come and that I was to go with him. He asked Gwiyap if he were going with him, to which Gwiyap replied, "no." Bob gave him two shillings and a bottle of peroxide. I told him to give them back, for I was his master and would instead give it to him.

March 8, 1937.

* 115 572 765 Gwiyap inherithd Yatafeuf as a naramboi (friend) but chose Amasay. When a friend dies, the number 1 naramboi gets the jaw bone; number 2 the clavicle; and number 3 the arm bone.

834 831 Kowas came in this morning with an erection. Gwiyap said that if a woman saw him thus she would slap his penis with her hand or with a stick. Girls may beat their brothers when they have an erection. If an adult has an erection in front of females he would be very ashamed.

584 Gwiyap reports that Mar's fiancee has not cooked for him yet and that he has not had intercourse with her. He does not like her nor do any of the others in the household, but she says she does not want to leave; she says she likes Mar and does not want to marry anyone else. Mar wishes he were married now, for May's son, who is younger than he is already married.

March 23, 1937.

* 115 857 When Gwiyap was a child Mar made a house in the woods where they would play. Mar would steal yams from his father and they would cook them. Gwiyap would steal tobacco for them to smoke. Girls would not come there. They would cut nodes of bamboo and play at beating a gong. Their fathers would warn them to look out that they were not sorcerised by sunge kapa (black magic). Their mothers were within calling distance of them (the houses were built near home.)

252 three or four times, until quite a large mass of the gruel has collected around and between the sticks. The sticks are then rotated above the pot until the excess has dripped off. The sago is then quickly transferred to a leaf (wheembage, a rough dull green leaf about one foot square) and the sticks are pulled apart lengthwise, leaving a sausage-like globule about two inches thick and six inches long deposited on leaf. The process is repeated until about a dozen such sausages have been made. If the gruel gets too cold a little more dry sago and more hot water is added. When the bowl is empty, the leaves are folded lengthwise first and then the ends are folded back-- like a package at the store. These "packages" are piled, [462] bottom side up, so that they will remain folded. Both men and women do [516] this work, men standing up and women sitting down. When the water is hot, [857] child will usually make their own boiled sago, too.

[192] Fried Sago Fritters (ngiyi)

Sago is also fried in the following manner. A washed sago lump is [354] put on a shallow clay pot supported by three large rocks over the fire. These rocks stay put and the fire is made between them. The stones are also used to hold the deep pots used in the making of soup. The lump of sago is pushed down and left over the fire for three or four minutes. Then it is pried loose with a little wooden spatula and taken off. It is transferred to a palm spathe which has been made ready for it. The bottom of the lump has been cooked to a stiff cake and is peeled off and put onto another palm spathe. The remaining lump has now been dried so that it is crumbly. A handful of it is now broken off and pressed around the hot pot with thumb and forefinger in a layer about 1/4 inch thick. This is left for a minute or two and then is peeled off with the spatula. It is now about the consistency

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts 561
are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still [353]
suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the [862]
transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The child- [858]
hood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the [881]
first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adoles- [304]
cence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in [884]
which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While [302]
he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, 592
and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father 592 476

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule. [884]

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years. [888]

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854 or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or
757 belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[5] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

854 Very few aggressive responses are established during in-
865 fancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

• 858 As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[753]

[5] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 64.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *awambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yugisa fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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and eliminating similar minor dangers, he is now punished for becoming angry with his parents, as was shown by the scolding received by Kum for crying loudly for his mother. 865

In the realm of prestige, the Kwoma child during the period of weaning plunges from the very top to the very bottom of the social hierarchy. Most of the commands which he issues are now ignored, and the help which he expects is denied him. Furthermore, he has to learn to obey the commands of others during this period. His control over his social environment is at a minimum. 858 •

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857
• 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 The widening of a boy's contact with the environment
825 necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things.
861 While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking
262 berries which may cause his death if he does not know that
[524] they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[118] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

121 883 836

[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm. 869 775 [787] [882]

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material. 869 754 [862] [858] [882] [833] [841]

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system. 869 826

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "sing-sing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer, or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
123 the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[177] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
858 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

Tobacco

276 993 Long, long ago, Sukugarat/ shot Sokway/gur/ and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagarat/ made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdangara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (giey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (*sawŋ́nd*) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 Shells , *ysi* (small cowrie shells) and *asímangárí* (larger ones), obtained
[583] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[439] function as money.
[436]

The figure below , an ornament called *nŋ́ masíkí* (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.

[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (*amángurí*), shell ornaments (*wanyivi*) ,
ysi , *asimangárí* and *lofu wafí* (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia.
The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (*mano*) are the most highly prised for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouris pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the *mano*.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (*afo fokw*) is attached
237

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882 602 865 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usually obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 609 628 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except 583 591 602 606 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjustment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 • 86 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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ment, and, in the case of boys, to be less terrified of the supernatural environment. They discover that sorcery can be combated and that *marsalai* are, in part at least, a fraud. Their social environment expands. The battlefield on which they fight to be respected now extends beyond the hamlet instead of being confined primarily to their siblings as it was during childhood. They learn the value both of maintaining safe relationships and of threatening to break them. Perhaps most important of all, they learn not to let anyone impose upon them.

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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed
• 861 is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[2] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior
[124] of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [2] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sok*, which is a term meaning
[196] bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust
[754] usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sok* may be related to the verb *soka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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854 him into a more comfortable position. If he seems to be crying because he is sick, she tries to distract his attention by
[524] crooning to him, rocking him gently, and patting him. One mother, by putting a stone in a tin can, had invented a rattle which she used in these circumstances. Each time a mother reacts to her child's crying by discovering and removing the source of discomfort, she rewards this response in her child. The situation in Kwoma is such that, for the young infant, crying is followed by the alleviation of pain more frequently than is any other response.

When the infant begins to talk, he learns an even more efficient technique for securing help. A mother does not always know the trouble when her infant cries, but his words elicit immediate and appropriate help. A Kwoma infant who has learned to speak may say, "Mother, my back itches," or
• [861] "I am cold; warm me." The mother rewards these demands by removing the source of discomfort. This indicates one of the advantages of learning language and hence why an infant is motivated to do so.

856 Thus during infancy the response to discomfort which is most strongly established is that of seeking help by crying or asking for it. Responses such as approaching the breast, moving to avoid pains, and other independent acts are also established. They form a basis for later learning, but hold a less important position in the response repertory of an infant than that of seeking help.

854 A motive which becomes strongly established during infancy is the wish to be near to and touch the mother. Almost all the pains and discomforts which an infant experiences are reduced while he is either sitting in his mother's lap or lying by her side. He is fed there, he sleeps there, and he is warmed and cooled, scratched and petted there—always while in bodily contact with his mother. The following case indicates the strong attachment that an infant has for his
854 mother's lap and how loath he is to leave it. Mbora one after-
866 noon was teaching her infant son Suw to venture from her lap. She was rolling a ball a little way from her and then

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.* Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

* Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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shortly. Kum kept on shouting until finally his mother 866
stopped answering him. Then he began to wail. His older *brothers*, who were playing ball a short distance away, told him to be quiet. His stepmother, who was working in the house, after several times telling him to hush, finally gave him a scolding.

During the weaning period a child continues to receive help from his mother if he is in grave danger or sick. If he contracts malaria or some other serious disease, she will take him back into her lap and minister to him. If he has a head- [757]
ache or stomach-ache, she attempts to cure him by phlebotomy. When Kum once got lost in the forest, his mother and both his *brothers*, guided by his cries, searched until they found him and brought him home. Thus a child must learn to discriminate between serious dangers and minor pains. Demanding is still successful as a response to the former situation, but it is necessary to discover a new mode of coping with the latter.

Parents and older siblings teach a child to anticipate pain. They point out dangers so that he may avoid them before he is hurt. They warn him about snakes, scorpions, nettles, and other objects in the natural environment that may injure him. He soon discovers that if he does not heed their warnings, the predicted pain does follow, and so he learns to heed them.

Parents and older siblings extend their warnings to in- 869
clude supernatural dangers. They tell the child that huge, 866
snakelike monsters which cause storms dwell in the swamp, and that it is dangerous to go near their dwelling places. This danger is brought within the sphere of experience of [862]
the child when his mother tells him that a *marsalai* occupies her breast and vivifies the story by putting a leech on it. A child is also warned during the weaning period not to venture out at night, for this is the time when ghosts are abroad; and not to go too far from the house unless accompanied by an older person, for if he does a sorcerer may kill him.

A child at this age also learns that people as well as the 861

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861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 862 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in serious danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents [869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

866 862 152 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety. His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 825 861 262 [524] The widening of a boy's contact with the environment necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things. While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking berries which may cause his death if he does not know that they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[115] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yas, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error.

• [86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.[6] A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

[6] A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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861 868 857 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is forced to clean up after himself. The following example indicates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis. One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor and that they were going to punish him for it. While they were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in, scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished. Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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may learn to avoid or kill a scorpion even though he has never been bitten by one. So it is with other dangers, especially the more serious ones; if children were permitted to learn to avoid wild boars or crocodiles by actually experiencing pain from them, the society would soon disappear. Parental warnings come true frequently enough so that children usually heed them. 866

A child is not permitted to show excessive fear of his environment. If he is too afraid of a small snake or lizard to kill it, or if he is afraid to walk in the swamp lest he be pricked by a thorn, his older *brothers* will tease him and his parents will scold him. An overanxious child is usually called a "baby" in a derogatory manner. [861]

The warnings of parents and older siblings include supernatural dangers. A child is taught that certain glens, springs, rocks, and trees are dwelling places of *marsalai*, and he learns the names of the supernatural beings who inhabit them. He is warned that, if he goes too near one of these places, the monster will cause a violent storm and high wind that may blow down the dwelling of his parents, or it will "shoot" a sago needle into his foot for disturbing it. Such a needle, although invisible, is very painful and can be removed only by adult operators who have mastered the special magical technique. Actual storms and unseen needles are used to impress the validity of these beliefs upon the child. Whenever there is a severe storm, the adults in the hamlet speculate as to who has disturbed the *marsalai*. Was it Yat who was clearing a garden too near to the rock in which Kumbundum dwelt, or was it Wof who went hunting near the bog inhabited by Kurumbukwas? Similarly when a child reported that he had a pain in his foot which felt like a thorn but which he could not see, his parents would say: "There, you see. You have been 'shot' by a *marsalai*. We told you to beware of disturbing them." 869 776

A child is warned that he should not go near the house tamberan while the yam-cult ceremonies are being held. He is told that at this time the adult men of the tribe consort with *marsalai*. He is warned that although men can do so 869

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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way. 869 789

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away. 869 775

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding. 861 123

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared. [761]

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861 123 children in the hamlet, saw me doing this, stole some shells, and tried to do it himself. His older brother, Mes, saw him and told him that shells were dangerous and that he had better not fool with them. Kwos paid no heed. He tried to light the shell, but it did not go off and he looked to see what the trouble was. At that moment the powder exploded, seriously burning one side of his face and closing one eye. Mes scolded him severely: "I told you not to play with those shells. Why didn't you heed me?" His father also scolded him: "You will probably go blind, but it is your own fault. Why didn't you heed your brother? He told you not to play with the shells." No one in the hamlet expressed sympathy for Kwos's injury; everyone blamed him.

861 The number of punishments that a Kwoma receives from other persons increases markedly in childhood. He is frequently beaten and scolded by his parents and other persons of their generation. They order him to do household chores and scold him for being lax about them. They shout at son or daughter, nephew or niece, to stop yelling and rushing around the house when they are resting or trying to carry on a conversation. They scold the child for snooping into cult secrets, for not helping a *brother* who needs aid, or for damaging the household property. One afternoon Ham was wandering about under the porch of Wof, his *paternal uncle*. The latter, irritable because of an argument that he was having with his wife, roared at Ham to sit down. Ham dropped as though he were shot, and Wof began scolding him severely. He accused Ham of being a little thief and of trying to steal something. Ham began to cry and as soon as he dared got up and ran home. The incidents of Wof beating his daughter for not getting the firewood, and that of Kwiya scolding Mey for not passing the proper mixing sticks, have already been reported.

861 602 A child is kicked and beaten, scolded and teased, by his older siblings even more than by his parents. Older siblings imitate their parents, commanding, scolding, and punishing their younger *brothers* and *sisters*. Older *sisters* punish a boy if they see him with an erection, a girl if she sits immodestly.

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Older *brothers* scold younger *brothers* for showing a precocious knowledge of cult affairs, or for not heeding their warnings and younger *sisters* for annoying them or for not carrying out their household chores properly. 861 602

A boy is most frequently hurt by his older *brothers* in the course of games. The most popular sport consisted in kicking a pith ball up a slight slope against the side of a house and then, when it rolled down, kicking it back up again. In this, as well as in the dart-throwing and "homosexual" games, the older and bigger boys tease the younger one and knock him out of the way when he interferes. They order him to retrieve the ball or the pawpaw when it bounds into the bushes, or to throw the target rock for them. In the "homosexual" game it is the smaller boy who is usually at the bottom of the pile and who is called "wife" by the older boys. 861 524 [602]

A child becomes adept at avoiding punishment from older persons by obeying, escaping, lying, and being secretive. He learns that if he does not do what he is told, a blow will follow; that if he persists in doing what he is told not to do, he will be beaten. Thus he not only learns to obey commands, but also to anticipate the commands, that is, to follow custom. He also learns that, if he has disobeyed, he can often escape punishment by running away from the person who has issued the command, or by lying if someone accuses him of doing something wrong. Finally, he learns that he can do things of which the older people disapprove, if they do not observe him. He therefore learns to be secretive. Smoking in the bush house is one example. Masturbation may be another. A child also learns secretly to beat cult-gong rhythms, being careful that no older person is present when he practices. Kwoma parents do not punish a child for lying or being secretive; they only punish him if the misdemeanor is discovered. Children therefore become very adept in these arts of deception. 861

A child has his first success in social aggression toward his younger siblings. They, being smaller than he, are easily overcome when they threaten or interfere with him. When they get in his way in games, it is not difficult to shove them 865 602

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219-245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept of free trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33-54, 134-152.

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tried them.[18] For various reasons this accumulation of adaptive habits is passed on to the child. He does not simply learn to get along in the world; he is socialized. Thus an essential set of conditions for social learning is the behavior of the socializing agents. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of these conditions and their relation to social learning.

Before the analysis of teaching techniques is undertaken, several terms which are to be used should be defined. The terms "teacher" and "pupil" will be employed in a special sense, the former to mean anyone who attempts to change the habit structure of another person, the latter, any person whose habit structure is being so changed. Although Kwoma parents most frequently play the rôle of teacher, with their children as pupils, the teacher-pupil relation is not by any means restricted to them. Co-mothers, siblings, *paternal uncles* and *aunts*, and other relatives frequently play the rôle of teacher as well. The concept of teacher will also be extended in this context even to an adult who tries to influence the behavior of another adult. Although such behavior may be considered an act of aggression or coöperation, as the case may be, it is also a teacher-pupil relationship if a habit of the pupil is thereby strengthened or weakened.

A second set of terms will be used for responses, which will be characterized as "right," "not right," "wrong," and "not wrong." A right response is a specific act which the teacher wishes the pupil to make, whereas not right responses are all those acts which are incompatible with the right response under the given conditions. Similarly, a wrong response is a specific act which the teacher wishes the pupil not to make, and not wrong responses are all those acts which are incompatible with the wrong response under the given circumstances. These concepts may be illustrated from the cases which will be reported in detail below. When Wof punished Buka for failing to gather firewood, "getting firewood" was the right response, while playing, sleeping, eating, gossiping,

[18] See A. G. Keller, *Societal Evolution* (New York, 1929); W. G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), chap. v.

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or any other response which Buka might make when she should be getting firewood can be described as not right responses. When Mes warned Kwos not to play with a cartridge, "playing with the cartridge" was the wrong response, while doing anything else would be the not wrong responses. Teachers normally describe the specific act, whether it be right or wrong, and refer to the not right or not wrong responses as the negative of the specific act. Sometimes they exemplify the not right or not wrong, by stating a specific act in the negative category. For example, in the above cases Wof may have specified playing as one of the not right acts which Buka did, or Mes might have specified joining the play group as a not wrong response. Teachers normally try to make their pupils learn to make a right response or to make a not wrong response. The other two categories, not right and wrong, denote behavior which the teacher wishes to prevent, but which he can prevent only by teaching the pupil an incompatible habit, i.e., right or not wrong, respectively. This will be illustrated in the cases to be analyzed below.

In socializing their pupils, Kwoma teachers use various techniques, all of which make practical use of the paradigm of learning presented above.[16] Some of these techniques stress motivation, some the response, some the cues, and some the rewards, but the whole process is implicit in all of them. Kwoma teachers use different techniques for different situations; the kind of habit to be taught, the age and maturity of the pupil, and the kin relationship between teacher and pupil are some of the factors that determine which technique shall be used. The following presentation does not purport to be a complete list of the methods of teaching employed at Kwoma nor a full account of the situations in which they are used, but is rather an analysis and description of the more important ones observed.[17]

[16] Since pupils in our society learn by the same mechanisms as do Kwoma pupils, it is not surprising that many of the techniques of teaching in the two societies are similar. In fact, the following techniques will seem quite obvious to anyone who has been either a parent or a teacher.

[17] The following theory of teaching techniques was not worked out before the data were gathered. For this reason the cases analyzed below were not

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Unless the essentials for learning are already provided by the interaction of the environment and the pupil, they must be supplied by the teacher. In other words, when such conditions are not already present, the teacher, in order to change the habit structure of the pupil in the desired manner, must provide *motivation*, *guidance*, and *reward*. Each of the various teaching techniques employed at Kwoma may be classed under one or another of these three categories. The following table presents this classification:

1. Providing motivation
   - *a.* punishing
   - *b.* scolding
   - *c.* threatening
   - *d.* warning
   - *e.* inciting
2. Providing guidance
   - *a.* leading
   - *b.* instructing
   - *c.* demonstrating
3. Providing reward
   - *a.* giving
   - *b.* helping
   - *c.* praising

A Kwoma teacher must often provide motivation in order to make his pupils learn the habits which he wishes to teach them. He employs five techniques for doing so: punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting.

Punishment is not infrequently employed by a Kwoma teacher when other methods fail to correct the behavior of a pupil or when his behavior is particularly annoying to the teacher. A teacher punishes a child after he has made a wrong, or a not right response. The mode of punishment is usually either a blow on the back with the fist or a blow on the legs with a stick. The following cases will serve to illustrate its use.

Wof left early one morning with his second wife, Chinuwa, to work in his garden. Since his first wife, Kaya, had previ-

[129] carefully followed up, and observations with which to test the predictions arising from the analysis were frequently not made. The rather complete record of daily events which was kept did, however, provide data to check some of them.

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ously sprained her ankle and was incapacitated, he told his adopted daughter, Buka, to replenish the supply of firewood, which was very low. When he returned late that afternoon, he discovered that Buka had not obeyed his command and that there was not even enough wood to cook the afternoon meal. He, therefore, called to Buka and, telling her that she was lazy and disobedient for not getting the wood, struck her several times on the back. Buka cowered and ran away crying. Wof continued for some time to scold her in a loud and angry voice. Since I observed her a few days thereafter going by my house with her net bag filled with firewood, the punishment was presumably effective.

In order not to make the error of taking the effect of punishment on the habit structure of a pupil for granted, it is expedient to analyze the above case in detail in accordance with the paradigm of learning. It can be seen from such an analysis that the drive was that of pain from a blow on the back; the responses were running away, and crying; the cues were the sight of Wof, his words of criticism for not having obeyed his command to get firewood, and the memory of his command; the reward was escape from the pain of the blow. From this analysis it is evident that the habit which was reinforced was that of running away and crying when the cues described above were present. Wof, presumably, did not wish to teach her this habit but rather that of getting the firewood when he told her to. Although the punishment evidently did have this effect, it has not yet been shown how this came about. It is necessary to introduce the principle of anticipation to explain it.

By the principle of anticipation[18] any response which is attached by reward to the last of a temporal series of cues tends to occur earlier in the series. Thus when Wof again commands Buka to get firewood she will have a tendency to run away, to cry, and to make various visceral responses induced by pain. In other words she will have anxiety.[19] If she

[18] C. L. Hull, "Goal Attraction and Directing Ideas Conceived as Habit Phenomena," *Psychol. Rev.*, XXXVIII (1931), 487-506.

[19] Freud defines anxiety as the anticipation of pain. See S. Freud, *The*

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[121] were to run away or cry under these circumstances, she would
• [86] be doing something other than getting firewood. In other words she would be making not right responses as implied by Wof's statement of the reason for the punishment at the time of its occurrence. To run away and cry would therefore tend to raise her anxiety rather than to reduce it. Similarly, if she played, went to sleep, ate, or made any response other than getting firewood, her anxiety would not be reduced, for all such acts have been implicitly defined by her father as "not getting firewood responses." The only way in which she can reduce her anxiety is to get the firewood. When she does this and only when she does this, the real effect of punishment as a teaching technique becomes clear. The drive is anxiety; the response is getting firewood; the cue is her father's command; and the reward is the reduction of anxiety. It is thus that Wof's punishment was not in vain and did accomplish the effect that he desired.

The following case also illustrates the use of punishment by a Kwoma teacher. One afternoon, when several Runabima children and adolescents were playing in front of my house, the ball which they were kicking bounded into the bushes. Gwiyap, an adolescent, commanded Ham, a child, to fetch it, and when he refused kicked him in the buttocks. Ham ran away crying. Several days later the situation was repeated, and this time Ham ran away as soon as Gwiyap issued the command. Weeks later I observed Ham obediently fetch the ball, at first only after he was ordered to and later on his own initiative.

In the above case the drive was the pain from Gwiyap's kick; the response was running away and crying; the cues were the ball in the bushes, the sight of Gwiyap, and the sound of his commands; the reward was escape from the pain

[113] *Problem of Anxiety* (New York, 1936). O. H. Mowrer has developed this thesis and urged that anxiety is a learned response based upon an anticipatory response to pain. See O. H. Mowrer, "A Stimulus Response Analysis of Anxiety," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 553–565. Miller has shown that the acquired drive value of anxiety is based upon the response-produced stimuli of an antedating pain reaction. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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of being kicked. From the principle of reinforcement it could be predicted that Ham would learn to run away when these cues were again present. Observation bore this out. It could further be predicted that he was also reinforced on this occasion, the reward being escape from anxiety. However, just as Wof presumably did not wish to teach Buka to run away, so Gwiyap wanted to teach Ham to fetch the ball for him rather than to escape. That he was successful in doing so remains to be explained. It has been shown in a previous chapter that Kwoma children spend most of their time playing with other children, an activity which is apparently rewarding to them and hence one which comes to have the value of an acquired reward. Exclusion from playing with one's fellows should thus have an acquired drive value. There is no evidence that Ham was exceptional in these respects. Therefore each time that he ran away, although by so doing he achieved the reward of the reduction of pain or anxiety, he was thrown into another situation of discomfort. The acquired drive to play with his fellows was aroused. This placed him in a conflict situation:[20] to play aroused the fear of being kicked; not to play aroused the discomfort arising from being excluded from the game. Ham finally solved this dilemma by obeying Gwiyap's command. On this occasion, if the above analysis is correct, the drives were the fear of being kicked and the wish to play with his fellows; the response was fetching the ball; the cues were the ball in the bushes and Gwiyap's command; and the rewards were escape from being kicked and joining in the ball game. Thus Gwiyap's kick finally did have the desired effect, but only after time had elapsed and after a rather complicated series of psychological events had occurred to Ham.

This analysis suggests that another factor may have been operating in the case of Wof and Buka. She might have learned not only to run away from Wof, but to stay away from him. Unless some relative were willing to care for her,

[20] For a discussion of the factors governing conflict see N. E. Miller and J. S. Brown, "Conflict, an Analysis of Approach and Avoidance" (in preparation).

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121 • 861 however, she would be in the same dilemma as the one in which Ham was placed, the negative side being much more serious, since it would be impossible for a girl of Buka's age to live alone in the Kwoma environment. Thus it is apparent that the primary effect of physical punishment is to make a pupil run away,[21] but that the strong acquired reward value which teachers have for the pupil, as a result of his dependence on them, and the fear of being alone, bind him to the teacher until he learns the habit which the teacher has wished to instill in him.

In the cases analyzed above the teacher was bigger than the pupil. When teacher and pupil are of the same size or when the pupil is bigger than the teacher, the response to punishment is often counterattack rather than running away.[22] The case of Fit and Mey illustrates this. Fit struck Mey for teasing him, and Mey grabbed a burning brand from the fire and began belaboring Fit with it. In this case Mey's drives were pain from Fit's blow, anger at Fit,[23] and the fear of being hit again; the response was attacking him with a firebrand; the cues were the sight of someone his own size and the feeling of the blow; and the rewards were reduction of the pain from Fit's blow, the reduction of the fear of being hit again, and the reduction of anger. Thus Mey was

[21] In the middle and upper classes of American society, pupils are not usually permitted to run away from punishment. They are either held by the parent or punished more severely if they attempt to escape. The usual response which is reinforced is the promise "I won't do it again." Furthermore, doing wrong in secret is more severely punished in the United States than at Kwoma. The American technique should be more effective in teaching the correct response, but, at the same time, it should produce more anxiety in the pupil than does the Kwoma technique. A correlation of the extent to which parents in various societies permit children to escape punishment and do wrong in secret, and the degree to which the society produces neurotic adults might be fruitful.

[22] When such a situation arises between adults, it is normally the reputation of the teacher and the pupil as fighters and the size of the group which supports each of them, rather than their physical size, which determines whether the pupil counterattacks or runs away.

[23] The conditions at Kwoma are such that anger as a response to pain is frequently reinforced, particularly with respect to younger siblings. See chap. iv, pp. 57–62.

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rewarded for aggression, instead of learning to stop teasing as his would-be teacher wished.

A Kwoma teacher scolds his pupils even more frequently than he punishes them, and uses this technique under similar circumstances. In fact, in all the cases that I observed of a teacher inflicting physical pain on pupils, he also scolded them. Scolding, like physical punishment, is employed by the teacher after the pupil has made a wrong or a not right response, and it can be presumed to operate psychologically in the same manner, except that the drive employed is acquired rather than basic.

Scolding acquires its motivational power in the following way. One of the most common phrases used by a Kwoma teacher in scolding a pupil is *kafwa sek otato*, "you have behaved badly." *Kafwa sek* is a modifier which is applied to rotten meat, to feces, to food "poisoned" by sorcery, as well as to bad behavior. Thus these words are associated with things which are disgusting or dangerous—things which all children have learned to avoid because of the pain which is inherent in such objects, because they have been punished for touching or eating them, or both. Furthermore, since a pupil is always scolded while he is being punished, these words come to symbolize a beating as well, and thus gain the power to evoke feelings of fear.

A second phrase frequently used by Kwoma teachers in scolding a pupil is *karaganda yikafa*, "little child" or "infant." This phrase implies that the pupil is behaving like an infant. It is the antonym of *harafa ma malaka*, "big older brother man," which is used for praise. Like *kafwa sek*, this phrase is used during physical punishment frequently enough so that it gains a strong fear potential. In addition, it is used in many contexts in which children are barred from doing what they would like to do. Thus the phrase comes to mean the denial of privileges. The fact that Kwoma children will mutilate their penises and willingly undergo scarification in order not to be classified as *karaganda yikafa* indicates the motivational power of this concept.

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121 • 861 The following case illustrates the manner in which scolding is used by Kwoma teachers. One morning Kum defecated in the path near his house. His co-mother, Kaya, found out what he had done and began to scold him for it: "You little baby (*karaganda yikafa*), you know better than to defecate in the path. I should beat you for it. Come and clean it up." Kum, instead of heeding her, ran away and hid in the bushes. After she had repeatedly called for him to return, she sent Gwiyap and Mey to search for him, but they could not find him. He waited until the hue and cry had subsided and then returned to the house. By this time the mess had been cleaned up and Kaya was so worried that he might be lost that she said no more about his misdemeanor (in my presence, at least). For the remainder of my stay at Kwoma, Kum did not defecate again in the path, but properly went to the latrine.

It can be seen from the above case that scolding apparently operates in a manner very similar to that of punishment. The motivation was the acquired drive of fear evoked by scolding; the response was running away; the cue was the memory of having defecated in the path, Kaya's presence, and her words; the reward was a reduction in fear. As with the cases of physical punishment, the primary habit learned was running away, and the right habit of defecating in the latrine was only subsequently reinforced by the reduction in the fear of being scolded.

The above case is not typical, in that Kum's response was to run away from scolding. Since running away takes some effort and since it is more difficult to get out of earshot than out of reach, this response is not as strongly reinforced as a reaction to scolding as it is to physical punishment, and Kwoma children normally learn by trial and error the more adaptive habit of waiting until the teacher stops scolding them. They also learn not to talk back, for this tends to lengthen the duration of the scolding and sometimes even leads to a beating. The following case will illustrate this type of response to scolding.

One afternoon when Kaya was sitting by her fire making

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sago briquettes, she asked Mey to pass her the two sticks which Kwoma housewives use to stir and ladle the thick gruel. Mey brought her two old sticks which she had long since discarded rather than the desired ones. She made Mey take the wrong ones back and get the right ones and began scolding him for his inattention and stupidity. Mey stood looking sullen and sheepish, and heard out her tirade. In this case the drive was anxiety evoked by the scolding; the response was looking sullen and sheepish and listening; the cues included being told to get stirring sticks and the memory of having brought his mother the wrong ones; the reward was reduction of fear (after she stopped scolding him). Thus listening and not talking back, rather than running away, was the response reinforced in this case.[24] The right response, of paying attention when spoken to, would be learned by Mey when on the next occasion he was asked to do something by his mother, did it correctly, and was not scolded for it.

Threatening is the third technique of motivating pupils employed by Kwoma teachers. A threat, like scolding, activates the acquired drive of fear in the pupil, but it differs from scolding in that it precedes the wrong or not right response. A threat is an "if . . . then" statement—"if you do such and such, then I will scold or beat you." Threats are used by Kwoma teachers in situations where they foresee that the pupil is likely to make a wrong response, either because the pupil is beginning to make such a response or because the teacher's knowledge of the pupil's habits suggests that he may do so. Kwoma teachers employ the technique of threatening as widely as scolding although perhaps not as frequently, since it is usually more difficult to predict a wrong response than it is to observe one.

Threats, like scolding, depend for their motivational power upon the acquired drive of fear. The phrase most commonly employed by the Kwoma teacher when threatening a pupil is *anafa fiju*, "I will beat you." *Fiju* is the term employed for all types of physical violence and injury. It has

[24] Unfortunately I observed no case of a child being specifically scolded or punished for talking back, but informants stated that this did occur.

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121 861 [192] [196] the meaning of fighting, beating, spearing, and killing. *Fiju* was the word used to denote the fight between Daw and Kwal in which the latter received a bad scalp wound; to denote Mey's action when he struck Fit on the back with a burning firebrand; by hunters when they successfully spear and kill a pig; and to killing someone in a head-hunting raid and to in-group murder. From these contexts, many of which have been directly experienced and all of which are known to Kwoma pupils, it is evident that the threat *anafa fiju* should arouse anxiety. Furthermore, teachers usually carry out their threat by beating the pupil if he does not heed. From these two sources, therefore, a threat gains the power to evoke fear in the pupil.

The following case will serve to illustrate threatening as a technique of teaching. Kum, while playing under the porch at Mar's house one afternoon, picked up a broom and started carrying it outside. Kwiya and Awa, his older *sisters*, both noticed him and told him to put it down. Kum did not heed at first, but when Kwiya threatened to beat him unless he did so at once, he quickly dropped the broom. In this case the drive was the fear of being beaten; the response was dropping the broom, the cues were the instructions to drop the broom given by Kwiya and Awa, the sight of objects and people under the porch, the feeling of the broom in his hand, etc.; the reward was the reduction of the fear of being beaten. It can be seen that the effect of a threat on learning is somewhat different from the effect of punishment and scolding. In the first place, the right response is made immediately rather than on a subsequent occasion, and, in the second, the motivation is stronger, since a fear-evoking person is present when the pupil makes the right response and the reinforcement is consequently greater.[23]

121 626 602 Social control is largely effected by means of threats. In Kwoma the threat of breaking relationship is one of the more important techniques by which an adult can control the be-

[113] [23] The amount of reinforcement is probably a positive function of the strength of the drive. See C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. v, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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havior of a relative. The case of War and Gwiyap will serve to illustrate how this technique operates. Gwiyap had for some time been taking sago flour from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, discovered this and told him to stop. He explained that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap. Gwiyap chose to argue this point and tried to maintain his claim, whereupon War threatened to break relations with him. In response to this threat Gwiyap turned over the privilege to War and paid him for the sago he had already taken.

In the above case the drive was fear of a broken relationship with War;[36] the response was giving up the privilege, paying War, and getting sago from another plot; the cues were War's words and the knowledge of having taken sago from Payap's plot; the reward was reduction of the fear of a broken relationship. Thus Gwiyap learned to behave correctly with respect to his kinship privileges and to heed the threats of his relatives. The fear of sorcery and of other retaliatory measures tends similarly to maintain correct social behavior. Theft, trespass, and breaking sex mores or rules inhibiting aggression, result in threats from those who suffer from these deviations from custom, whereas right behavior is continually reinforced by the reduction of fear implied by these threats.[37]

The fourth technique which teachers may use to motivate their pupils is to warn them. A warning is similar to a threat except that the source of the specified pain is some person or some event in the natural environment other than the teacher. A warning normally consists of two elements: a specification of the danger and its source, and instructions for escape from or avoidance of the danger. If the danger is imminent, the teacher normally introduces a warning by a sharp ejaculation—either *e ye!* (no!) or *sa!*, an expletive to call attention.

[36] As previously noted, a broken relationship involves removing the taboo which is implied by a safe kin relationship, and the loss of cooperation and support.

[37] A much more elaborate analysis of the relationship between threats and social control might be profitably made, but it is not within the scope of this chapter to do so.

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121 Warnings are extensively used by Kwoma teachers. A
• 961 Kwoma pupil in the course of his life is normally warned about all the dangers which inhere in the natural and social environment.

The following case exemplifies how a child is taught to avoid danger by means of the technique of warning. I had removed the shot from some twelve-gauge cartridges which had spoiled and lit the powder in them for the amusement of the natives. The powder exploded with a harmless puff. Kwos, seeing me do this, decided to try it himself. Mes, his older brother, saw him and warned him not to. He said that cartridges were dangerous and could kill people. Not heeding the warning, Kwos tried to light one. The cartridge did not explode at first so Kwos looked into it to see what the matter was. At that moment the powder exploded directly into his face, burning it so badly as to close one of his eyes. In this case the drive was pain from the explosion and burn; the response was withdrawal from the cartridge, and a visceral pain response; the cues were the cartridge and the words of warning which Mes issued; the reward was reduction in the pain of the explosion.[28]

It should be noted that stopping playing with the cartridge accorded with the instructions in Mes' warning. The effect of this experience on Kwos should have been to reinforce both heeding a warning and not playing with cartridges. There is evidence that exactly this did occur. Kwos did not play with cartridges again, and he heeded a warning not to walk around alone. Although he could barely see out of one eye, he came from his house to mine to get salve. His father came later and warned him not to return home alone lest he get lost. Kwos, heeding this warning, waited until his sister came and led him home.

Kwos' teachers were not satisfied with the lesson he learned from the explosion but scolded him in addition. Waramus, his father, told me in the presence of Kwos, "He will go

[28] The pain of the burn persisted much longer and reinforced whatever successful attempts were made to ease it, asking me for salve and applying it to his face being one of them.

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blind; he will never be able to see again; but it serves him right for not heeding his brother's warning." Kis, one of his *paternal uncles*, said to him, "You little feces-eater, that's what you get for not heeding your brother." The habit of heeding a warning thereby gained additional reinforcement as a result of the application of the technique of scolding.

The following case is one in which the warning concerned pain from another person rather than from an event in the natural environment, and in which the warning had been issued some time before the pain was experienced. Ham had been warned by his parents not to walk around in other people's houses. He had been told that, when visiting, he should sit down and remain seated, and that, if he did not do so, the owner of the house would be very cross with him. One day Ham started wandering about the porch of Wof's house. Wof shouted at him to sit down and then scolded him severely.[39] He accused the boy of trying to steal sorcery material and implied that only thieves walk around in other people's houses.

In this case the drive was fear aroused by Wof's scolding; the response was sitting down; the cues were the memory of the warning and the sight of another person's house; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since the response reinforced in the parental warning corresponded with the instructions issued, that is, sitting down and not walking around, it would be expected that Ham's tendency to heed a warning was increased by this experience. Unfortunately, since I have no record of a warning issued to Ham after this experience, this prediction cannot be tested. About an hour after the experience, however, Ham obeyed with alacrity a command from his mother to pass sago fritters to his father. His alacrity may have been in part due to his recent experience, since both a warning and a command have the common element of instructions.

The only technique of motivating pupils used by Kwoma

[39] Wof was, of course, also a teacher in this case, and he used the technique of scolding. For the present purposes, Ham's parents will be taken as the teachers, using warning as a technique.

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[21] teachers which does not depend upon pain or fear is that of
• 86] inciting. This consists of presenting to the pupil the verbal symbols which have been associated with reward along with instructions as to how to achieve such reward. The following
[262] case will serve as an illustration. At a coöperative work feast
[177] given by Nambomai, my Yambon houseboy, one of the foods prepared was stewed apricots. Gwiyap took it upon himself to teach some of the adults present to eat this food, which was hitherto unknown to them. To do this he said: "It is good. It tastes like ripe bananas." Afolawanj, an old man who was somewhat of a clown, was thus tempted to try some, but he had no sooner taken a mouthful than he spit it out, and refused to eat any more.

In the above case the drive was the appetite evoked by Gwiyap's statement that the stewed fruit tasted like ripe bananas; the response was eating; the cues were Gwiyap's instructions to eat and the sight, smell, and taste of the fruit; the reward was absent. Since there was no reward in this sequence it could be predicted that learning would not take place. The fact that Afolawanj did not again try the fruit is evidence that this was indeed the case. It could also be predicted that Afolawanj would have a decreased tendency to follow Gwiyap's instructions,[30] but I do not know whether or not this was true.

War's attempt to incite Mes and Mar provides a more dramatic instance of the use of this technique. When the Hongwam were planning a head-hunting raid on the Sowal, War, who was the prime mover in the affair, spent a whole evening at the house tamberan inciting Mar and Mes to go on the raid. He described to them all the advantages that they would gain from taking a head—that all the girls would want to marry them, that they could become members of *Nokwi*, that they would gain high prestige so that their words would be listened to at the court meetings, that their

[113] [30] This follows from the principle of extinction. When a response is not followed by a reward, the connection between this response and the preceding cues is reduced in strength. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. v; N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iii.

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relatives would be eager to help them in coöperative tasks, etc. He suggested to Mes that he take my shotgun along (he was acting as my shoot boy at the time) because with it he could be certain to kill someone and take his head. Mes asked me for the gun and was very disappointed when I refused. Mar, on the other hand, had seen several river natives hanged for participating in a head-hunting raid and had been so moved by the sight that he was afraid to go. He reacted to War's incitement by weeping and telling me that he guessed he could never be a man. Since traveling conditions prevented the raid from taking place, the correct response could not be made. A few days later a recruiter came to the tribe, and both Mar and Mes "signed on" for a three-year contract to work on a plantation.

Although the reaction of Mes and Mar indicates that War's incitement successfully induced motivation by evoking a complex of acquired drives and appetites based upon sex, hunger, fatigue, and prestige, his teaching was blocked because the correct response could not be made. Since both Mar and Mes said that they were going to work for the whites in order to gain prestige, so as to win an attractive wife, and in order to earn money to buy many wives, "signing on" may have been, in part at least, a substitute for going on the raid.[31]

Kwoma teachers do not always have to motivate their pupils in order to inculcate right responses, for this is frequently done for them either by others or by the natural environment. In such cases their task is to guide the pupil so that he makes the right response and to provide the proper cues.[32] Furthermore, even when the teacher himself motivates the pupil, the problem of guiding him still remains, and Kwoma teachers seldom simply motivate a pupil and

[31] Although it happens that the aim of the teacher was accomplished in neither of the above cases, this does not imply that the technique of inciting is not an effective means of teaching.

[32] Since responses and cues are so closely attached to one another in a habit, it has been deemed expedient to treat these two aspects of learning under a single heading, even though teachers may at times stress the cues and at times the responses.

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permit him to discover the reward by free trial and error. There are three techniques of guidance: leading, instructing, and demonstrating.

The most primitive technique by which a teacher can make his pupil perform the correct response is by leading. To do this the teacher physically limits the random responses of the pupil so that he makes the right response more quickly, or so that he is prevented from making wrong responses. Such guidance is used by the Kwoma primarily when the pupil has not yet learned to talk and therefore cannot follow instructions. The following case illustrates the use of leading. Njan, while lying in his mother's lap one afternoon, began to cry and struggle. His mother lifted him up to her breast, and, holding his head with one hand, directed her nipple into his mouth with the other. Njan began to nurse. Had his mother not directed his head, he would probably eventually have found her nipple as the result of random movements and satisfied his hunger. The mother, by holding his head, prevented him from making errors and thus forced him to make the right response more quickly. Informants stated that mothers taught their children to defecate in the latrine by leading them there and holding them in the proper position. These are the only situations observed in which Kwoma teachers employ the technique of leading, though there may well be others.

Verbal guidance or instruction is probably the most widely used of all teaching techniques. As indicated in the preceding analysis of punishment, scolding, threats, warnings, and inciting, instructions normally form a part of these techniques. In other words, teachers usually motivate and guide at the same time. On rare occasions, however, when the pupil is already motivated by some other agency, a teacher need simply help the pupil to make the right response, or not to make the wrong response, by instructing him.

The following case illustrates the use of instructions as a teaching technique. Fit was trying to light the fire in my cook house one afternoon. A strong wind was blowing, and the matches kept going out. Mar, who was watching him,

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told him to try lighting the fire on the leeward side. Fit followed the suggestion and was successful. Fit was already motivated to light the fire and was striving to do so. If left to himself he would probably eventually have succeeded, perhaps by hitting upon the response which Mar suggested, perhaps by discovering some other solution to the problem. Mar entered the situation as teacher by giving instructions which, when Fit followed them, achieved the desired goal.

Although the above analysis indicates the function of instruction as a teaching technique and the way in which it operates in a gross way, it does not explain why a pupil follows instructions. In other words, how did Fit know how to react to Mar's words, and why did he react at all? The answer to the first question depends upon verbal symbols and how a pupil learns their meanings. Although this is a most important part of the process of socialization, it lies beyond the scope of this inquiry. An answer to the second question—why does the pupil react to instructions at all?—can, however, be suggested. As has been observed above, instructions normally form a part of each of the teaching techniques which stress motivation. Therefore, since most teaching techniques result eventually in the learning of a rewarding habit, following instructions becomes a strongly reinforced habit. Words of instruction thereby come to have an acquired drive value.

Just as instructing depends upon the pupil's knowledge of language, so demonstrating, the third technique of guiding, depends upon the ability of the pupil to imitate. Miller and Dollard[33] have shown that conditions in our society are such that a child is more frequently rewarded and less frequently suffers pain if he behaves like certain people with whom he comes in contact, particularly his parents and older siblings, than if he makes responses which differ from theirs, and that therefore, by the principle of reinforcement, children learn to imitate. These investigators have also assumed that the conditions which lead children in our society to learn

[33] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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to imitate are present in all societies, and in a chapter on diffusion have presented evidence which supports this assumption. The Kwoma are no exception to this rule. Most of the right and not wrong responses in Kwoma culture apply to all persons, and with respect to these responses a child will be rewarded for imitating anyone. Furthermore, although those responses which are right for only certain categories of persons—particularly those which depend upon the sex, age, or prestige position of the pupil—are both punished and not rewarded if the pupil imitates a person in another category than himself, he is rewarded if he imitates a person in his own category. Thus in the majority of cases a Kwoma is rewarded, and in only a minority of cases is he punished or not rewarded, for imitating. Since Miller and Dollard have presented imitation as a process of socialization in detail, it will not be further discussed here. It stands with teaching as one of the most important mechanisms by which culture is transmitted.

A Kwoma teacher takes advantage of the fact that his pupils have all learned to imitate, when he employs demonstrating as a technique of guidance. In using this technique the teacher gets the attention of the pupil, performs the right response, and then the pupil imitates him. Afok and Fokotay employed this technique when they were teaching Mes and Mar to play the sacred flutes. The two teachers would first play a piece while the pupils watched and listened. Then the two pupils would take the flutes and attempt to imitate them. The teachers would repeat their performance, and the pupils would try again.[24] This example reveals that this technique is similar to instruction, the difference being that the cues are the correct responses made by the teacher rather than his verbal representation of them.

Commanding, as a teaching technique, may be classed either as primarily motivating or as primarily guiding. A command consists of an implicit threat and explicit instruc-

[24] Afok and Fokotay did not depend entirely upon imitation but issued many instructions, scolded the pupils after errors and praised them after a correct performance.

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tions. Since both threats and instructions have been analyzed, it is not necessary to discuss commanding in detail, but it should be stated that it is an extremely important method of teaching.

Providing rewards, the third general category of teaching techniques, is also employed by the Kwoma. It consists of providing a reward after a pupil has made a right response. A teacher may use this technique after he has motivated and guided the pupil, or he may use it when either the motivation or the guidance or both have been supplied by some other agency. The general category of rewarding may be subdivided into helping, giving, and praising.

Kwoma teachers take advantage of the fact that a pupil can satisfy but few of his drives, either basic or acquired, without the aid of another person or persons.[35] Being helped is thus in many cases the *sine qua non* for achieving a reward. Teachers may, therefore, employ helping as a means of rewarding the right response of a pupil. They use this technique primarily to teach the pupil coöperative habits. In other words, teachers most frequently help a pupil after the pupil has helped them. The technique of helping is thus one of the important methods of transmitting that part of the culture which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity.[36]

Giving is closely allied to helping as a technique of reward, being used in the same coöperative context. If a teacher gives a pupil something, it is significant as a reward because the teacher has done the work of producing or otherwise obtaining the gift, and thus relieves the pupil of the necessity of doing the same himself. Gifts in Kwoma are of food, tools, or shell money. Barter and exchange are a form of reciprocal

[35] Malinowski has shown that all cultural habits are an integral part of institutions which imply the cooperative efforts of an organized group of persons for the satisfaction of a need. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), no. 6, pp. 932-54.

[36] Hull has suggested a psychological basis for this in the principle of reciprocal reinforcement. C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. ix, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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12.1
• 86 | 43 | gift giving in which both parties in the transaction play simultaneously the rôles of teacher and pupil.

[47 6] [46 1] The work bee is a good example of how both helping and giving reinforce coöperative habits. Yat gave a bee to get a log, from which he intended to make a slit gong, dragged from his garden to the house tamberan. He and his wife gathered a surplus of sago, traded some of it for fish, and then announced that they wanted help. Wof, War, Marok, Mar, Gwiyap, Mes, and Mey, as well as several of Yat's affinal relatives, answered the call, and this group spent the morning dragging the log to the house tamberan clearing. [57 4] When the task was completed, they went to Yat's house and ate the food which his wife had prepared.[37]

If Yat's helpers be thought of as the pupils, he taught them to help him by employing the technique of giving. Their drives were hunger and various appetites aroused by the anticipation of a feast; their response was coöperation in the log pulling; the cue was Yat's announcement; and their reward was the feast given by Yat. Yat thus taught people to help him by giving them a feast.

12.1
86 | If Yat be thought of as a pupil and the others as the teachers, helping rather than giving is the technique employed. The drive was the wish to get the log to the house tamberan (based upon the prestige which Yat would gain from having contributed a slit gong to the hamlet); the response was gathering food for a feast, announcing a work bee, and coöperating in the log pulling; the cues were those which indicated that the log was properly seasoned, and that there would be enough men in the hamlet who did not have

[37] It might be objected that this case does not represent socialization since it concerns adults who have presumably already learned coöperative work habits. Such an objection can be answered in the following ways. Although the increments in reinforcement get smaller and smaller with each successive reward, there is always a strengthening of the habit with each reward. Thus a habit theoretically can never be completely learned, and the process of socialization continues throughout the life of any individual. Secondly, if a habit does not lead to reward, it becomes extinguished. Thus reward is necessary to maintain habits as well as to teach them, and the maintenance of habits is as crucial to the process of socialization as is the initial learning of them.

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pressing work of their own to do; the reward was getting the log to the house tamberan plot. Yat's helpers thus taught him to give a feast by helping him.

Not giving and not helping are also techniques which are frequently used to arouse motivation. Kwoma teachers may punish a pupil by refusing to help him or give to him, after he has made a wrong response, or they may threaten him by promising not to help him or not to give to him if he should make a wrong response. The threat of breaking relationship is effective, not only because it implies aggression, but also because it implies withdrawal of support. Thus War's threat that he would break relationship with Gwiyap if he did not stop taking sago from Payap's plot, implied withdrawal of help and was effective in changing Gwiyap's behavior for this reason as well as because it implicitly threatened the kinds of aggression which kinship restrictions inhibit.

Praising is the third technique of rewarding used by Kwoma teachers. It is an acquired reward on the verbal level. As with other rewards, it may be employed either in conjunction with motivation and guidance or alone. A Kwoma teacher most frequently employs this technique when a pupil has performed an unexpectedly "good" response rather than merely a right one. Kwoma pupils are thus reinforced for excelling, for doing better than others, and this may explain in part why Kwoma individuals strive for superiority and prestige.

One of the phrases frequently employed in praising is *handombas*, "good." This word gains its power to reinforce habits by being frequently used in rewarding contexts. A Kwoma will pat his stomach after a good meal and say "*handombas*," or he will say it when he is greeting a friend, or he will use it to refer to someone or something that he likes. He also uses it to describe tasty food, good workmanship, or someone whom he regards highly. As a result, *handombas* comes to have a relaxing or acquired reward value,[35] and thus has the effect of reinforcing preceding habits when-

[35] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. iv.

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121 ever a teacher applies it to a pupil. Since, moreover, a
• 861 Kwoma teacher seldom punishes, scolds, or threatens a pupil at the same time that he praises him, *handombas* becomes a cue, reducing whatever anxiety may be present, and thus acquires further rewarding value.

[192] A second phrase, *harafa ma malaka*, is applied to men of
[554] high prestige who have many privileges that the ordinary person does not enjoy. It comes to mean, therefore, the right to go to the *Nokwi* ceremonies, to have many wives, to have many helpers at work bees, to be deferred to at court meetings, and to be so formidable that no one dare threaten or attack you. When a teacher applies this phrase to a pupil, it symbolizes an advance toward the attainment of these goals and is therefore rewarding. Furthermore, if a pupil is called *harafa ma malaka*, he is never called *karaganda yikafa*, "little child," at the same time, as these are antithetical concepts. Since the latter phrase is used to scold pupils, the former symbolizes non-scolding and thus gains further reward value.

Praising may be exemplified by the following case. Yat speared two pigs in one afternoon, a remarkable feat since a man will often hunt for weeks without success. When he returned to the hamlet, he joined a group of men who were sitting in the house tamberan and told them of his accomplishment. The men praised him for his prowess, referring to his act as *handombas* and to him as a *harafa ma malaka*. Thus Yat was rewarded by these words of praise for whatever hunting technique led to his success.

In conclusion, the following summary of the results of the preceding analyses may be made. The assumption that learning principles apply to the process of culture transmission at Kwoma has led to an organization of the data observed, so that some of the factors which permit, and some of the forces which compel, a Kwoma individual to learn his culture have been isolated and defined. Furthermore, the application of learning theory has brought certain essential details of the process of socialization into sharper relief than might otherwise have been the case. It is evident, also, from the above

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analysis, that Kwoma teachers have a practical knowledge of the way in which people learn, and use certain teaching techniques which are adapted on the one hand to the principles of learning and on the other to the culture and the necessity of transmitting it. Some of the techniques of teaching which the Kwoma employ stress motivation, others guidance, and still others reward, but all of them are in some way adjusted to the fact that learning only takes place when a person is motivated by a drive to make a response in the presence of cues and gains a reward for so doing. It was further shown that punishing, scolding, threatening, warning, and inciting were used by Kwoma teachers to motivate their pupils; leading, instructing, and demonstrating to guide them; and giving, helping, and praising to reward them.

In accordance with the hypothesis of the basic psychological unity of mankind, learning principles should apply to the process of culture transmission in all societies. Furthermore, since every society is faced with the problem of training the members of the oncoming generation, certain teaching techniques should be present in all cultures, and, certain conditions of social life being present in all societies, some of the techniques observed at Kwoma should be found in other cultures as well. Divergent historical processes and differing environmental conditions, however, may have produced techniques which are unique to a particular culture or to a certain area, may account for the absence of certain techniques in one culture which are found in others, and may have resulted in variations in the use of, and the emphasis placed upon, these techniques from culture to culture. When the data with which to test the above hypotheses have been gathered, it will be possible to construct a general theory of the process of socialization.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

121 861 or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn 121 869 their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

[796] *Marsalai* are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to 869 be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible 796 for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about [862] these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker [823] on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to [821] go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle [796] into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these [798] monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

869 795 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

761 A man of Dawus died this afternoon. He was an old man, so it was
534 taken as a matter of course. There was not much talk about sorcery,
[764] although it was agreed that he died of sunga (poison). Just after sundown, the gongs of all the house tamberans were tolled simultaneously, as a tribute. It was very effective. War and Way tolled the Rumbima gongs.

824 Kwiya had brought back the roots of mank, a swamp grown tree with aerial roots. The bark had been removed. She was whipping it against a tree and shredding it, taking out fine strong threads about eight feet long. War stopped in and took one of the roots.

602 I was down at Mar's when Wof began ranting about, and calling for Uka.
578 There was no firewood. Why hadn't she brought it? After scolding her, he gave her a couple of thumps on the back with the flat of his hand which I could hear distinctly. Uka began crying. Kwiya, Awambaka and Yawa were angry with Wof for this. Awambaka told me to go up and fight him. Mar and Owiyap said nothing.

861 Kum broke Owiyap's belt by playing with it. Owiyap, Kwiya, and Awa began scolding him for it. He was standing just outside the house. They told him to come and get beaten. Kum stood still leaning on a shovel and did not answer or move. Owiyap did not go after him.

124 I tried to get Awa to give me kinship terms this morning, but she wouldn't despite/half hour's cajoling and threatening. Tonight at her house, she gave them willingly.

586 Memoey came through on the way back from Tangwishamp. He had helped the "finish timers" carry their bones and had gone to collect pay for his no. 2 wife, Tangwahak who had left him to marry a Tangwishamp. The story is that Memoey beat up his no. 1 wife and no. 2 had run away. When he arrived at Tangwishamp, he found that she and her new husband had gone to Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

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601 father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife*, *wife's brother*, and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband*, *husband's brother*, and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law*, for the parents of his or her spouse.

601 The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two fur-
608 ther categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category
572 of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[a] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

561 The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by
• 862 relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods,
882 weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[a] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65-68.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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recurring discomforts that an infant experiences. The mother keeps her breast constantly available, so that for the most part the infant is able to satisfy this drive by merely exercising the innate sucking reflex. He does learn, however, that certain preliminary behavior is useful in bringing satisfaction more quickly and efficiently. He learns to turn his head to take the nipple in his mouth, to stop sucking from one breast when it becomes dry, and finally even to lift himself from a prone position to a vantage point from which he can suckle. Suw, one of the older infants of the hamlet, had learned to do all these things very adeptly. Kadowan and Njan, whom I first observed when they were three months old, depended almost entirely on the mother to lift them to the proper position, to help them get the nipple into the mouth, and to change the breast for them at the proper time. Nevertheless they already manifested some of these instrumental acts in incipient form.

Suw, who was almost old enough to be weaned, had learned to grasp other objects besides his mother's breast and to put them into his mouth. At times he even crawled about the porch floor in order to examine things which caught his interest. One of his first responses to these objects was to lift them to his mouth. Compared to ourselves, the Kwoma are exceptionally permissive toward this type of behavior. I once saw Suw with the blade of a twelve-inch bush knife in his mouth and the adults present paid no attention to him. As a result of such trial-and-error investigations, the child learns to discriminate between the edible and inedible. Mother's beads, father's adz, or brother's pith ball not only do not satisfy hunger but sometimes even hurt one's mouth.

Toward the end of infancy the Kwoma mother begins to prepare her child for weaning by introducing foods other than milk into the diet. At first she bends over and transfers masticated food from her mouth into that of her child. Later she gives him a spoonful of soup or a bit of gruel. Even infants as young as Kadowan and Njan were given a small piece of pork to chew on; this probably served both as nourishment and as a pacifier.

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.[a] Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

[a] Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF WEANING

WEANING marks the end of the infancy period.[1] It is a gradual process for which the mother prepares the infant by substituting solid foods for milk and by coaxing the child to spend more and more time on the floor of the porch rather than sitting in her lap. When she eventually decides that he is mature enough, usually during the second or third year, she prevents further breast feeding. She chooses the time in accordance with the adequacy of her child rather than his chronological age, a sickly child being weaned later than a healthy one. Several informants stated that infants stop breast feeding of their own accord, but others said that the mother stops the flow of milk by daubing her nipples with the sap of the breadfruit tree, a thick, viscous fluid, which is used by the natives as glue. If the infant is very persistent in trying to continue to suck, the mother may tell him that a *marsalai*[2] has taken the place of her milk, sometimes emphasizing this story by placing a leech on her breast.

After he has been weaned, the child must learn to depend entirely on the diet of his parents. He becomes adept at drinking soup from coconut-shell bowls, learns to munch the sago briquettes which his mother has cooked for the family, and begins to eat meat with his sago just as his parents do. He also learns that he cannot eat whenever he is hungry, but

[1] Wof's stepson Kum supplied most information on this phase of the process of socialization. He was a bright lad between four and five years old. Merik, Way's son, was also in this period. He was an unhappy child of about Kum's age, who seemed to resent the birth of his younger brother Kadowan.

[2] *Marsalai* is the pidgin English term for a class of huge supernatural beings who dwell in the swamps surrounding the tribe. These monsters usually take the form of great snakes or crocodiles. The belief in these monsters is widespread both in New Guinea and in Australia (cf. M. Mead, "The Marsalai Cult among the Arapesh," *Oceania*, IV [1933], 37–53).

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862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[3]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[4] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[5] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [3] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.

[364] [4] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material (food leavings) from it without being observed.

[754] [5] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

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shortly. Kum kept on shouting until finally his mother 866
stopped answering him. Then he began to wail. His older *brothers*, who were playing ball a short distance away, told him to be quiet. His stepmother, who was working in the house, after several times telling him to hush, finally gave him a scolding.

During the weaning period a child continues to receive help from his mother if he is in grave danger or sick. If he contracts malaria or some other serious disease, she will take him back into her lap and minister to him. If he has a head- [757]
ache or stomach-ache, she attempts to cure him by phlebotomy. When Kum once got lost in the forest, his mother and both his *brothers*, guided by his cries, searched until they found him and brought him home. Thus a child must learn to discriminate between serious dangers and minor pains. Demanding is still successful as a response to the former situation, but it is necessary to discover a new mode of coping with the latter.

Parents and older siblings teach a child to anticipate pain. They point out dangers so that he may avoid them before he is hurt. They warn him about snakes, scorpions, nettles, and other objects in the natural environment that may injure him. He soon discovers that if he does not heed their warnings, the predicted pain does follow, and so he learns to heed them.

Parents and older siblings extend their warnings to in- 869
clude supernatural dangers. They tell the child that huge, 866
snakelike monsters which cause storms dwell in the swamp, and that it is dangerous to go near their dwelling places. This danger is brought within the sphere of experience of [862].
the child when his mother tells him that a *marsalai* occupies her breast and vivifies the story by putting a leech on it. A child is also warned during the weaning period not to venture out at night, for this is the time when ghosts are abroad; and not to go too far from the house unless accompanied by an older person, for if he does a sorcerer may kill him.

A child at this age also learns that people as well as the 861

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861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in seri-
862 ous danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents
[869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

866 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety.
862 His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being
152 pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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concepts of the culture, and must learn to respect them. As an infant, he suffered no such restriction, for no food that was available to him was prohibited on these grounds. During the weaning period he received some training in this respect, but it is especially during childhood that this learning takes place. In contrast to discriminating between things on the ground of their edibility, this restriction on behavior is not supported by natural characteristics such as hardness, bitterness, or poisonousness; it is a man-made prohibition, and must be inculcated entirely by means of social rewards and punishments.

A Kwoma child learns that he cannot eat any food that he sees, but that he may do so only if he has regarded certain property rights.[4] Several times a week his older sister or his mother brings a net bag laden with fruit and vegetables back from the garden. Bananas, plantains, spinach, coconuts, yams, and taros are emptied out on the porch floor to be stored or cooked. The child soon discovers that he cannot help himself freely from this pile of food. If he does so, his mother or sister scolds him: "Don't take those bananas; they were picked from So-and-so's tree and we are going to use them in soup." Sometimes he is told that certain fruit or vegetables come from his own tree or from his own plot in the garden; in this case, his mother is not cross with him if he takes some, but says: "Those are your bananas, but it is your turn to contribute to the family pot. If you eat them now, we won't have enough for the soup." On other occasions he may begin to help himself to a breadfruit that his older brother has just roasted for a between-meal snack, and get a kick or blow and a volley of abuse from this brother when he is discovered. On the other hand, he finds that if he first asks if he may share the snack, his brother usually gives him some.

After considerable trial and error of this kind, as well as after explanations and examples from parents and older sib-

[4] Property rights in respect to tools, toys, etc., follow the same formula as property in food; but since Kwoma children have few toys or tools, it is with respect to food that property rights are primarily learned.

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

121 883 836

[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

121 861 or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn 121 869 their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

[816] *Marsalai* are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to 869 be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible 776 for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about [862] these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker [823] on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to [821] go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle [796] into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these [778] monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

869 795 Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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• 863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [754] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sok*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance reputedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sok* may be related to the verb *soka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

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861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

• 863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is forced to clean up after himself. The following example indicates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis. One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor and that they were going to punish him for it. While they were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in, scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished. Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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permit him to discover the reward by free trial and error.
There are three techniques of guidance: leading, instructing, and demonstrating.

The most primitive technique by which a teacher can make his pupil perform the correct response is by leading. To do this the teacher physically limits the random responses of the pupil so that he makes the right response more quickly, or so that he is prevented from making wrong responses. Such guidance is used by the Kwoma primarily when the pupil has not yet learned to talk and therefore cannot follow instructions. The following case illustrates the use of leading. Njan, while lying in his mother's lap one afternoon, began to cry and struggle. His mother lifted him up to her breast, and, holding his head with one hand, directed her nipple into his mouth with the other. Njan began to nurse. Had his mother not directed his head, he would probably eventually have found her nipple as the result of random movements and satisfied his hunger. The mother, by holding his head, prevented him from making errors and thus forced him to make the right response more quickly. Informants stated that mothers taught their children to defecate in the latrine by leading them there and holding them in the proper position. These are the only situations observed in which Kwoma teachers employ the technique of leading, though there may well be others.

Verbal guidance or instruction is probably the most widely used of all teaching techniques. As indicated in the preceding analysis of punishment, scolding, threats, warnings, and inciting, instructions normally form a part of these techniques. In other words, teachers usually motivate and guide at the same time. On rare occasions, however, when the pupil is already motivated by some other agency, a teacher need simply help the pupil to make the right response, or not to make the wrong response, by instructing him.

The following case illustrates the use of instructions as a teaching technique. Fit was trying to light the fire in my cook house one afternoon. A strong wind was blowing, and the matches kept going out. Mar, who was watching him,

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

114 [378] [136] [516] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house temberan called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kaya repeated this mockingly.

534 476 April 13, 1937. Afok and Pokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123 863 Chinuwe and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marok came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

224 784 226 [177] Mas is now our shoot boy, as Mamb has quit. Yesterday Mas killed two gouria pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that he could not eat any. Mas realised that he should not eat them because he had killed them, but Ouiyap and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Mamb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

863 It turned out later that it was Afi who urinated on the floor, and it was for this that Marok beat her. If a child wets his own bed or defecates in it, it is his own business. He must clean it up. Some disapproval is involved, but not beating or spanking.

857 524 522 831 838 A whole gang of kids came up this afternoon. Some sat inside with me--while others were out kicking a ball. One of them, Kamandu, has an abnormally long penis. Mas and a couple of kids inside began joking about it. Soon it had spread outside. Everyone was looking and laughing. He was not made fun of to his face, but he was perfectly aware of what was going on and soon retired from play with a sort of silly grin. This kidding suggested the homosexual game, and soon everybody was playing it. This causes great laughter to both participants and spectators. Tears come to their eyes, and they roll on the ground helplessly.

754 Kar, Afok, Pokotay, Dew, Yaminj went to blow flutes. Mar and Mas decided not to go. They said they were afraid of poison. Mas offered the excuse to Kar that he had to go and wash sago, and Mar that he had to get firewood for me.

534 The gong was finished, and they have been beating it ever since. It was heard and answered at Tangwishamp. It is not as good as they had hoped. They think the slit is too long in proportion to the size of the gong, but they think it may get better as it dries. For several days they will beat it "Rumbim calling with a new gong--do you hear me?" and people at a distance who hear it will report, and its range will be established.

123 685 This afternoon someone stole a half tin of my tobacco. I made a fuss about it, and my house boys blamed me for not kicking the boys out of the house. Mar said that the house was hereafter tabooed to all except the house boys and those who wanted to talk to me. They said I would have to

126 I spent the afternoon drawing the house tamberan. Way, Yat, Kis and
000 War were sitting in the Police House, War working a ngasa from limbon. Kis was working on Kar's ngasa. At about 3:30, Way got up and worked on his gong. War came over and discussed it with him. Wof visited me--Yat went to Marok's and the two went to Sombundura. Fokotay and Afok came up just before sunset.

123 This morning Kum was in the "kai kai" room while I was working--he asked me for a cigarette butt. I told him he was karagarda yikafa; he was preoccupied for a moment and then, still preoccupied, kicked me and then turned to other things. For the last couple of days he has come up to me and pulled my arm about--I have resisted him a little, and he has gritted his teeth and yanked and seemed to get great pleasure from moving it.

836 Owiyap just came back from the house tamberan at 8 p.m. I asked him if he thought Owanta would come up--he said he didn't know. He was not as excited tonight as he was this afternoon; I feel he doesn't believe she'll come.

754 Then he said he wanted to make poison against Way and that he wanted to
584 marry Owanta. I remarked she was his nowa. He said nevermind, she was nowa="nothing" (sumba sumba nowa--real sister is nowa sakana).

April 23, 1937. Owiyap has gone down to Yat's, so he says, obviously to
754 get a glimpse of Owanta. She did not come last night. War, Way and a group from Wanyi went by with spears to a sorcery court at Sowinambi's. His wife is still sick.

• 863 Kaya just scolded Kum for defecating close to the house. "You clean it up; if you do it again I'll spank you." Now he has run away. Kaya is calling and looking for him and has sent Way in search for him. Chimowa and Wof have gone to scrape sago, and Kaya is staying at the house. Owiyap and Way searched in vain but came back after a short while.

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863 Bladder and colon tensions give an infant little trouble. He simply evacuates when the pressure becomes strong enough. The mother makes no attempt at toilet training while the child is still an infant; she simply learns to anticipate his bowel and bladder movements, quickly lifting him from her lap and holding him over the earth floor. The feces are then wiped up with a leaf. Sometimes the mother does not lift the child quickly enough and he urinates on her leg. In such cases the leaf is again used, and the child is not held accountable for the mistake.

863 861 A mother prevents her infant from smearing. This indeed is the only act for which I observed a Kwoma infant punished. One afternoon Suw defecated on his mother's leg. She moved him aside and called to an older child to fetch her a leaf. While this was being brought, Suw began dabbling in the feces and put some in his mouth. The mother contorted her face and said: "You must not play with feces; they are bad."[1] She rather roughly yanked Suw's hand from his mouth and held it. After I observed this case, I asked several informants whether it was a usual occurrence. They all insisted that it was not, maintaining that feces are naturally disgusting and even doubting that I had seen Suw behave in this manner. The fact that I did observe this behavior shows that, unless Suw was an exception, the disgust reaction is not so strong or innate as my informants believed it to be and indicates the probability that it was the product of cultural conditioning.

864 [124] I have no direct evidence concerning the sexual behavior of Kwoma infants. I did not observe any infant masturbating; but I was only able to watch them during the afternoon visiting hours so that the evidence is inconclusive. However,

[192] [196] [754] [1] The word used in this connection is *kafwa sek*, which is a term meaning bad, nasty, disgusting, rotten, and the like. A facial expression of disgust usually accompanies its use. *Kafwa* is a word which refers to a white substance repeatedly used by certain sorcerers to poison their victims. I was once shown the flyblows on a dead dog and told that this was *kafwa* and proof that the dog had been killed by sorcery. *Sek* may be related to the verb *seka*, which means "to grow." The punishment in this case applied to eating as well as to playing with feces and was thus a restriction on eating habits.

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the general permissive attitude which a mother exhibits toward her infant suggests that she may also allow it freedom to discover this mode of gratification. On the other hand, the fact that older children are not permitted to masturbate in public might influence the mother to prohibit this type of behavior in her infant as well. The fact that both Kum and Merik, boys who were in the weaning period, fingered their genitals without being punished suggests a permissive attitude toward masturbation as perhaps the more plausible assumption. 864

Although a mother tries to protect her infant from pain inflicted by the natural environment, frequent experience with suffering is unavoidable. It is practically impossible for her to ward off the clouds of hungry mosquitoes that are continually present. The extreme temperature variations are often unpleasant. In the afternoon, with humidity at a maximum and the temperature around ninety degrees, the heat is stifling. By contrast, a damp foggy morning with the temperature at seventy is uncomfortably cold; I would shiver in a thick sweater while the natives huddled by their fires. Teething is another source of pain which every infant must endure. Yaws and malaria are prevalent diseases at Kwoma. Informants told me that no one ever grows up without contracting the former. Certainly few youths or adults can be seen who do not bear scars of yaws sores. The infant's physiological immaturity makes him for the most part dependent on his mother to help him cope with these natural pains just as he depends on her to feed him. 854 [136] [132] [164]

Crying is selected as the most effective response which a Kwoma infant can make both to pain and to hunger. It constitutes an injunction to the mother to discover the source of the trouble. Her first response is to present the breast. If this fails to quiet him, she tries something else. If she believes that the child is crying because he is too hot, she moves him away from the heat of her body. If she thinks he is cold, she cuddles him. If his crying calls her attention to a mosquito on him, she brushes it off and scratches the bite. If she suspects that sores from yaws are hurting him, she tries to move

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862 must wait until his mother prepares a meal at the regular time.[4]

863 Cleanliness training begins at approximately the same age as weaning. The mother is comparatively gentle in teaching her child toilet habits. She tells him that adults go outside near the garbage heap[5] to urinate and that he is big enough to do likewise. Similarly, she points out that adults do not defecate in the house but in the household latrine.[6] She takes the child with her to the latrine and holds him while he relieves himself until he has learned to do this without assistance. When I asked an informant whether a mother punishes her child if he persistently defecates in the house, he answered: "No, of course not. He is her own child, isn't he? Why should she punish him? It is her duty to clean up after him if he defecates in the house." Although this may express the theoretical position of the Kwoma native, in actual practice the infant is more recalcitrant, and the mother less patient, than the statement would indicate. One morning I heard Kum's stepmother scolding him for defecating inside the house. She was telling him that he had been very naughty and that he must come and clean up the mess. The boy, however, had hidden somewhere in the underbrush, and repeated calls did not induce him to return. Gwiyap and Mey, his older *brothers*, were sent in search of him but were unable to find him. Half an hour later he reappeared unconcernedly. By this time the stepmother had cleaned up the mess, and her anger had cooled enough so that she administered only a mild scolding.

864 Both Kum and Merik, the only two boys in the hamlet in the weaning period, habitually fingered their genitals, and often stood with one hand on the penis. This may have been a habit which they were learning at this time or it may have

[264] [4] Children of this age may be given a cold sago briquette between meals.
[364] [5] The garbage heap is usually close by the porch of Kwoma dwellings and in sight of those who sit there so that no one can steal sorcery material
[754] (food leavings) from it without being observed.
[6] Each household has a specified spot, usually marked by a tree, or some such landmark, and situated a few rods from the house, which the members of the household use as a place of defecation.

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been one that they had already learned during infancy. In any case neither parents nor older siblings scolded them for this behavior although it was often done in their presence. Kum showed considerable interest in the genitals of other males,* staring at those of his father and older brothers. Perhaps the discovery of his own penis as a source of gratification stimulated his interest in the genitals of others.

While a child is being weaned he must learn many new and independent habits for coping with pain. He has to warm himself by the fire rather than by contact with his mother's body. He must suffer the pain from pressure against his yaws sores, or change his position until the pain is relieved. He no longer has someone to brush the mosquitoes from him but must deal with them alone. He must go down to the spring with his older siblings and wash himself with cold water instead of being gently bathed by his mother with warm water. When it rains he must run into the house if he wishes to keep dry.

When a child is weaned he may no longer sit in his mother's lap by day nor lie by her side at night. This is apparently felt as the most severe frustration experienced at this period of life. No longer is it possible to attain the vantage point from which all drives have hitherto been satisfied.

Kum's behavior indicated an especially strong desire to be near his mother and to touch her. When she came back from work in the evenings he would usually clasp and hug her leg. When she left in the morning he would cling to her, begging to be taken with her. When she sat in the house making a net bag or cooking a meal, he would stand beside her and often lean against her shoulder. Chinuwa, the mother, would never allow him as much contact as he seemed to want. When he hugged her leg or leaned against her side she might tolerate it for a moment, but would soon push him away and tell him to stop annoying her. Kum reacted to one of these rebuffs by

*Both men and women in Kwoma society go naked with the exception of some of the young men who have, within the last few years, adopted the custom of wearing laplaps (calico wrap-around skirts) from their contact with Europeans, and a few of the younger women who have recently procured blouses from white traders.

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861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

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• 864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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property.[10] From this time on a male must avoid looking at the genitals of any woman except those of a lover or wife. 864 •

The sexual response for which a boy is most severely punished during childhood is that of tumescence in public. Any female who observes a boy with an erect penis is expected to beat the member with a stick. It is usually the boy's older *sister* who takes the responsibility for inflicting this punishment. I never saw this punishment actually administered, but I did observe boys with erections on two occasions. While playing at my house one morning Ham had an erection. His older *brothers*, Gwiyap and Mey, noticed it and teased him about it. They told him that he should be ashamed of himself and warned him not to let any females see him that way. On another occasion Fit was observed by his playmates with an erect penis and was similarly teased. Shortly after this I was visiting at Fit's house. His *brother*, Gwiyap, began telling his older *sisters*, Awa and Kwiya, about what had happened to Fit, illustrating the story in a joking manner by putting a stick between his legs. Awa and Kwiya laughed at Gwiyap but they scolded Fit. "You had better not let us catch you that way or we will beat you. What are you, a baby? You should be old enough to control yourself." Fit was much discomfited at this. He denied the truth of Gwiyap's story, told him to shut up, and finally left the house sullenly. Kwoma inculcation on this point is apparently very effective for I observed no adult, and, in fact, no other child with an erection.

A boy is also restricted from fingering his genitals. Anyone who observes a child touching his penis scolds him for it. They tell him that he should not do it because this part of his body belongs to his future wife, and that masturbation will cause injury to his penis. The training is effective enough to prevent the child, who during the weaning period was allowed to touch his penis, from persisting in this habit. I did not observe any boy child manipulate his genitals, and

[10] *Enji mbumbowi*—"My something." This expression is also used to establish property rights, thus bringing the act in context with offenses against ownership and property. [192] [196]

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864 boys of this age even refrain from touching them while urinating.

I cannot say whether this prohibition also prevented private masturbation. I asked Ham, Fit, and Mey, all of them boys in the childhood group, whether they played with their penises when they were alone. All of them denied it with considerable embarrassment. They hung their heads, pretended not to understand me, and changed the subject as quickly as they could. This embarrassment suggests that they were guilty about masturbation, but it does not indicate whether they actually did not masturbate or whether they did and were afraid to admit the fact.

201 864 838 [834] Boys who have not seen one another for some time rush together, throw their arms around each other, and hug and pat one another and rub one another's cheeks with their lime gourds. They exhibit this behavior with boys of their own age and sometimes with older men, but never with a female. Such an embrace is permitted between the sexes only when they are both aged and related. Mey, Fit, and Ham frequently chose to sleep together in my house rather than at their homes. They were often joined by adolescents. Although this was attributed to the advantage of mosquito proofing, they usually slept huddled together and often with their arms around one another.

524 838 864 Kwoma boys frequently play a game with sexual connotations: one boy chases another, throws him down, and simulates copulation with him. Other boys in the group then take advantage of the aggressor and pretend to copulate with him until four or five boys line up in this way all laughing and yelling with enjoyment. Then, when the bottom boy has broken free and the chain disintegrates, there follows a hubbub in which each boy calls another his wife and claims to have impregnated "her." Adolescents often join the game, and, when they do, the children have great difficulty defending their "honor." When this game was the fad, one or another group of boys played it almost every day for a period of over a month.

838 864 Boys often tease one another sexually when they sleep

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together. In a manner similar to that associated with the "homosexual" game, each claims that the other is his wife and will have a child by him. On one occasion Ham slept in the mosquito net with Wysep, one of my houseboys, when the latter's wife was away. The next morning Gwiyap and Mey began teasing Ham, saying that they suspected that Wysep had had sex relations with him and that pretty soon "his belly would swell up." Ham hotly denied the accusation, but the kidding persisted until Ham retired from the scene.

As far as I could observe, there was very little genital contact established either in the games or when the boys slept together. Sodomy is believed to be unnatural and revolting, and informants were unanimous in saying that anyone who would submit to it must be a "ghost" and not a man. Although this sanction theoretically applied only to the person who played the passive rôle, it seemed to be effective in restricting the practice.

The sexual training of a girl during childhood differs somewhat from that of a boy. Although she is punished for masturbating, in a manner similar to that of the boy, her conditioning differs in other respects, the most marked contrast resulting from the fact that the difference in her anatomy relieves her from the punishment which a male receives for having an erection in public. On the other hand, she is scolded by parents and older siblings for exposing herself unduly. She is taught to sit modestly with her legs stretched out together before her, and never to draw her legs up or sit with them apart. She is also warned not to lean over when a man is behind her unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her back. Furthermore she is told that a modest girl should step aside from a path if she sees a man approaching and stand with her back to the path until he has passed. She should not address him until he has gone by, at which time she may speak to him over her shoulder. When a girl is immodest, however, she is punished much less severely than is a boy. She is rarely more than scolded for such a lapse. The girl is also treated more leniently than the boy in that she is not restricted from looking at the genitals of the other sex.

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864 Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

757 593 858 Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children [755] by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

866 A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

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854 757 or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[5] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

854 • 865 Very few aggressive responses are established during infancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

858 As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[753]

[5] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 61.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *owambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yogiga fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 862 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in serious danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents [869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

866 862 152 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety. His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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and eliminating similar minor dangers, he is now punished for becoming angry with his parents, as was shown by the scolding received by Kum for crying loudly for his mother. 865

In the realm of prestige, the Kwoma child during the period of weaning plunges from the very top to the very bottom of the social hierarchy. Most of the commands which he issues are now ignored, and the help which he expects is denied him. Furthermore, he has to learn to obey the commands of others during this period. His control over his social environment is at a minimum. 858

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Older *brothers* scold younger *brothers* for showing a precocious knowledge of cult affairs, or for not heeding their warnings and younger *sisters* for annoying them or for not carrying out their household chores properly. 861 602

A boy is most frequently hurt by his older *brothers* in the course of games. The most popular sport consisted in kicking a pith ball up a slight slope against the side of a house and then, when it rolled down, kicking it back up again. In this, as well as in the dart-throwing and "homosexual" games, the older and bigger boys tease the younger one and knock him out of the way when he interferes. They order him to retrieve the ball or the pawpaw when it bounds into the bushes, or to throw the target rock for them. In the "homosexual" game it is the smaller boy who is usually at the bottom of the pile and who is called "wife" by the older boys. 861 524 [602]

A child becomes adept at avoiding punishment from older persons by obeying, escaping, lying, and being secretive. He learns that if he does not do what he is told, a blow will follow; that if he persists in doing what he is told not to do, he will be beaten. Thus he not only learns to obey commands, but also to anticipate the commands, that is, to follow custom. He also learns that, if he has disobeyed, he can often escape punishment by running away from the person who has issued the command, or by lying if someone accuses him of doing something wrong. Finally, he learns that he can do things of which the older people disapprove, if they do not observe him. He therefore learns to be secretive. Smoking in the bush house is one example. Masturbation may be another. A child also learns secretly to beat cult-gong rhythms, being careful that no older person is present when he practices. Kwoma parents do not punish a child for lying or being secretive; they only punish him if the misdemeanor is discovered. Children therefore become very adept in these arts of deception. 861

A child has his first success in social aggression toward his younger siblings. They, being smaller than he, are easily overcome when they threaten or interfere with him. When they get in his way in games, it is not difficult to shove them 865 602

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• 865 602 aside nor dangerous to command them to get out of the way. If they jostle him when he is about to throw a dart into a pawpaw, he can kick or beat them without fear of effective retaliation, and he is rewarded for doing so when they thereafter keep out of his way. If younger *brothers* or *sisters* take some food which he intends to eat, he can force them to give it back if he catches them at it or prevent a future recurrence by punishing them after the event. When younger siblings tag along despite his wish to be with boys of his own age, he can command them to stay behind and back up the command with a blow if he is not heeded.

Such is the success of aggression toward younger siblings that a child often expresses it even when they do not threaten or annoy him. Kwoma boys and girls continually tease their younger *brothers* and *sisters* and order them about apparently for the pure joy of it. Presumably by so doing a child both reassures himself that he is in a position to be successfully aggressive toward these younger children and at the same time finds expression for the aggression generated by older persons which he usually dare not manifest.[12] Thus he gains practice in expressing aggression toward persons who are not responsible for producing it—a type of response which he frequently employs in later life.

Toward the end of childhood, when social aggression has been greatly strengthened by success with smaller persons, a child may sometimes express it toward those older than he. If he does so, he usually escapes immediately afterward. It is, so to speak, "hit and run" aggression. Fit's feud with his older *brother*,[13] Mey, exemplifies this. One morning Mey was teasing Fit as they were eating breakfast. Fit lost his temper and cursed Mey by telling him to cohabit with his sister. Mey

[12] As soon as a child learns to be aggressive in response to a threat, this behavior tends to assume ascendancy over avoidance, because in the former case the goal of the activity in progress need not be given up, whereas in the latter it often has to be. Thus a child should develop a wish to be aggressive toward his parents rather than to obey them, but, since he dare not do so, he takes it out on his *brothers* and *sisters*.

[13] Mey was only slightly older and bigger than Fit. I should guess twelve and ten as their respective ages.

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returned the taunt, whereupon Fit hit him on the head with his fist. Mey scrambled up, grabbed a burning brand from the fire, and ran after Fit, who had started to flee. Mey managed to strike Fit twice on the back before the latter made good his escape. The next day Mey reported that Fit had stolen or destroyed the contents of his (Mey's) net bag and fled to his mother's house in another hamlet.[14] Fit did not return for a month. All went well for about two weeks thereafter. Then one afternoon the two began wrestling at a time when Fit had a razor blade in his hand. Fit lost his temper in the scuffle and cut a deep gash in Mey's lip. He then ran away, but, hearing indirectly that Mey did not bear a grudge, returned after a couple of hours. Two weeks later Fit stole a knife from Mey and again ran away to his mother. 865 • 602

A child is sometimes aggressive even toward his mother and father. For the most part, he expresses it indirectly in such ways as grumbling under his breath when he receives an order from them, or insulting them behind their backs. Sometimes, however, the tendency to aggression becomes strong enough to overcome fear of retaliation. Gwiyap reported that, when he was a child, he had been infuriated with his father for scolding him, had seized a spear, and had attempted to run it through his parent, but someone present had prevented him from carrying out his purpose. He also told of an occasion when he had struck his stepmother. She had been sitting by the fire cooking and had asked him to pass her a ladle. He delayed in doing it, and she began to scold him. He became angry at this and "punched her in the nose." She picked up a stick to beat him with, but he ran away. Mey reported a similar story of an occurrence several years before. He said that he was lying on a platform which was built shoulder high on the limb of a tree in front of his house. He had a sharpened stick in his hand and was lying in wait for his mother because he was angry with her. Finally, she came close to the platform and he jabbed her several times as hard as he could on her head and shoulders. According to 865 593

[14] Fit's father had died, and his mother had married a man of another sib.

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865 593 [604] Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

867 602 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[15] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[16] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[604]

[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [15] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[16] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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• 865 Social sanctions as well as fear of retaliation play a part in determining the manner in which a child will react to pain from the social environment. Custom as well as natural expediency dictates when it is appropriate to be aggressive, when submissive. Custom also specifies the manner in which either of these responses may be expressed. Members of the community stand ready to punish deviations from custom.

A child is punished for being too submissive. If he runs away when he has a right to retaliate, members of the hamlet who observe such action scold him for being cowardly. If he is afraid to join in the childhood games, he is teased for acting like a baby, especially if he runs away when both he and his brother are attacked. An instance of this occurred when Gwiyap, Mey, and Fit were playing the "homosexual" game. Gwiyap caught Fit and threw him down, and Mey ran away. [593] The boys' uncle, Yat, who was watching, scolded Mey severely for running away when his *brother* needed help. "If your *brother* is in trouble, it is your duty to fight for him."

Children are punished for being inappropriately aggressive. If a child is aggressive when he should be submissive, or more aggressive than the circumstances warrant, he is called to task by members of the community who observe it. Kwoma children may tease, punish, or scold a younger sibling, but may not actually injure him. A child is continually being [602] lectured about the great value which his relatives will have for him throughout his life in terms both of defense and of economic aid. Parents say: "You and your *brother* are 'one blood.' If you hurt him, you hurt yourself." For a boy, the sanction against hurting a *sister* is more severe than that against hurting a *brother*. An aggressive act which, if made toward a *brother*, would pass unnoticed, is punished if made toward a *sister*.

The reaction of the community to the fight reported above between Mey and Fit illustrates the operation of the social [602] sanction on aggressive behavior. Several older *brothers* of the two boys were sitting around the breakfast fire when the fight started. Their reaction was one of laughter and of egging the boys on. Soon after I asked Gwiyap, who had been

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present, if the boys' parents would scold them for fighting. He said: "No indeed; fighting is a good thing. A person who is afraid to fight can never be a big man in the community." When Fit stole the contents of Mey's bag, the latter's *paternal aunt* told him to wait until Fit came back and then do the same thing to him. When Fit did return, I asked Mey if he had carried out his *paternal aunt's* suggestion and he said, "No, my father told me that after all Fit was my *brother* and that I should forgive him."

Kwoma boys and girls thus learn during childhood to avoid punishment by running away, obeying, hiding, lying, and being polite. They learn to fight, tease, annoy, punish, scold, retaliate, insult, and threaten as ways of being aggressive. They become aware that the source of pain or danger, whether it be man or animal, is the most important thing to know in deciding whether to fight or flee. Finally, they discover that if they are inappropriately aggressive or too submissive they will be punished by other members of the community.

Prestige is a motive which in Kwoma society is closely allied to aggression. The advantage of being old and big is strongly impressed on a Kwoma boy. He can successfully command his younger *brother* to perform tasks for him and to get out of his way, but he must submit to similar commands from his older *brothers*. The contrast is even more marked if he compares himself to his father and *uncles*. Not only are they continually commanding and punishing him, but they are also able, because of size and social sanctions, to do things which a boy would like to do but cannot. Kwoma language indicates that the wish for prestige is largely derived from the struggles between siblings during childhood. The term for a man of high prestige is *harafa ma malaka*, which means "big older brother man," while persons are often derogated by being referred to as *karaganda yikafa*, "little child." It is not surprising, therefore, that Kwoma children exhibit a strong desire to grow up.

Kwoma culture provides the boy with a system of beliefs according to which he can hasten the process of growing up.

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882 602 561 554 [794] advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

882 602 554 156 • 865 On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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882 602 554 156 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 578 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic cooperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[2] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[3] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual cooperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[2] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[3] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[38] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[29] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[29] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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882 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses
602 to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usu-
865 ally obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much
609 the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives
628 who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except
583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her
59 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust-
602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has
6066 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of
86 Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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854 him into a more comfortable position. If he seems to be crying because he is sick, she tries to distract his attention by
[524] crooning to him, rocking him gently, and patting him. One mother, by putting a stone in a tin can, had invented a rattle which she used in these circumstances. Each time a mother reacts to her child's crying by discovering and removing the source of discomfort, she rewards this response in her child. The situation in Kwoma is such that, for the young infant, crying is followed by the alleviation of pain more frequently than is any other response.

When the infant begins to talk, he learns an even more efficient technique for securing help. A mother does not always know the trouble when her infant cries, but his words elicit immediate and appropriate help. A Kwoma infant who has learned to speak may say, "Mother, my back itches," or
[861] "I am cold; warm me." The mother rewards these demands by removing the source of discomfort. This indicates one of the advantages of learning language and hence why an infant is motivated to do so.

856 Thus during infancy the response to discomfort which is most strongly established is that of seeking help by crying or asking for it. Responses such as approaching the breast, moving to avoid pains, and other independent acts are also established. They form a basis for later learning, but hold a less important position in the response repertory of an infant than that of seeking help.

854 A motive which becomes strongly established during infancy is the wish to be near to and touch the mother. Almost all the pains and discomforts which an infant experiences are reduced while he is either sitting in his mother's lap or lying by her side. He is fed there, he sleeps there, and he is warmed and cooled, scratched and petted there—always while in bodily contact with his mother. The following case indicates the strong attachment that an infant has for his
854 mother's lap and how loath he is to leave it. Mbora one after-
• 866 noon was teaching her infant son Suw to venture from her lap. She was rolling a ball a little way from her and then

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putting Suw down and gently urging him to retrieve it. He crawled a few feet toward the ball and then returned to his mother. She took him back into her lap and rocked him in her arms and patted him for a while. She then asked someone for the ball and let Suw play with it. Then she rolled it away again and told him to go get it. This time he retrieved the ball and was again rewarded. During weaning, as we shall see, the strength of this desire to touch and be near the mother is even more clearly demonstrated.

An infant's reaction to the social environment is pleasant but limited. Except for smearing he is rarely punished.* Since, moreover, almost all his needs are satisfied by the help of his mother, he inevitably develops a strong attachment to her. By comparison, other persons are relatively unimportant in his life. His father sometimes picks him up and holds him for a few minutes to display him to a visitor, but he soon returns the child to his mother, especially if he starts to cry. A mother never entrusts her young infant to an older brother or sister to hold, even for a short while, unless she is near to supervise. Next to the mother herself, her co-wife cares for a child more frequently than any other person. It is she who usually holds the infant when the mother needs a short respite from the constant care. The only other persons who are allowed to touch the child are its grandparents, its father's *brothers* and *sisters*, its *mother's brothers*, and the spouses of these persons; but to be held by them is a rare occurrence. The mother stands out as by far the most important figure in the infant's life—a person essential to his very existence.

Sickness is the chief source of anxiety for a Kwoma infant. The mother, successful in bringing about the reduction of other discomforts, knows no efficient means of coping with most of the diseases which her child contracts. Indeed, one method employed to cure minor ills increases the infant's pain instead of reducing it. If he complains of a headache

* Masturbation and biting the mother's nipple may be two other exceptions to the rule of complete facilitation. All informants stated firmly that an infant is never punished.

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been one that they had already learned during infancy. In any case neither parents nor older siblings scolded them for this behavior although it was often done in their presence. Kum showed considerable interest in the genitals of other males,[a] staring at those of his father and older brothers. Perhaps the discovery of his own penis as a source of gratification stimulated his interest in the genitals of others.

While a child is being weaned he must learn many new and independent habits for coping with pain. He has to warm himself by the fire rather than by contact with his mother's body. He must suffer the pain from pressure against his yaws sores, or change his position until the pain is relieved. He no longer has someone to brush the mosquitoes from him but must deal with them alone. He must go down to the spring with his older siblings and wash himself with cold water instead of being gently bathed by his mother with warm water. When it rains he must run into the house if he wishes to keep dry.

When a child is weaned he may no longer sit in his mother's lap by day nor lie by her side at night. This is apparently felt as the most severe frustration experienced at this period of life. No longer is it possible to attain the vantage point from which all drives have hitherto been satisfied.

Kum's behavior indicated an especially strong desire to be near his mother and to touch her. When she came back from work in the evenings he would usually clasp and hug her leg. When she left in the morning he would cling to her, begging to be taken with her. When she sat in the house making a net bag or cooking a meal, he would stand beside her and often lean against her shoulder. Chinuwa, the mother, would never allow him as much contact as he seemed to want. When he hugged her leg or leaned against her side she might tolerate it for a moment, but would soon push him away and tell him to stop annoying her. Kum reacted to one of these rebuffs by

[a] Both men and women in Kwoma society go naked with the exception of some of the young men who have, within the last few years, adopted the custom of wearing laplaps (calico wrap-around skirts) from their contact with Europeans, and a few of the younger women who have recently procured blouses from white traders.

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throwing himself on the ground screaming with rage. On another occasion he wept silently with his forefinger in his mouth. Usually, however, he would move away a little, look at his mother, and then move cautiously toward her again, as though in a state of conflict. Merik exhibited similar behavior, but to a less marked degree. His mother had not respected the prohibition against cohabitation while still nursing, so that his infancy period had been cut somewhat short by the birth of a younger sibling. His behavior seemed to indicate that he had already learned that he could not hope to regain his infantile pleasures, but that he was not yet mature enough to turn to the childhood play group.

With weaning, then, many of the demands which the Kwoma child has learned to make during infancy become no longer successful. His mother no longer responds in the same helpful way to many of his requests. His demands to be taken into her lap, scratched, patted, or warmed, are now ignored. When she no longer heeds his demands, he becomes more vociferous. Unless he is in serious danger, however, she still does not cater to him. He then reverts to the earlier response of crying. When this fails, he tries other responses in his repertory. For example, one morning Kum's mother put on her net bag to go to the swamp to collect sago. Kum, observing her, said, "Mother, I want to go too." "No," she replied, "you must stay at home." Kum repeated his request more vigorously, but his mother did not heed him. Then he began to cry, but still without success. His crying increased in intensity until he was screaming. His mother, having finished her preparations, started down the path. Kum ran after her and clasped her leg, trying to hold her back, and shrieking. When she disengaged her leg he threw himself on the ground and rolled over and over in the grass.

If a child is too vociferous and persistent in his demands, he is actually punished. One morning Kum was calling to his mother, who was a short way down the mountainside gathering firewood: "Mother, come! I am hungry. Mother, come! I am hungry." She answered at first that she would be home

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shortly. Kum kept on shouting until finally his mother stopped answering him. Then he began to wail. His older *brothers*, who were playing ball a short distance away, told him to be quiet. His stepmother, who was working in the house, after several times telling him to hush, finally gave him a scolding. 866

During the weaning period a child continues to receive help from his mother if he is in grave danger or sick. If he contracts malaria or some other serious disease, she will take him back into her lap and minister to him. If he has a headache or stomach-ache, she attempts to cure him by phlebotomy. When Kum once got lost in the forest, his mother and both his *brothers*, guided by his cries, searched until they found him and brought him home. Thus a child must learn to discriminate between serious dangers and minor pains. Demanding is still successful as a response to the former situation, but it is necessary to discover a new mode of coping with the latter. [757]

Parents and older siblings teach a child to anticipate pain. They point out dangers so that he may avoid them before he is hurt. They warn him about snakes, scorpions, nettles, and other objects in the natural environment that may injure him. He soon discovers that if he does not heed their warnings, the predicted pain does follow, and so he learns to heed them.

Parents and older siblings extend their warnings to include supernatural dangers. They tell the child that huge, snakelike monsters which cause storms dwell in the swamp, and that it is dangerous to go near their dwelling places. This danger is brought within the sphere of experience of the child when his mother tells him that a *marsalai* occupies her breast and vivifies the story by putting a leech on it. A child is also warned during the weaning period not to venture out at night, for this is the time when ghosts are abroad; and not to go too far from the house unless accompanied by an older person, for if he does a sorcerer may kill him. 869 866 [862]

A child at this age also learns that people as well as the 861

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861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[7] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 862 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in serious danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents [869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

866 862 152 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety. His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[7] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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864 Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

757 Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independ-
593 ent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon
858 his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children [755] by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

• 866 A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

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may learn to avoid or kill a scorpion even though he has never been bitten by one. So it is with other dangers, especially the more serious ones; if children were permitted to learn to avoid wild boars or crocodiles by actually experiencing pain from them, the society would soon disappear. Parental warnings come true frequently enough so that children usually heed them.

A child is not permitted to show excessive fear of his environment. If he is too afraid of a small snake or lizard to kill it, or if he is afraid to walk in the swamp lest he be pricked by a thorn, his older *brothers* will tease him and his parents will scold him. An overanxious child is usually called a "baby" in a derogatory manner.

The warnings of parents and older siblings include supernatural dangers. A child is taught that certain glens, springs, rocks, and trees are dwelling places of *marsalai*, and he learns the names of the supernatural beings who inhabit them. He is warned that, if he goes too near one of these places, the monster will cause a violent storm and high wind that may blow down the dwelling of his parents, or it will "shoot" a sago needle into his foot for disturbing it. Such a needle, although invisible, is very painful and can be removed only by adult operators who have mastered the special magical technique. Actual storms and unseen needles are used to impress the validity of these beliefs upon the child. Whenever there is a severe storm, the adults in the hamlet speculate as to who has disturbed the *marsalai*. Was it Yat who was clearing a garden too near to the rock in which Kumbundum dwelt, or was it Wof who went hunting near the bog inhabited by Kurumbukwas? Similarly when a child reported that he had a pain in his foot which felt like a thorn but which he could not see, his parents would say: "There, you see. You have been 'shot' by a *marsalai*. We told you to beware of disturbing them."

A child is warned that he should not go near the house tamberan while the yam-cult ceremonies are being held. He is told that at this time the adult men of the tribe consort with *marsalai*. He is warned that although men can do so

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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may [602] [571] eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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concepts of the culture, and must learn to respect them. As an infant, he suffered no such restriction, for no food that was available to him was prohibited on these grounds. During the weaning period he received some training in this respect, but it is especially during childhood that this learning takes place. In contrast to discriminating between things on the ground of their edibility, this restriction on behavior is not supported by natural characteristics such as hardness, bitterness, or poisonousness; it is a man-made prohibition, and must be inculcated entirely by means of social rewards and punishments.

A Kwoma child learns that he cannot eat any food that he sees, but that he may do so only if he has regarded certain property rights.[1] Several times a week his older sister or his mother brings a net bag laden with fruit and vegetables back from the garden. Bananas, plantains, spinach, coconuts, yams, and taros are emptied out on the porch floor to be stored or cooked. The child soon discovers that he cannot help himself freely from this pile of food. If he does so, his mother or sister scolds him: "Don't take those bananas; they were picked from So-and-so's tree and we are going to use them in soup." Sometimes he is told that certain fruit or vegetables come from his own tree or from his own plot in the garden; in this case, his mother is not cross with him if he takes some, but says: "Those are your bananas, but it is your turn to contribute to the family pot. If you eat them now, we won't have enough for the soup." On other occasions he may begin to help himself to a breadfruit that his older brother has just roasted for a between-meal snack, and get a kick or blow and a volley of abuse from this brother when he is discovered. On the other hand, he finds that if he first asks if he may share the snack, his brother usually gives him some.

After considerable trial and error of this kind, as well as after explanations and examples from parents and older sib-

[1] Property rights in respect to tools, toys, etc., follow the same formula as property in food; but since Kwoma children have few toys or tools, it is with respect to food that property rights are primarily learned.

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lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

• 867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[18] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[19] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [18] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[19] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[92] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[93] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual coöperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[92] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[93] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[35] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[35] The sons of a person's father's-*friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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tions. Since both threats and instructions have been analyzed, it is not necessary to discuss commanding in detail, but it should be stated that it is an extremely important method of teaching.

Providing rewards, the third general category of teaching techniques, is also employed by the Kwoma. It consists of providing a reward after a pupil has made a right response. A teacher may use this technique after he has motivated and guided the pupil, or he may use it when either the motivation or the guidance or both have been supplied by some other agency. The general category of rewarding may be subdivided into helping, giving, and praising.

Kwoma teachers take advantage of the fact that a pupil can satisfy but few of his drives, either basic or acquired, without the aid of another person or persons.[35] Being helped is thus in many cases the *sine qua non* for achieving a reward. Teachers may, therefore, employ helping as a means of rewarding the right response of a pupil. They use this technique primarily to teach the pupil cooperative habits. In other words, teachers most frequently help a pupil after the pupil has helped them. The technique of helping is thus one of the important methods of transmitting that part of the culture which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity.[36]

Giving is closely allied to helping as a technique of reward, being used in the same cooperative context. If a teacher gives a pupil something, it is significant as a reward because the teacher has done the work of producing or otherwise obtaining the gift, and thus relieves the pupil of the necessity of doing the same himself. Gifts in Kwoma are of food, tools, or shell money. Barter and exchange are a form of reciprocal

[35] Malinowski has shown that all cultural habits are an integral part of institutions which imply the cooperative efforts of an organized group of persons for the satisfaction of a need. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), no. 6, pp. 952-54.

[36] Hull has suggested a psychological basis for this in the principle of reciprocal reinforcement. C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. ix, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).

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868 himself and his dependents. Thus, during childhood, he begins to participate in the hunting, gardening, and collecting occupations of his parents.

Even as an infant a Kwoma has begun his training in working for food by learning to clamber to his mother's breast. Later, during weaning, habits of helping himself to food and eating have been developed. Now the whole cycle of planting and harvesting, hunting and fishing, collecting and processing, unfolds before him, and little by little he learns to participate in one or another segment of these activities.

[252] A child learns that most of his food must be cooked before he can eat it and that if he wishes to eat between meals he [264] must learn this technique himself. At any time of the day [372] boys may roast a bunch of plantains or a breadfruit. Sometimes they build up the fire on the hearth of their mother or older sister, but more frequently they cook their snacks in groups of two or three in the forest. They learn to cook by watching and imitating their mother, and by trial and error. [86] Girls, in addition to this, are specifically trained. They are told by their mothers what to do and criticized if they do not do it correctly. Boys also receive some specific training if they try some of the more complicated dishes such as gruel or 868 soup. Both girls and boys are expected to help their mother 857 when she is cooking the main meal, standing ready to pass [415] her a utensil or to fetch the bamboo water container. She is severe with her children for negligence in helping her, scolding them if they do not carry out her orders. Kaya, for example, severely reprimanded Mey for bringing her the old mixing sticks when she wanted the new ones.

[312] Since water and firewood are necessary for cooking, a sup- [313] ply must be kept constantly to hand. This is woman's work, [462] and consequently does not affect the boys.* A girl in the childhood age group accompanies her mother to the spring and brings back a small bamboo of water, and also forages for firewood with her mother. Older girls, though still in the childhood age group, are often given the responsibility of

* A boy will occasionally help his sister fetch water or firewood as a favor to her, but not as a duty.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokzei*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokzei* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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857 868 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

241 Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 [252] Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the cooperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [962] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [41] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they [223] are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, [224] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an [125] adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [911] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw[9] up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

[9] A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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861 other tasks if he wishes, and is definitely debarred from still
868 others. Although this work is directed toward the satisfaction
857 of hunger, the children cannot always appreciate this and must be coerced. A Kwoma does not take full responsibility for many of the tasks until adolescence; then he learns by experience that no work means no food. The coercion, as we have seen, consists in scolding or beating the child for not doing the tasks expected of him, and in warning him of the dire consequences which follow an undesired act.

863 Cleanliness habits are usually already established by the time a boy or girl reaches childhood. Informants stated that if a slip occurs it is the child's own business except that he is forced to clean up after himself. The following example indicates how sanctions actually operated in a case of enuresis. One night, when the mosquitoes were very bad, Buka, a girl about eight years old, slept with her mother, older sister, and younger brother in the screened room in my house. The next morning I found a puddle on the floor. Soon after breakfast the two young girls came in shamefacedly and offered to clean up. They lied to me, saying that Kum had wet the floor and that they were going to punish him for it. While they were carrying out the rug, their *paternal uncle* came in, scolded Buka, and beat her. She cried and ran home. The uncle then told me that it was Buka's own business if she wet the bed as long as she cleaned up after herself. He said that he would not have scolded her if she had done it at home, but wetting my floor was an insult to me which must be punished. Several of the onlookers referred to the act as that of an infant and said that she was old enough to know better.

864 Sexual conditioning begins in earnest during childhood. A boy is punished for looking at the genitals of any female. He is scolded and even beaten if he does this, the person at whom he looks usually being the one who does the punishing. Informants stated that learning takes place primarily with respect to the mother and sisters because they are the females with whom the boy comes most frequently in contact. When a woman scolds a boy for staring at her, she tells him that he should not look at her genitals because they are her private

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shortly. Kum kept on shouting until finally his mother 866
stopped answering him. Then he began to wail. His older *brothers*, who were playing ball a short distance away, told him to be quiet. His stepmother, who was working in the house, after several times telling him to hush, finally gave him a scolding.

During the weaning period a child continues to receive help from his mother if he is in grave danger or sick. If he contracts malaria or some other serious disease, she will take him back into her lap and minister to him. If he has a head- [757]
ache or stomach-ache, she attempts to cure him by phlebotomy. When Kum once got lost in the forest, his mother and both his *brothers*, guided by his cries, searched until they found him and brought him home. Thus a child must learn to discriminate between serious dangers and minor pains. Demanding is still successful as a response to the former situation, but it is necessary to discover a new mode of coping with the latter.

Parents and older siblings teach a child to anticipate pain. They point out dangers so that he may avoid them before he is hurt. They warn him about snakes, scorpions, nettles, and other objects in the natural environment that may injure him. He soon discovers that if he does not heed their warnings, the predicted pain does follow, and so he learns to heed them.

Parents and older siblings extend their warnings to in- 869
clude supernatural dangers. They tell the child that huge, 866
snakelike monsters which cause storms dwell in the swamp, and that it is dangerous to go near their dwelling places. This danger is brought within the sphere of experience of [862]
the child when his mother tells him that a *marsalai* occupies her breast and vivifies the story by putting a leech on it. A child is also warned during the weaning period not to venture out at night, for this is the time when ghosts are abroad; and not to go too far from the house unless accompanied by an older person, for if he does a sorcerer may kill him.

A child at this age also learns that people as well as the 861

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861 natural environment may inflict pain upon him. His parents push him around, scold him, and sometimes even spank him.[1] They strike hard enough to give meaning to their commands and scolding, but not hard enough to injure him. His older siblings also scold and punish him. He learns to respond to punishments with two special forms of behavior: obeying and escaping. He learns that if he does as he is told he will not be punished. He also learns that if he runs away when someone threatens him he is less likely to be hit. Kum was playing with a broom one afternoon and started to take it out from under the porch. His older *sister* noticed this and told him to bring it back, starting toward him threateningly. Kum dropped the broom and ran. The *sister* did not pursue him.

866 Thus during the weaning period, except when he is in seri-
862 ous danger, a child is forced to give up demanding as the preferred response and must learn new and independent habits. He is aided in this learning by warnings from his parents
[869] and older siblings. These warnings are extended to include beliefs about supernatural dangers. Finally, it is during this period that a child begins to experience pain from other persons and learns to obey commands and to escape from threats.

866 Weaning greatly increases a child's experience of anxiety.
862 His desire to sit in his mother's lap and his fear of being
152 pushed away and scolded for it, the desire to suckle and the belief that there is a *marsalai* in his mother's breast, the wish for his demands to be heeded and the punishments he receives for crying, all are anxiety-producing sources of conflict. As has already been shown, obeying, escaping, and learning new habits are the means by which he reduces these anxieties. Sickness, however, remains an unresolved source of anxiety.

865 Aggression still plays a minor rôle in the life of a Kwoma during the weaning period. In some ways aggressive behavior is less successful at this time than it was during infancy. Although the child becomes more adept at killing mosquitoes

[1] Kwoma parents customarily spank their children by striking them between the shoulder blades with their open hands. They do not hold the child, but chase him if he attempts to escape. The child is usually able to elude the parent after one or two blows have fallen.

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of Kwoma children is very effective in this respect. Errors and warnings sharply differentiate the things in the environment which may, and those which may not, be eaten, with the result that Kwoma children show a remarkable knowledge of the local flora and fauna.

Parents provide their children with a general formula to keep them from eating harmful food. The formula is: if you do not know a thing is good to eat, do not try it. I have no data on how this fear of strangeness is transmitted to the child, but I did observe the fact that children generally reacted with fear to strange objects and persons.

A Kwoma child learns that, in addition to things naturally inedible, there are also foods which are made poisonous by sorcerers. Boys and girls are told never to eat food given them by a stranger or a non-relative, for it may be poisoned by the insertion of a magical white powder. As an example of parental training on this point, Wof refused to allow Mey and Fit to eat at my house because I bought bananas, pawpaws, yams, and other vegetables from people of other hamlets. He also warned us not to eat this food, for we might have enemies in the tribe who would try to poison us. Another illustration of the manner in which this eating restriction is inculcated occurred when Marok's dog died. It was his best hunting dog, and both he and his wife and sister were very fond of the animal. When it died, they wailed as they would have done for a member of the family. It died early one morning, and the women mourned throughout the day. By afternoon flies had gathered about the dead animal and laid their eggs upon it. Mey, Fit, and Buka were with me when Marok pointed to these flyblows and told me that this was the poisonous white powder which sorcerers use. This was definite proof, he said, that someone had tried to poison him or one of his family, but that the unfortunate dog had eaten the food instead and died as a result. All the children of the hamlet soon knew the imputed cause of the dog's death, and it is probable that this knowledge served to strengthen their fear of food not prepared by relatives.

A child is warned about another type of sorcery which also

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pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[3] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[3] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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may learn to avoid or kill a scorpion even though he has never been bitten by one. So it is with other dangers, especially the more serious ones; if children were permitted to learn to avoid wild boars or crocodiles by actually experiencing pain from them, the society would soon disappear. Parental warnings come true frequently enough so that children usually heed them. 866

A child is not permitted to show excessive fear of his environment. If he is too afraid of a small snake or lizard to kill it, or if he is afraid to walk in the swamp lest he be pricked by a thorn, his older *brothers* will tease him and his parents will scold him. An overanxious child is usually called a "baby" in a derogatory manner. [861]

The warnings of parents and older siblings include supernatural dangers. A child is taught that certain glens, springs, rocks, and trees are dwelling places of *marsalai*, and he learns the names of the supernatural beings who inhabit them. He is warned that, if he goes too near one of these places, the monster will cause a violent storm and high wind that may blow down the dwelling of his parents, or it will "shoot" a sago needle into his foot for disturbing it. Such a needle, although invisible, is very painful and can be removed only by adult operators who have mastered the special magical technique. Actual storms and unseen needles are used to impress the validity of these beliefs upon the child. Whenever there is a severe storm, the adults in the hamlet speculate as to who has disturbed the *marsalai*. Was it Yat who was clearing a garden too near to the rock in which Kumbundum dwelt, or was it Wof who went hunting near the bog inhabited by Kurumbukwas? Similarly when a child reported that he had a pain in his foot which felt like a thorn but which he could not see, his parents would say: "There, you see. You have been 'shot' by a *marsalai*. We told you to beware of disturbing them." 869 • 776

A child is warned that he should not go near the house tamberan while the yam-cult ceremonies are being held. He is told that at this time the adult men of the tribe consort with *marsalai*. He is warned that although men can do so 869

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869 with impunity, it would be extremely dangerous for children and women to be near the scene. In fact, a child is told that he would die if he entered the house tamberan at the time of a ceremony. Cases are cited to the children of women and children who had joined the men at this time either willfully [534] or by mistake and who had died as a result. The initiated tell the children that the gongs, trumpets, flutes, water drums, and bull roarers that they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of the *marsalai* who are present. Hints that these are man-made sounds come seeping down from adolescents and the careless remarks of adults, so that the child has a fairly accurate knowledge of the ceremonies before he ever participates in one. Despite his scepticism about the origin of the sounds, he nevertheless is awed whenever a ceremony takes place, and takes care not to venture near the scene. Furthermore, he takes care not to reveal to the adults that he has any suspicion of what really goes on.

869 796 Despite a child's awe of these meetings of the yam cult, he senses the excitement which prevails in the whole subtribe before a ceremony takes place and eagerly looks forward to the time when he will be old enough to attend them. He hears his father, *uncles*, and *older brothers* talk excitedly about the coming event, he sees them carefully paint their faces, comb their hair, don their best ornaments, and depart for the house tamberan. Then he hears the rhythmic harmonies of the gong orchestra, the high-pitched shouting of the singers, and the weird and plaintive flute melodies. These thrilling sounds burst out sporadically during the whole day, increase in tempo and intensity as night falls, and continue unabated as long as he stays awake. Stimulated by these events, [857] Kwoma boys make toy gongs from bamboo nodes and try to imitate the gong rhythms; they hum mimicries of the ceremonial songs; and they form miniature groups to practice the shuffling dance steps. Since they are not supposed to know these things, they do them in their forest playhouse or at times when there are no adults present.

869 789 Parents and older siblings also warn a child not to trespass in another person's garden lest he break out with boils. They

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tell him that the owner of a garden usually casts a spell on it so that anyone who enters it will be afflicted in this way. 869 789

Ghost lore is taught during childhood. The child is told that the spirits of the dead live on a mountain at the edge of the tribal territory, where they lead a topsy-turvy existence. They go by canoe on land and walk upon the water; they sleep by day and venture out at night. Often they assume the shape of a bird or beast. After dark they are attracted by whistling. They frequent a corpse, especially just after death. A child is warned that a ghost is dangerous, and is taught that it is the wish of ghosts to take his soul to the land of the dead. Close contact with them is therefore also dangerous,[11] and a child is told not to go near a burial platform. Sometimes ghosts appear in nightmares and struggle to take the soul of the dreamer. Sometimes they possess people and make them irresponsible for their actions. In these cases a child is taught to be aggressive toward the ghost. When a person is possessed or has a nightmare, those who are present at the time, children included, beat the air with sticks and shout curses and commands at the ghost in order to frighten him away. 869 775

A child is punished if he does not heed the warnings of his parents and older siblings. This holds in both the natural and the supernatural spheres. Since I did not know the culture, I was, in a sense, in the status of a child. One day when I was walking in the swamp with Kar and Gwiyap, they pointed out a water hole that was supposed to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. I poked my walking stick into it. Kar shouted at me to take it out, then told me very seriously of the danger of doing such a thing. Gwiyap joined in the scolding. 861 123

The following case illustrates strikingly the punishment of a child for not heeding a warning. When some of my shotgun shells spoiled, I cut off the shot and lit the powder, which went off with a puff and amused the natives. Kwos, one of the

[11] The belief that all death is due to sorcery is somewhat contradictory to this. The Kwoma are not very specific about the mechanism of death, but unless a person is sorcerized a ghost cannot succeed in taking the soul. Ghosts are nevertheless feared. [761]

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CHAPTER VIII

THE INCULCATION OF SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS

121 • 869 THE manner in which supernatural beliefs and practices are transmitted to the oncoming generation is one of the most puzzling problems which a student of socialization has to solve. When a teacher wishes to transmit customs which accord with natural and social laws, he has the support of the environment, which supplies both motivation and reward to validate his teaching efforts. When, however, the teacher's task is to transmit habits which do not accord with these laws, his task should be more difficult. It is the purpose of this chapter to describe and analyze the way in which supernatural beliefs are transmitted at Kwoma and to suggest some hypotheses concerning their transmission in other societies.

A number of factors are responsible for the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. Perhaps the most basic of these is the technique of warning described in the previous chapter. Generalization from real dangers, imitation, the operation of chance, and finally social punishments also play an important part in the process. These factors will be discussed and exemplified in the following pages.

An analysis of the cases in which supernatural beliefs and practices are transmitted at Kwoma indicates that teachers rely in large part upon the technique of warning to inculcate this aspect of the culture. This technique was defined, analyzed, and exemplified in the last chapter. It was shown that a warning consists of a specification of the danger and its source, and of instructions for escape from, or avoidance of, the danger. It was shown that Kwoma pupils learn to heed warnings because when they ignore them they experience pain both from the source specified in the warning and from the teacher who punishes them.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

or beaten by his teachers. Thus a strong habit of heeding whatever warning a teacher may issue is built up in every Kwoma individual. As a result, Kwoma teachers may warn their pupils concerning dangers which do not exist and expect that their pupils will heed. This is in fact the case in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. By means of warnings Kwoma teachers instill in their pupils an unrealistic fear of *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood.[1]

Marsalai are supposed to be huge monsters in the form of snakes or crocodiles which cause rain and wind storms, earthquakes, and other cosmic phenomena. They are supposed to be present at the yam-cult ceremonies and to be responsible for a plentiful yield of this crop. A child is first warned about these monsters early in life. When a Kwoma mother weans her child she warns him not to suckle, lest he be injured by the *marsalai* which has now taken possession of her breast. She sometimes emphasizes this story by putting a bloodsucker on her breast. During childhood a person is warned not to go near or touch certain rocks and waterholes, lest the *marsalai* who dwell therein cause a storm or shoot a sago needle into his foot in anger at being disturbed. He is also warned at this period not to go near the house tamberan during a cult ceremony lest the *marsalai* who are present kill him. He is told that the sounds[2] which he hears are the voices of these monsters. When he is initiated at the beginning of adolescence, he is warned not to look up too suddenly at the cult figures which represent the *marsalai* lest the shock kill him.

Ghosts are believed to be the spirits of dead Kwoma who live on the outskirts of the tribal territory. Either as invisible shadows or in the form of a bird or an animal, they sometimes visit the hamlet of the living, particularly at night or when a death has occurred. It is believed that they sometimes attack a person, that they can cause accidents by frightening him, that they are eager to take souls to the land of the dead, and that they cause nightmares and fits of possession. Most warn-

[1] Kwoma have other supernatural beliefs, but these four provide the most important sources of unrealistic fear.

[2] Gongs, flutes, and bull-roarers.

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm.

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material.

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system.

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Becoming a Kwoma

Kwoma children are warned that if they do not allow someone to bleed them when they have a headache, stomach-ache, or sprain, the pain will become worse and they may even become seriously ill. A boy is also warned that if he does not bleed his penis he will not grow up.[3] When the age-grade initiation approaches, a boy is warned that if he does not attend it and have his blood ceremonially let, he will not grow up. Since this operation is performed in a stream, he is warned that if he eats fish he will become sick, for the fish may have been contaminated by his blood. He is warned that if he eats an animal which he has killed with a spear or arrow he will sicken and perhaps die, since his blood enters the animal through his weapon and contaminates its flesh. This warning is reiterated to adults when they begin pig hunting. An adult who plants yams is warned not to eat them lest he become sick, for the seed and produce have become contaminated with his blood.

One other unrealistic warning should be mentioned here, because a case involving it will be discussed later. Adolescents are warned that if they eat sago flour washed by a woman it will make them sick. The normal procedure in processing sago flour is for the woman, either sister or wife, to crush the pith and for the man to rinse the flour from it.

The following case will serve to illustrate the psychological effect that the above unrealistic warnings usually have upon a Kwoma pupil. Kar, Mar, Gwiyap, and I were walking through the swamp one day, and the path passed by a waterhole. Kar warned the rest of us not to pass too near it for it was the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. Mar and Gwiyap heeded and passed by the waterhole at a distance. I, however, did not heed, approached the hole, and poked my walking stick into it. The three Kwoma shouted at me for doing this, warning me to stop and scolding me for my temerity. The fact that Mar and Gwiyap passed by the waterhole at a distance can be analyzed thus: the drive was fear evoked by Kar's warning due to the pain which both Mar and Gwiyap

[3] This warning is not made directly but by implication, and the practice is performed in secret. See chap. iv, p. 64.

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had previously experienced, for not heeding realistic warnings; the response was avoiding the waterhole; the cues were the sight of the waterhole and Kar's instructions; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Since I had not been brought up in Kwoma society, Kar's warning did not evoke fear and I did not make the right response.

Although the technique of warning provides the basis for the inculcation of supernatural fears, several other factors play an important part in this process. One of these factors is the belief that supernatural dangers are similar to real dangers, a fact which strengthens the Kwoma child's fear of them by the principle of secondary generalization.[4]

Since *marsalai* are described as great snakes or crocodiles which live in the swamp, realistic warnings about snakes, crocodiles, and other dangerous animals would tend to generalize to these supernatural monsters. In other words, each time a Kwoma is reinforced for heeding a warning about an animal, particularly a snake or crocodile, he is also somewhat reinforced for heeding warnings about *marsalai*,[5] that is, unrealistic fears. A second source of generalization is that warnings about *marsalai* all concern disturbing their dwelling places. The common word for house is used to describe these supposed dwellings, so that all realistic warnings about trespassing in, and stealing from, the house of human beings also strengthen the warnings about *marsalai*. Finally, *marsalai* are described as being huge. Since large animals and

[4] If two objects are described by the same term, a person tends to respond to them both in a similar manner. Hull has described this as secondary generalization. See C. L. Hull, "The Problem of Stimulus Equivalence in Behavior Theory," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLVI (1939), 9-30. It is also discussed by Miller. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. v. Experimental evidence in support of this principle has recently been adduced by Dr. Jane Birge. See J. S. Birge, "The Rôle of Verbal Responses in Transfer" (Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1941). G. P. Murdock has found empirical support for this principle in a study of the generalization of incest taboos by means of common kinship terms.

[5] Kwoma vivify their warnings about *marsalai* by telling children that the sounds they hear at the time of a ceremony are the voices of these monsters. The sounds are in reality produced by gongs, bull-roarers, and flutes, but this theory offers another avenue of generalization from animals to *marsalai* on the basis of the sounds which they both make.

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big men are likely to be more dangerous than small ones, generalization on the basis of size also tends to support the warnings issued about these supernatural beings.

Ghosts are described not only as having human form but as actually being the spirits of deceased persons. Kwoma seldom speak of ghosts in general terms, but usually specify the ghost of some particular deceased relative. When a Kwoma dreams of someone who has died, he is told that the ghost of this person has actually visited him in the night. Moreover, living persons are sometimes called ghosts. Thus the similarity between men and ghosts is impressed upon a child. Hence, when he is rewarded for heeding warnings about living persons, this should by generalization strengthen the habit of heeding warnings about ghosts. Kwoma children are told that ghosts can assume the form of birds and animals. Whenever a bird or animal is heard or seen at night, it is often suggested that it may be a ghost in disguise. Thus fear of ghosts may generalize from animals as well as from men.

Fear of food "poisoned" by sorcery has, like food contaminated by blood, a realistic source of generalization from food which is actually spoiled. Kwoma employ the same word (*kafwa sek*) to describe putrifying meat or fruit, and to describe food which they believe is "poisoned." Thus if a child becomes ill after not heeding the realistic warning against eating spoiled food, this should tend to strengthen warnings about sorcery. A second source from which the belief in sorcery may receive generalized support is realistic warnings concerning aggression from human beings. Each time a person is scolded, threatened, insulted, or spanked by another person, such an event should strengthen his fear that he can be harmed by sorcery also.

A realistic source from which fears about blood contamination may spring is less evident. The following suggestions may be made. When sickness results from food which is really contaminated, it should strengthen a person's tendency to avoid food which is supposed to be contaminated. Secondly, the Kwoma word for milk is "breast blood." Children are

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made to abhor milk at the time of weaning, and this abhorrence may generalize through the common term to the drinking of blood or to eating things believed to be contaminated with it.[6]

Imitation, as well as warning and generalization, is of considerable importance in the inculcation of supernatural beliefs. In the previous chapter it was indicated that imitation took its place along with teaching as one of the two most important mechanisms of culture transmission. Although imitation was not analyzed in detail, it was indicated that a Kwoma pupil is very frequently rewarded for behaving like other persons in the society, particularly those who are in the same sex, age, and kinship category as the pupil. Conversely, Kwoma pupils frequently do not gain rewards and do experience pain when they behave differently from these models. This is particularly true when the model gives evidences of being in a dangerous situation.[7] Thus to behave differently from a model comes to evoke anxiety in a Kwoma pupil, whereas to behave like one comes to have an acquired reward value.[8]

The following case will illustrate the way in which supernatural fears are transmitted by means of imitation. I started to whistle one evening while Mar and Mey were visiting me. Mar warned me to stop lest I attract ghosts, but I persisted. Mar then bolted for his house and Mey fol-

[6] Potable liquids such as coconut milk are classed with water, whereas undrinkable liquids such as milk, urine, and breadfruit sap are classed with blood.

[7] The following case will serve as illustration of pain suffered for not imitating. Awa became possessed one night and began to belabor her sister with a stick. Chinuwa caught hold of Awa to prevent her from harming anyone. Several children from the hamlet, hearing the commotion, gathered to see what was happening. Awa struggled against Chinuwa's restraining arms, finally broke free, and began to lay about her with the stick. All the children except Fit ran out of reach. He delayed for a moment and received a blow from Awa on his legs. He then ran away as the rest had done. Fit, by this event, was at first punished for not imitating the other children and then rewarded for imitating them by escaping further blows. Such a situation as this not infrequently presents itself to Kwoma children.

[8] See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941).

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869 lowed him. Mey's behavior can be analyzed thus: the drive
[123] was fear caused both by my whistling and by the sight of Mar starting to run while he remained; the response was running after Mar; and the reward was the reduction of fear. Had not Mar run away first, Mey might have discovered some other means of reducing his fear, but by imitating Mar he learned to avoid ghosts in the same manner as his older *brother*. Kwoma pupils in a similar manner learn to avoid *marsalai*, to protect themselves from the dangers of sorcery, and to escape the dangers associated with blood. Thus imitation is an important mechanism for the transmission of supernatural beliefs and practices.

Chance as a factor in maintaining supernatural beliefs has long been noted by anthropologists and sociologists.[9] The
[821] data from Kwoma tend to support this theory. Storms occur so frequently that it would be extraordinary if one did not occasionally occur after a person has disturbed the dwelling place of a *marsalai*, and this would help to prevent the extinction of the habit of heeding. The following case illustrates this point. Yat had cleared a garden site near a large rock thought to be the dwelling place of a *marsalai*. When the time came to burn the dried brush and branches, a necessary step in the process of gardening, he expressed some anxiety lest this might anger the *marsalai* which lived in the rock, but nevertheless went ahead with his burning. That night there was a bad storm with a high wind, and Yat took this as proof of his belief that he had indeed angered the supernatural being. Wof, Gwiyap, and Mar all explained the storm in the same way. The next time that there was a bad storm, I said to Gwiyap: "Yat didn't disturb a *marsalai* today. How do you account for the storm?" Gwiyap replied: "Maybe Yat didn't, but someone else did. Probably it was one of those stupid people from Wanyi."

Chance also operates to support warnings about ghosts. Marok and Kar stayed visiting in a part of the tribe some distance from their home until after dark, thus not heeding

[113] [9] See W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society* (New Haven, 1928), vol. II, chap. xxi.

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the warning about walking abroad during the night. On the way home they heard a strange noise, took it to be a ghost, stopped in their tracks, and yelled for help. War and others, who were gossiping in the house tamberan, heard their cries and shouted back instructions to make a dash for the house tamberan. They did this and thus escaped what they believed was imminent danger. The chance occurrence of a strange noise had operated on this occasion to strengthen the fear of walking abroad at night.

An episode which involved Wof illustrates how chance can strengthen sorcery beliefs. He came home one day to find that someone had tampered with his store of sago flour. Believing that someone had taken flour in order to sorcerize him, he asked his first wife if she knew who could have done it. She replied that she had seen his second wife in that part of the room and that it was undoubtedly she who had stolen the food in order to sorcerize him. When Wof accused the younger woman, she denied it. The next day Wof came to my house and asked me if I had any medicine against sorcery, for he felt sick. He said that his head and stomach ached and he knew that someone was trying to sorcerize him. Whether Wof's illness was an attack of malaria, psychological depression resulting from repressed anger at his wives, or some other psychic or physical disturbance, it strengthened his belief in the efficacy of sorcery. He probably guarded his food stores more carefully thereafter.[10]

Chance can operate to reinforce the habit of heeding a warning about blood. Children who let blood from their penises do grow up; after phlebotomy has been practiced pains eventually disappear; and women who menstruate and men who let blood from themselves remain healthy. The following case also illustrates how chance may operate to support the belief in blood contamination. Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma our regular shoot boy left and we appointed Mes to take his place. Previously he had helped around our house and had eaten whatever pigeon meat was

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[10] It was, indeed, not long after this that he scolded Ham for walking about his porch and accused him of being a thief of sorcery material.

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left over from our table. When he became shoot boy the question arose as to whether he could still eat this meat since he killed it himself. Gwiyap was of the opinion that since he killed the birds with a gun rather than with a spear or arrow his blood would not be transferred and it would be perfectly safe to eat the meat. Yat, his *paternal uncle*, disagreed with this opinion, and held that it would be dangerous. Gwiyap then argued that the former shoot boy had eaten birds that he had shot without getting sick. Yat countered that, although he did not get sick, he had missed many shots and that this was probably due to his having eaten his own kill. Mes decided to heed his *uncle's* warning and ate no more pigeon meat. It happened that Mes was a very good shot and missed extremely few birds. He explained his accuracy as proof of the wisdom of heeding his *uncle's* warning.

Certain forces operate against heeding unrealistic warnings in Kwoma society. One of the most important of these is the fatigue drive. This drive exerts a constant pressure on the pupil not to run away from ghosts, not to bother to avoid the dwelling place of *marsalai*, to be careless about his food leavings, and not to go to the trouble of gathering nettles to scrape his penis to renew his blood. In other words his fears of the supernatural must be strong enough to overcome his indolence. Furthermore, the avoidance of supernatural dangers is frequently incompatible with the satisfaction of some other drive. When Yat discovered that he had cleared his garden too near a *marsalai's* dwelling place, his fear of disturbing the *marsalai* was opposed by his need to raise vegetables in a convenient place in order to satisfy his hunger. Similarly, when a pupil scrapes his penis or practices phlebotomy to let out bad blood these acts are opposed by the pain which they cause; when he does not eat a pig he has killed or yams he has planted, these renunciations are opposed by his hunger for these foods. Likewise a pupil's avoidance of ghosts and fear of sorcery often force him to give up satisfactions which he might otherwise attain.

In contrast to realistic warnings, when a pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning, the pain, except by chance, does

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not follow from the source specified. This could be expected to result, through the operation of the principle of extinction,[11] in a weakening of the habit of heeding this particular warning and in a functional discrimination between realistic and unrealistic dangers.[12] The fact that these unrealistic warnings are sanctioned by the community normally prevents such an event from occurring. Pupils are punished for not heeding warnings about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, or blood, as is illustrated by the following case. Kwiya and Fit each bought a harmonica from me and began playing it around their house. Their *mother* warned them that this would bring ghosts. Neither of them heeded this warning, so the *mother* took matters in her own hands. She scolded them both severely and forced them to return their harmonicas to me. An even more striking case, perhaps, occurred when Mundik,[13] a youth who had not yet received his keloids of manhood, attended a funeral ceremony, thus ignoring the warning about the danger from the *marsalai* of the cult to those who are not yet initiated. Mundik was attacked and beaten by the members of the cult, and, after being tied hand and foot, was thrown into a near-by dwelling. Had it not been for our presence he might well have been killed.

Since social sanctions are, in the last analysis, responsible for the maintenance of supernatural beliefs, an inquiry might profitably be made into the problem of why parents take the time and effort to force children to heed warnings. It may indeed be asked why they even issue these unrealistic warnings. A detailed answer to the above questions is beyond the scope of this chapter, but a few suggestions can be made. In the first place, since the teachers have been brought up in Kwoma culture they do not distinguish between realistic and unrealistic dangers as such. Hence they believe that if a

[11] See chap. vii, p. 192, n. 30.

[12] If a response to a generalized cue does not achieve a reward, but the response to the original cue continues to do so, the organism learns to discriminate between the two cues and to react only to the one which leads to reward. See E. R. Hilgard and D. G. Marquis, *Conditioning and Learning* (New York, 1940), chap. viii.

[13] Mundik was a Yelagu who was staying with relatives at Kwoma.

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121 869 178 pupil does not heed an unrealistic warning he will be injured just as surely as, and perhaps even more severely than, if he ignored a realistic warning. Why they wish to prevent the child from being injured is a complex problem, involving identification, loss of help and support, and sanctions against negligence. The important question is why, if parents make their children heed unrealistic warnings in order to prevent them from being injured, does this habit not extinguish when they observe a child experience no harmful consequences when he disregards a supernatural danger? The following case of the extinction of a supernatural belief indicates that this is a real as well as a logical possibility.

121 869 178 252 262 Mar and Gwiyap had both been warned not to eat sago flour washed by a female lest it make them sick. Before they started to work as our houseboys they had heeded this warning and each had worked with one of his *sisters* in the process of extracting sago flour. They had washed the pith while the *sister* crushed it. When they began to work for us, however, we demanded their services in the mornings, when they would otherwise have gone to the swamp to replenish the household flour supply. Awa and Kwiya, the *sisters* who had hitherto worked with them, had no other available *brothers*, and therefore formed a team of their own. They took turns washing and crushing and, of course, produced flour washed by a female. Mar and Gwiyap were somewhat hesitant about trying this flour, but they were faced with the dilemma of either going without flour, which had been a staple in their diet since weaning, or ceasing to work for us, which would have meant losing frequent gifts of trade goods as well as some prestige. They chose to risk disregarding the warnings about the food and hoped that the flour would not be like other bad food they had eaten and which had made them sick. Their parents scolded them for this behavior and warned them again. Since no other painful consequences resulted from their first attempt, they decided to try it again, and, for the remaining six months of our stay, they and the rest of their household ate this supposedly harmful food. After the first few occasions their parents stopped scolding and warning them.

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Thus, not only can the supernatural fears of pupils extinguish, but so also can the fears of the teachers become reduced in the same way, so that they no longer maintain these beliefs by sanctioning them.

The fact that Kwoma children can learn not to heed, and Kwoma parents to stop issuing and sanctioning unrealistic warnings, raises a serious question. Why does this not occur more frequently? Why, in the course of time, have not all these supernatural beliefs disappeared as a result of this process? The answer to this is suggested by one of the basic postulates of the functional theory of anthropology. Parents continue to issue unrealistic warnings and to sanction them because they form an integral part of one or more systems of beliefs, customs, and organized activities which, as a whole, satisfy a social need.[14]

The belief in *marsalai* forms a large part of the charter[15] of the yam cult.[16] *Marsalai* are believed to be present whenever this cult holds a ceremonial meeting and to bless those who participate. In playing the instruments of the cult, the members are producing a representation of the voices of these beings. After a ceremony, no man who has attended may have intercourse with his wife, because the powerful and dangerous influence of the cult *marsalai* still clings to him, and might injure her. Thus, were the belief in these monsters to disappear, the Kwoma would be forced either to provide a new *raison d'être* for their cult ceremonies or to give them up altogether. It is not necessary here to present a detailed account of the functions of the cult, but a few of them may be mentioned to show how important this institution is in Kwoma society. The most direct function of the cult seems

[14] See B. Malinowski, "The Scientific Basis of Applied Anthropology," *Reale Academia D'Italia*, XVIII (1940), 22.

[15] Every institution consists in part of the traditional purposes and reasons for its existence which are believed by the members of the personnel. Malinowski has called this the charter. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), 952-954.

[16] The personnel, norms, and material apparatus of this institution can be gathered from the descriptive chapters. The charter and functions are stressed here because of their importance in this context.

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The distribution of pork to relatives also serves to cement kinship bonds. The belief that a person should not eat yams which he has planted, because of blood contamination, results in exchange planting and thus strengthens the coöperative bonds between relatives. Finally, the beliefs in blood strengthen the rules of incest and exogamy, since it is thought that children of parents with the same blood are not likely to be strong and healthy.

Kwoma beliefs about *marsalai*, ghosts, sorcery, and blood are thus seen to be not isolated unrealistic fears, but theories which are enmeshed and intertwined with many of the important institutions of the culture.[21] It is consequently understandable that a Kwoma teacher should insist that a pupil learn these beliefs and that he should tend to disregard evidence that they are unrealistic. The pupil, too, experiences many of the advantages which these beliefs entail, a fact which aids the teacher in the task of inculcation.

Although the above analysis gives an answer to the question of why these unrealistic fears do not extinguish, it raises an equally serious one: How can such fears ever extinguish? In other words, if culture is integrated and functional, how can social change ever take place? The case of Gwiyap and Mar suggests one possible answer to this question. The belief that sago washed by women is not good to eat has the function of making Kwoma men do their share of the work of extracting sago flour. In other words, it supports an equitable division of labor in this phase of Kwoma economic life. The presence of the ethnographer, introducing trade goods which were highly prized by Gwiyap and Mar, their *sisters*, and their parents, introduced a disturbing element into this adjustment. Mar and Gwiyap were willing to take the chance of becoming sick, their *sisters* were willing to do more work, and their parents were willing to let the customary division of labor lapse in order to obtain these trade goods. Without intention, or even awareness of the event until after its occurrence, the ethnographer, by introducing a new form of wealth

[21] Supernatural beliefs, on a cultural level, are similar to neurotic symptoms in the individual, in that both are based on unrealistic fear, both result in secondary gains, and both resist extinction.

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and providing a new means of earning it, had set the stage for the extinction of a supernatural belief.

In sum, a number of factors seem to be responsible for the inculcation and maintenance of supernatural beliefs and practices. Kwoma teachers, having repeatedly warned their pupils concerning real dangers, are enabled to use this technique to teach their pupils to avoid dangers which do not exist. To make these unrealistic warnings more forceful, they describe the supernatural dangers as being similar to the real dangers from which their pupils have experienced pain. Imitation also plays as important a rôle as in the transmission of the other aspects of the culture. Despite all these forces which lead a Kwoma pupil to respect supernatural dangers, the effort and deprivation frequently involved in carrying out magico-religious rituals tend to make him omit them. Since such omissions would soon lead to the extinction of these habits, the sanctions of society, as implemented by punishments from his teachers, provide the ultimate force which prevents the pupil from discovering that these dangers do not really exist and do not have to be avoided. Finally, the teachers themselves continue to inculcate these beliefs because they are integral parts of institutions which as a whole are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic and acquired drives of the constituent members of Kwoma society.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow. 561

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

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CHAPTER V

ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumblima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

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elaborate and protracted ceremony which takes place approximately once every five years. For this reason, a boy's initiation may not correspond exactly with his physiological pubescence. If he is within a year or two of pubescence when a ceremony is to be held, his father and paternal uncles tell him that he is big enough to join. They do not force him to enter at this time, but they make it clear to him that he will not have another chance for five years. Thus a courageous lad may undergo initiation before pubescence, while others may be too frightened to respond to the first call and may consequently not be initiated until some time after the onset of puberty.

The whole subtribe participates in the age-grade ceremony, and all the boys from every hamlet who answer the call go through the rite together. The initiates gather in the early afternoon and march to a stream at the foot of the ridge. Each initiate is then chosen by an unrelated man who has already completed the cycle, and who thereby becomes the boy's *ceremonial father*. This older man slashes the tongue and penis of his *ceremonial son*, and then rubs salt or ashes in the wounds. The blood is allowed to flow down the stream out of the territory. Following this, the initiates of the previous three grades are cut in the same way by their *ceremonial fathers*, each grade submitting separately and in order of age. The sponsors and the youngest grade of initiates then go to the house tamberan, leaving the three older grades behind at the stream. The men tell the women, who are waiting at the house tamberan dressed in grass skirts,[1] that the other initiates have been killed, whereupon the women wail. By this time it is late afternoon, and the initiates who are present dance until dark, when the other three grades appear bearing torches. They dance around the house tamberan until the torches have gone out, whereupon the women join in a dance which continues throughout the night. On this occasion ceremonial sexual license, within the limits of the incest taboos, is permitted to everyone but the youngest initiates. At dawn the women return to their homes to

[1] This is the only time that women wear clothes other than their net bags.

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cook and the men go to the bush. Here each *ceremonial father* gives his *son* an ornament which symbolizes the latter's grade. The youngest grade receives a bamboo phallocrypt and a plaited belt to hold it in place. The other grades receive decorative combs of increasing elaboration. In the afternoon the women gather again at the house tamberan with the food they have cooked, and the initiates parade in front of them wearing their ornaments. After the meal, a dance similar to the one of the previous night begins and continues throughout the night, again accompanied by sexual license. On the following morning all ceremonial debts are settled; young men pay their *maternal uncles* shell money for the privileges they have gained from the relationship, and young husbands the bride-price which they owe their wives' relatives.

Following this prolonged rite, the youngest grade goes into seclusion in a small house erected near the house tamberan. They must avoid being seen by women for about two months. Food is brought to them by men, and they must wear the phallocrypt whenever they leave the house. The boys engage in hunting competitions during this time, but otherwise do not perform any economic tasks. A small ceremony marks the end of the seclusion period, when each boy puts his phallocrypt over a growing bamboo shoot, which in time splits the ornament and is supposed to symbolize and induce magically the growth of the lad's penis.

The ceremonial scraping of penis and tongue is related to the childhood custom of penis scraping performed by boys in private. Not only the act but also the stated purpose is the same. The Kwoma explanation for the ceremony is that it is to promote growth in the boys—"to help them grow up," as Kis explained to me. The splitting of the phallocrypt thus really symbolizes the purpose of the rite. Although the private rite of childhood produces no change in status, the age-grade rite does result in a marked advance in social position. After it, a boy becomes an adolescent and gains the privileges and immunities which Kwoma culture grants to persons in this category.

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882 602 578 *sister's son* (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 381 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A *safe* relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

[614] [621]

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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602 A man calls his mother's *brother's* daughter by the *mother* [601] term. Her behavior toward him is supposed to be "motherly." She cooks for him if he visits the hamlet in which she lives, and behaves as kindly as she can toward him. All the persons whom I observed in this reciprocal relationship were warm and friendly, but contacts were not frequent.

A man has but little contact with his *father's sister*, since she marries out of his hamlet. When they do meet, however, the man theoretically behaves toward her as he does toward his *father*. Actually, the relationship is friendly.

572 A Kwoma's *friends* are of considerable importance to him.
608 It will be remembered that this pseudo-kin relationship is
• [881] established with the young men whose blood is mixed with his at the time of initiation into adulthood. A man's *friends*, usually three in number, are always members of another sib and unrelated to him by any true kinship ties, but after he has established blood bonds with them he treats them as though [574] they were real relatives. He may eat at their house or invite [754] them to eat at his, without fear that they will steal sorcery material from him. He supports them at court meetings, and in return they stand by him against those who threaten or accuse him; they may even take his side if he has a dispute with their own relatives.[45] He is supposed to steal sorcery materials from members of his own hamlet if he is requested to do so by a *friend*, and he may ask the same favor in return. A man calls his *friends'* parents *father* and *mother*, their sisters *sister*, and their children *children* and behaves toward them as he does toward such relatives; incest taboos [765] apply to their close female relatives. When he dies, various of his bones are inherited by his friends or their heirs to [764] symbolize the close bond between them. No economic cooperation is expected between these blood brothers; the relationship functions primarily in the defensive-aggressive sphere and is closely integrated with the sorcery complex.

608 Every Kwoma has two other pseudo-kin relatives, a *cere-*

[45] A man is theoretically supposed to support his *friend* in preference to anyone outside his immediate family. I am not sure whether he does this in practice.

412 The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried
[482] about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted
hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver,
323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made
286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is
285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin
714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both
411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes,
301 bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and
plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the
septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both
sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons
cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.
[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is
584 carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the
initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does
not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One
847 There is
845 of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate.../bride price, patrilocal
583 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.
591
611 There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted
595 figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are
794 two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either
[532] iniiema or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into
[531] the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

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father's sister are also classified in a special manner: her children are called *nephew* or *niece* depending on the sex of the speaker. Her grandchildren are called *grandchild*.

There are special terms for *maternal uncle's* wife, *son's* wife and *daughter's* husband. The spouses of all other relatives are classed with the relative to whom they are married. Thus the wife of an *elder brother* is called *elder brother* and the husband of a *paternal aunt* is termed *paternal aunt*.

Affinal relatives are denoted by a relatively small number of terms. *Wife*, *wife's brother*, and *wife's sister* are the terms a man uses; *husband*, *husband's brother*, and *husband's sister* suffice for the woman. Both a man and woman use the same term, *parent-in-law*, for the parents of his or her spouse.

The Kwoma kinship system is extended to include two further categories: *friend* and *ceremonial father*. The category of *friend* is parallel to that of *brother*, i.e., a *friend's* father is called *father*, his sister is called *sister*, and his children are termed *children*.[8] The *ceremonial father* category similarly parallels *father*.

The Kwoma categorize one another not only with respect to their position in the kinship system, descent, and local groups but also with respect to their degree of maturation. There are three main divisions in the maturation hierarchy and two transitional ones. Persons are classified as infants, children, and adults. Each of these categories is characterized by a distinct culture. For example, an infant may suckle but a child may not; a child may play most of the day but an adult may not. Each of the three periods is characterized by relatively stabilized habits. The two transitional periods, weaning and adolescence, are, on the other hand, times of drastic and intensive learning and of the shifting of habits. The Kwoma have names for the persons in the three stable categories, but no particular terms for those in the transitional periods, relying rather on descriptive statements; for

[8] Friends are established at the time of initiation into adulthood. The *ceremonial father* relationship is established at the age-grade ceremony. See chap. vi, p. 106, and chap. v, pp. 65–68.

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CHAPTER V

ADOLESCENCE

ADOLESCENCE[1] begins for the Kwoma boy with his initiation into the age-grade cycle, for the girl with a ceremony at the time of her first menstruation. Adolescence is a relatively short period, lasting from one to three years. It is a time of transition from the established habits of childhood to those of adulthood. The attainment of a maturing physique brings with it the necessity of learning to do many of the economic tasks which are not expected of a child, and the increase in the strength of the sex drive makes childhood sexual satisfactions no longer adequate, thus throwing the youth into new learning dilemmas. Next to the weaning period, adolescence is the most turbulent time in the life of a Kwoma individual, a period marked by the learning of many new habits and the facing of many new problems.

The rites which the Kwoma girl undergoes at the time of her first menstruation are a strictly feminine affair. The men know little about them, and do not pry. Male informants stated that, since men kept cult secrets from the women, it was only proper that the women should be permitted to keep their secrets from men. Women were silent about the rites.[2] For these reasons, I was only able to gather that the rite included a period of seclusion and that the initiates were given ornaments in which they paraded as a part of the ceremony.

A Kwoma boy is initiated into the age-grade cycle in an

[1] Gwiyap was the only adolescent boy of Rumbima hamlet. Mar was in a somewhat anomalous position between adolescence and adulthood. He had already received his keloids of manhood but was not yet married. Examples from his life have therefore been included both in this and the following chapter. There were five adolescent girls in the hamlet: Kwiya and Awa, in Mar's household; Gwanta and Famba, the daughters of Way; and Aya, the daughter of Waramus.

[2] Had it been possible to establish better rapport with women, more information concerning these rites and other aspects of female life could have been obtained.

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• 882 262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

883 252 602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the coöperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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garden for almost a week, Gwiyap reprimanded him severely for his negligence, "You will not have any yam crop at all if you continue being so lazy." Other members of Mar's family and even less closely related persons began scolding him to his face and talking behind his back until he finally did the work.[10] Yawa suffered similar criticisms for her laziness. Not only did her negligence contribute to her lack of sexual gratification, but whenever she shirked her duties of gathering firewood or extracting sago flour both Mar and his *sisters* were openly critical of her. Thus economic work habits, although they are instrumental to the production of food and are thus primarily motivated by the hunger drive, are also culturally connected with both sexual satisfaction and the avoidance of punishment.

Pubescence brings with it a new sexual status for the male. His sexual drive, increasing rapidly in potential intensity, forces him into new learning dilemmas. He discovers new modes of gratifying the impulse, although he also persists in most of his previously learned habits. In addition to the prohibitions imposed during the weaning and infancy period, he must learn new restrictions against the behavior which will most immediately and directly reduce his sexual tension. He must also prepare for adult status by beginning to plan for marriage, since every adult Kwoma must marry.

There is some evidence that adolescent boys masturbate. Gwiyap reported that he stimulated his penis to the point of orgasm while in bed at night. He stated that he did this only when he was unobserved by others, which was not very often owing to Kwoma sleeping arrangements.[11] He was somewhat loath to give me this information and did so only after I had established strong rapport with him. He had previously denied it. Since all others whom I questioned denied masturbation, Gwiyap's behavior may have been aberrant. On the other hand, I was unable to establish such an

[10] Mar, as will be described later, had had a nervous breakdown the last time he had gone to his garden, so that his fear of returning was very strong. Considerable social pressure had to be applied to overcome this fear.

[11] The whole family sleeps in the enclosed room of the dwelling on separate bark slabs.

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882 intimate relationship with my other informants. This, together with the fact that Gwiyap was, as far as I could determine, a normal Kwoma youth, tends to support the view that his behavior was typical rather than aberrant.

836 A Kwoma youth usually has had experience in sexual intercourse before he marries. He must acquire this experience in the face of danger from the relatives of the girl, who try to keep her chaste, and he must exercise the greatest secrecy lest they discover the relationship. He arranges a tryst with the girl at some secluded place in the bush, which they approach from different directions so that no one will see them together. Trysts are usually arranged at a chance meeting on a path or at the market. The boy must be careful, since merely to be seen talking to a girl is enough to arouse suspicion. The belief that ghosts frequent the paths after dark operates to prevent the boys from using the cover of night for assignations with girls in other hamlets.

684 Rape is defined by the Kwoma as sexual intercourse with a girl who is unwilling. It is much more dangerous than philandering because, in the native mind, it combines antisocial sexual and antisocial aggressive behavior. If caught in the act of raping a girl, a boy is in danger of being killed by her relatives unless he is able to escape to his own hamlet, where he will be protected by his own relatives; even then he is not safe from the long arm of sorcery which the relatives of the girl may use against him. A case of rape usually eventuates in a "court case"[12] as a result of which the boy pays an indemnity to prevent retaliation from the girl's relatives.

836 The strong negative sanctions on rape lead a boy to exercise extreme caution in his love making. If he approaches a girl to ask her for a date, and if she has a grudge against him, she may cry out that he is trying to rape her. Consequently, it is customary for a boy to wait for the girl to take the initiative, assuring himself that she wants him before he makes any advances. The boy does not remain passive, however. If he is interested in some girl, he carefully makes up

[12] The court system will be described in chap. vi, pp. 161–162.

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his face, combs his hair, and nowadays also dons his gayest laplap, and either walks past the girl's house or down a path where he is likely to meet her. He also plays an active part by resorting to love magic. He tries to put scrapings from a fingernail of his left hand or blood from the left side[13] of his penis into the lime gourd or cigarette of a woman whom he desires. If she ingests these magical substances, it is believed that she will have an uncontrollable sexual desire for the man who gave them to her.

In his sexual activities a boy also runs the risk of making a girl pregnant. If this should happen, her relatives try to force her to name the father of the child. If she names a particular youth as the father, he will be forced by her relatives either to marry her or to pay them an indemnity in shell money. Threats of sorcery or violence are employed to bring about the marriage or extract the payment. The reason given for the indemnity is that if a girl has had a child before marriage no one will pay a full bride-price for her. If a boy is willing to marry the girl anyway, he is not greatly inhibited by the fear of making her pregnant, although there is some social stigma attached to such an event. If the girl is unattractive, however, this factor assumes greater importance.

The danger from the relatives of a girl has certain consequences in controlling an adolescent boy's general behavior toward a girl as well as in determining his mode of sexual behavior. Breaches in etiquette with respect to females become much more serious than they were during childhood. We have seen that, if he stared at the genitals of his mother or sister as a child, he was scolded by the female at whom he stared; when he reaches the age of puberty such behavior is defined as specifically sexual. If he now stares at a girl, her relatives classify the act as a sexual advance and react to it accordingly. To be sure, they do not react as strongly as to an actual liaison, but they usually criticize him and may even insult and threaten him. Even staring at a girl's body in gen-

[13] The only explanation that I could get for the idea that the left side is important was that work is done with the right hand, and that this, for some reason, made the left side preferable in sexual matters.

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882 834 eral, and not specifically at her genitalia, may lead to suspicion, if it is more than a quick identifying glance. A boy must restrain his eyes even when the girl's relatives are not present, for she may report his breach of etiquette with similar results. For these reasons we had considerable difficulty taking photographs of females. As the Kwoma women phrased it, a photograph "caught" their genitals and made it possible for them to be looked at without the possibility of social control. After we had taken several pictures of women in ignorance of the prevailing sentiments, we were told by both the women and by their relatives to take no more.

To avoid the sanctions against looking, a boy either keeps his eyes fixed on the ground or sits or stands with his back to a woman whenever he is in her presence. If he happens to be sitting facing a path down which a woman is walking, he must arise and stand with his back to it until she has passed. He may not speak to her until she has passed him; when they are both back to back he may speak to, but must not look at, her. Whenever he meets adult females on a path, they turn aside and stand with their backs to the path until he has passed. He must keep his eyes on the ground and must not stop and talk to them until they are behind him. If a boy goes visiting, he must be very careful in his behavior. He may only quickly glance under the porch to note who is there and must then keep his eyes on the ground until he has found a seat facing away from the women, when he may gossip with them over his shoulder.

An adolescent boy must obey these rules with respect to all adolescent and adult females except those who live in his own household, with whom he need not be so elaborately careful. His behavior toward them does not differ appreciably from that which he learned during childhood; he may not stare at their genitals, but he is not restricted from looking at them
832 in general. When no one else is around and when a girl has made sexual advances toward a boy, he may look at her. In fact, this is defined as part of the preliminaries to sexual behavior. Just as boys avoid the sanctions against sexual intercourse by having affairs in secret, so they develop techniques

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of furtive looking. Both Gwiyap and Mar, whenever they met an attractive girl, could and would report her appearance in detail, including a description of her breasts and genitals, although they had apparently obeyed all the precepts of Kwoma etiquette and kept their glance averted.

Boys often start their love making with their *sisters*. All the females of one's own sib and generation are termed *sister*, whether they are patrilineal parallel cousins of various degrees, or actually unrelated. It is theoretically taboo to cohabit with any related female, but in practice it depends on how closely she is related, the taboo being the more effective the closer the relationship. The factor of proximity[14] seems to lead a boy to choose his *sisters* rather than a non-relative with whom to learn to cohabit. He has a greater opportunity for arranging trysts with girls of his hamlet, since he is normally more frequently in their presence and he is not so conspicuous when he talks to them as when he speaks to a girl of another hamlet. Furthermore he runs less risk of being severely punished if he is caught, because there is a taboo on aggression between members of the same hamlet. Finally, he can more easily trust a *sister* not to claim she has been raped than he can a girl whom he knows less well and who has no reason to protect him against the consequences. Boys apparently resolve the conflict between the incest taboos, the advantages of proximity, and the prohibitions on intra-sib aggression by choosing the girls of their hamlet who are most distantly related.[15]

Gwiyap's exploits constitute a good example of the philandering of the Kwoma adolescent. He was a lively youth just past pubescence. One evening about a month after my arrival at Kwoma, I asked him if he had ever had sexual intercourse. He looked embarrassed and said noncommittally that he did not know. His confusion led me to suspect that

[14] Owing to patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent, all the girls of the same generation in the hamlet are *sisters*.

[15] I have no information on what would happen if a girl became pregnant as a result of an affair with a *brother*. Probably she would claim that she had been impregnated by a non-relative.

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he had had sexual experiences, but feared punishment or disapproval if he confessed, so I told him that boys of his age in America had intercourse and cited several examples. He was much interested, and asked if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him that the boys kept it a secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that Americans had a means of preventing pregnancy. He expressed his amazement at this, and the subject was dropped. The next night, however, when we were discussing other matters, he brought up the subject again and mentioned six girls, three of them his *sisters*, with whom he claimed to have had sexual relations. One of them was Awa, Mar's sister. He recounted his experiences with great gusto, but warned me not to tell Mar about them, especially about his affair with Awa.

About two months later Gwiyap appeared with his hair combed and a new laplap around his waist and told me that he had a date that afternoon with Famba, a girl of his own generation and lineage, whom he addressed as *sister*. After playing ball for a while with some of the other boys, he departed. That evening I asked him how he had fared. He answered that his "shitnothing" *brother*, Fit, had followed him to the tryst. He had told him not to come and finally had chased him back with a stick, but when he finally met Famba he had not dared do anything because he was afraid that Fit had sneaked after him and was spying.

Two weeks later while I was sitting with Gwiyap in front of my house, Kwiya came by carrying firewood. She was a girl of about the same age as Gwiyap who lived in the same house and belonged to the same lineage. As she passed he exchanged bawdy remarks with her, as is the custom between *brother* and *sister*. Then he said to me that he thought he would go to America with me when I left because so many girls liked him and asked him to cohabit with them that he would certainly get in trouble if he stayed at Kwoma. He then recounted his sexual experiences. There was Kwiya, the girl who had just passed, and Awa, Mar's sister, both of whom were his household mates. Then there was Famba,

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Way's daughter, who was of his lineage, and Mes' sister, Aya, who was of the other lineage of the hamlet. The only girl on his list whom he did not call *sister* was Gwimpi, an attractive girl of about his age who belonged to another sib and whom he said he intended to marry. I asked him about Gwanta, the only girl of the hamlet in his age group who was not on his list. His face fell, and he said that she did not like him. Then he brightened and remarked that she was no good anyway. He went on to say that Mes' sister, Aya, was the best of all because she had a very large vagina. Again he cautioned me not to tell Mar about his escapades. I asked him what Mar would do if he found out and he replied: "He would beat me. No, he would not beat me, but I would be much ashamed." Two afternoons later he came in looking very proud of himself and boasted that he had just cohabited twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in as he was talking and Gwiyap stopped short, explaining later that he did not want Mey to know for fear he would tell Mar.

Toward the end of my stay at Kwoma, Gwiyap began an affair with Gwanta, the girl who had previously turned him down. One afternoon he came to my house greatly excited, saying that he had met Gwanta on the path and that she had told him that she was willing to have intercourse with him. He had given her younger brother two razor blades and told him to give one to Gwanta and keep the other himself, and to come and tell him when Gwanta went to the spring to get water so that he could meet her there. He said that he intended to ask her to come and sleep under Wysep's mosquito net. When he met her later that afternoon in her house, she agreed to this proposition; her younger brother said that he would come, too. Gwanta told him that he could not, asking him how many people he thought a mosquito net would hold.[16] Gwiyap also reported that she had refrained from calling him by his name.[17] Later in the evening I asked him if

[16] Gwiyap was apparently very indirect in his remarks so that neither the mother nor the brother of the girl suspected anything.

[17] It is the custom for engaged persons not to address one another by name.

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882 he thought that Gwanta would really come. He said that he
836 did not know, appearing less enthusiastic than before. Then
602 he said that he intended to sorcerize Way and marry Gwanta.
124 When I pointed out that she was his *sister*, he said, "Oh, that
835 does not matter; she is not my real sister; just a sister noth-
[648] ing." The next day he reported that she had not come. On
[964] the following day a recruiter came and Gwiyap "signed on"
to work on a white plantation and left the tribe.

835 A Kwoma boy, despite his disregard of some of the incest rules, respects them with reference to his real sister. All informants agreed that sexual intercourse with a real sister never occurred. This, of course, is not proof of the absence of brother-sister incest, but it does indicate its rarity. On one occasion when Gwiyap was telling me his sexual exploits, I asked if he had ever had intercourse with Afi, his real sister. He became very serious and said: "No, indeed! She is my real sister. These other girls that I have told you about are my 'sisters nothing.'[18] If I had sexual intercourse with her, I would be terribly guilty.[19] These other sisters are all right."[20]

882 Unmarried youths do not as a rule philander with married
837 women. Besides the fear of retaliation from the husband, the
[56] factor of age may also play a part in this restriction. There is a strong feeling that a man should not marry or have sexual relations with a woman older than himself. Gwiyap even

[192] [18] *Sumee sumee mowe*—"nothing sister"—classificatory sister; *mowe sakana*—"sister of the same seed"—real sister.

[196] [19] *Homba*, as nearly as I could discover, is the word which the Kwoma use to describe guilt or shame. They have another word for fear or anxiety. While the origin of this "guilt" may be quite complicated, the punishments that a boy receives as a child for having an erection in his sister's presence, and for looking at her genitals, probably play a part in producing the feeling. It was this word which Gwiyap used to describe what his feelings would be if Mar should find out about his affair with Awa.

[835] [539] [20] A myth supports the Kwoma attitude toward brother-sister incest. "Once upon a time, long, long, long ago, a father and mother went to the swamp to collect sago flour. Their children, a boy and girl, stayed at home. They had sexual intercourse. When the parents came home, the girl told them what had happened. The father was very angry and killed his son. Since then brother-sister incest has been forbidden." Although in real life a father would probably not kill his son for this crime, because sons are an asset, the myth, which is often told, probably exerts an inhibitory effect on sexual behavior between brother and sister.

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felt this with respect to a girl who was only a few years his senior, maintaining that he was not interested in her because she was too old for him.

A boy gains prestige from his sexual exploits. Although he must be careful not to tell anyone who might inform the girl's relatives, he frequently boasts of his conquests to those of his *brothers* with whom he is most intimate, unless, of course, the girl happens to be closely related to them. A lad who enjoys the reputation of being a successful philanderer gains the respect of his fellows. Although seldom praised to his face, he receives added motivation from hearing others complimented for their successful exploits.

A youth normally does not marry until he has undergone the ceremony which makes him an adult. He begins courting, however, during adolescence, and he is subject to all the restrictions which control the choice of a mate. Although a boy may successfully engage in secret philandering with a *sister*, open courtship and marriage would bring their relation under public obloquy. Incest and other marriage restrictions, therefore, influence a boy's choice more strongly in courtship than in philandering. His selection must be made from a relatively small number of persons. The prospective bride should be slightly younger than he, but must be already pubescent. She must be a member of some sib other than his own and not closely related to his *mother's brother*, *mother's sister*, *father's sister*, *sister's husband*, *wife*,[21] *friend*, or *ceremonial father*. Finally, she must be unmarried.

The Kwoma give a number of different reasons for their restrictions upon marriage between relatives. One of their rationalizations stems from their theory of reproduction. They believe that the foetus develops from a combination of the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. They further believe that if a man and woman with the same sperm-blood combination should produce a child, he would be sickly and apt to die. This idea is related to their theory that the renewal of blood is necessary to growth and health. Since

[21] A man may not marry a relative of his first wife while she is still alive.

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583 calmed down. He was very anxious about this plan, and kept asking me to support him if he got into trouble as a result of it. He was afraid that Waramus and his son would seize one of his *sisters* in retaliation.

On the eve of the planned elopement one of the more influential of Mar's *paternal uncles* withdrew his support, saying that Waramus was a notorious sorcerer and would undoubtedly sorcerize Mar if the latter carried out his plan. This was enough to deter Mar. Gwiyap was contemptuous of Mar's vacillation, and said that if he had wanted to marry Aya, he would have done so long ago, Waramus, *uncles*, or no. He told Mar that he was too afraid of talk. As a matter of fact, [648] [964] Mar did delay too long, for shortly after the elopement fell through a white recruiter came to Kwoma, and Mar escaped the conflict by signing a contract to work for three years on a plantation.

• 882 The sexual behavior of adolescent girls has in part been covered in the foregoing consideration of male adolescents. In some respects it differs from that of boys. I was able to [123] [838] discover nothing about the private sexual life of adolescent [839] girls, nor of their homosexual behavior. They do not, however, either masturbate in public nor indulge in any open sexual relationships with other females.

882 The sanctions against immodest behavior increase in in-
834 tensity when a girl becomes pubescent. Whereas young girls are only mildly scolded for assuming immodest postures, adolescent girls are severely criticized for such behavior. A girl is told that immodest behavior is interpreted as a sexual invitation and that consequently if she is immodest she will be considered a loose woman and her chances of a good marriage will be spoiled. Usually the sanction does not appear in this rational form, but simply as a command from a parent or other relative to be more careful. A properly modest Kwoma girl never sits with her legs apart or knees drawn up, but stretches her legs out close together with knees unbent. She takes care never to bend over in the presence of men unless she is wearing her net bag hanging down her

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back,[22] and never to leave the hamlet unless she wears her bag. When she meets a man on the path, she must step aside with her back to the path and must not speak to him until he has passed her.

A girl, like a boy, normally has her first experience in sexual intercourse during adolescence. She, too, must be secretive in this behavior, but for reasons quite different from those which force a boy to hide his philandering. The only danger which a girl faces from a non-relative in her sexual adventures is that of rape or of being aggressively attacked. In contrast to the boy, she stands in no danger of punishment from the relatives of her lover if she is discovered. Her own relatives, particularly her brothers, are the ones from whom she must hide her behavior. It is they who try to prevent her from philandering because, if she gets a reputation for being loose, and particularly if she becomes pregnant, her value as a potential wife is decreased and her brothers will be unable to get such a high bride-price when she marries. The Kwoma rationalization for the bride-price is, in fact, that it is a payment by the husband to the brothers of his wife for having kept her pure and unblemished up to the time of her marriage. Since a brother uses the bride-price paid for his sisters to buy his own wife or wives, it is not a matter of indifference to him if his sister loses her reputation. If a girl becomes pregnant, therefore, she may expect a severe scolding and perhaps a beating from her father or brothers.

The pressures exerted upon an adolescent girl lead her to solve her sexual problem in a somewhat different manner from the boy. As has already been shown, it is she who makes the advances rather than the boy, which she can do since she runs no risk of punishment from the boy's relatives. A second consequence of the differential sanctions is that, since the girl risks punishment from her own relatives, it is more danger-

[22] The woman's net bag is hung from the forehead down the back and when empty reaches almost to the knees. It thus functions as an article of clothing as well as a carrying device.

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836 ous for her to philander within the hamlet. From this it
[835] would be expected that she would be less likely to violate the incest prohibitions than would a boy. Since my only data on
[124] the sexual affairs of adolescent girls were obtained from male informants, it is impossible to check this deduction.

882 By the time a Kwoma has reached adolescence he has learned to cope with most of the environmental dangers. He continues to react to these with either aggression or avoidance, depending on circumstances, previous practice, and the dictates of custom. With his increase in size, however, aggression comes more and more to replace avoidance as a response to a threat of pain. Animals and reptiles which loom large to him as a child now seem less ferocious. He kills them instead of fleeing from them. The adolescent likewise depends less upon his parents and relatives to help him cope
[757] with sickness. He now attends to his own sores, instead of
[593] asking his parents to treat them. When he has a headache, stomach-ache, or sprained joint he sometimes bleeds himself, but more frequently requests a brother to make the slashes for him, returning the favor when his brother needs to be bled.

[754] A boy comes into more direct contact with the sorcery complex during adolescence. Philandering and increased motility bring him into greater danger from this source; and he now must support the adults of the hamlet in anti-sorcery behavior when one of his relatives falls sick. He does not take the lead in this aggressive reaction to sickness, but discusses with the adults the probable identity of the sorcerer and attends, but does not participate in, the sorcery court.[23]

[795] Adolescents still believe that ghosts are dangerous and simultaneously avoid and curse them. They are still nervous whenever they have to venture very far from their dwelling in the dark, but they dare go farther at night than do chil-
[768] dren. They keep at a distance from burial platforms and the "land of the dead." They are jumpy about strange noises at night, and take particular care not to whistle at this time.

[23] The anti-sorcery complex will be described in detail in chap. vi, pp. 137–8.

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One evening I started whistling when Mar and Gwiyap, two adolescents, were in my home. They told me to stop, warning me that ghosts would come if I persisted. I continued to whistle in order to discover what their reactions would be. They pleaded with me to cease and finally bolted for home.

A marked change takes place in a boy's reaction to *marsalai* when he reaches adolescence. At about the age of puberty he is initiated into the first stage of the yam cult.[24] He must first decide whether he wishes to join the *yenema* or *minjama* section. Although it is presumably up to him to make this choice, his father, older *brothers*, and *paternal uncles* exert considerable pressure upon him. It is their wish to keep the hamlet about equally represented in each section and they therefore see to it that such a balance is maintained by influencing the adolescents who are ready to make their choice.

After a boy has decided which section he will join, he is taken into the forest, where a rude hut has been constructed at a sufficient distance from the hamlet, so that women cannot hear. Here the young men of the hamlet who have recently been initiated meet to practice gong beating and flute playing.[25] Their practice is overseen and criticized by older men, the parents and *uncles* of the novices. On the first occasion that a boy attends one of these practice meetings, he is told that the sounds that he has heard as a child during ceremonies are man-made and not the voices of *marsalai*. He pretends to be surprised because theoretically he should not know what in fact he already does. He is also told at this time that he must not in any way reveal this secret to any child or female, and he is warned very seriously that the mere knowledge of the secret of the cult may kill such persons. Then, during sporadic meetings over a period of sev-

[24] Boys are sometimes initiated into the cult a year or so before physiological pubescence. It has seemed more expedient, however, to describe it in this rather than the previous chapter. This initiation should not be confused with the age-grade initiation.

[25] The spot for the camp is picked near a variety of tropical tree which has flange-like roots. These roots ring out when beaten and are used as a substitute for gongs.

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882 794 533 eral months, he is given some instruction in gong beating and flute playing, so that he may show his prowess at the coming initiation. Most of the time, however, he watches those who have already been initiated, but who have not yet fully mastered the techniques, practice the complicated rhythms, and then tries to copy them.

882 796 794 796 [534] [302] On the day of the ceremony, the beating of the house tamberan gongs begins early in the morning. Meanwhile, the boy who is to be initiated prepares himself for the event. He carefully combs his hair and paints his face in the prescribed manner. About mid-morning he is led near the house tamberan by his sponsor,[28] who warns him that when he enters the building he will see the *marsalai*, who will be on an altar in the center of the dance floor. The sponsor especially warns the initiate not to look up at the altar too quickly lest the shock kill him. The lad is then left waiting with other boys who are to be initiated while the sponsor goes to tell the men already there that the initiates are about to appear. At this, the gongs, flute playing, and singing cease abruptly, and the men prepare to produce special sound effects to impress the initiates. The sponsor returns for his initiate and leads him up to the house tamberan. A screen of sago fronds hides the inside of the building from view. Gongs and flutes burst into a deafening roar as the initiate is made to stoop and enter an opening in the screen. The sponsor holds the initiate by the arm and dances with him around the altar. The men shout and dance around with them. The gong beaters and flutists play wildly. Someone just outside the house tamberan whirls a bull-roarer, and the sponsor shouts in the boy's ear that its sound is that of the wings of a *marsalai*. For the first two rounds the boy keeps his eyes fixed on the ground; then his sponsor tells him to look up at the altar, where there is a stylized representation of a human head carved from wood and painted with designs in black and white. The boy is told that this too is a hoax, that it is made

[28] I am not sure how a boy's sponsor is determined. In any case, he is a member of the appropriate cult section and of the parental generation.

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of wood, but that the secret must be carefully guarded from the women and children. The sponsor then thrusts a roasted yam into the boy's hand and leaves him to dance by himself in the circling ring of men as he eats it.

The boy's dream of participating in the cult ceremonies is thus finally realized. From now on he may take his turn in the gong orchestra, taking care not to make a mistake lest he be shouted at and teased by the older men, and hoping to gain their praise for a perfect performance. Although adolescents are usually only permitted to beat the gongs while the simpler rhythms are being played, those who have shown a special aptitude during the practice sessions and who make no mistakes during their first few performances at the house tamberan may be permitted to try their hand at more complicated rhythms. Although few adolescents gain the skill necessary for a public performance on the flutes, they can put to use the secret dance practices of their childhood as they skip around the altar, their hands above their heads, their eyes on the wooden figures, and their bare feet rhythmically slapping the earth floor in unison with the other dancers. They may also join in the chorus which the dancers shout after each of the song leader's verses. Finally, they may squat with the adults as they drop out of the dance to smoke cigarettes, chew betel, and gossip.

The unfolding of the hoax of the cult does not destroy a Kwoma boy's belief in *marsalai;* it simply verifies his suspicion that the *marsalai* do not palpably visit the house tamberan at the time of the cult ceremonies. He still believes in the existence of these supernatural beings and does not doubt that they live in their special dwelling places and cause storms or "shoot" sago needles when they are disturbed. He is also impressed with the fact that these *marsalai* are responsible for a successful yam crop, and that the chief purpose of the yam cult ceremony is to insure their cooperation in producing a bountiful harvest.

An adolescent reacts toward his younger *brothers* in much the same way as he did during childhood. Indeed, a specific

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882 602 561 554 [794] advantage of the age-grade and cult initiations is that each gives him a defined status superior to those of his *brothers* who have not as yet undergone them. Whereas during childhood a command-obey relationship had to be fought out, and was usually established on the basis of size and age, now the relationship is culturally determined. An initiated boy has the privilege of derogating all those who are not yet initiated, and he loses no opportunity to do so. Gwiyap, Mey, and Ham were all old enough to be eligible for entry into the age-grade cycle when one of the quinquennial ceremonies took place just before my arrival. The adults told them that they could be initiated if they wished; it was up to them. Gwiyap was willing to undergo having his tongue and penis cut and the other hardships of initiation, whereas neither Mey nor Ham dared do so.[27] Gwiyap, after he had undergone the initiation, did not allow them to forget their cowardice. He frequently referred to them as "children," with the implication that he was in a lofty social position which towered above that of a mere child.

882 602 554 156 865 On reaching adolescence a boy gives up trying to gain superiority over his adolescent *brothers* by fighting with them in physical combat. For the most part his relative position has already been established by such means during childhood and by the precedents established by temporal priority in the various initiations. Relative changes in status or circumstantial reversals of position are gained by verbal aggression or by efficiency in the various arts which are culturally defined as giving prestige. A boy can gain a superior position over a hitherto dominant *brother* by becoming a better hunter, a more persistent gardener, or being more adept at gong beating, flute playing, or singing in the cult ceremonies.

Such a struggle for dominance was occurring between Mar and Gwiyap. Mar was older and larger than Gwiyap, and had evidently established dominance during childhood by virtue of his greater physical size. He had also undergone

[27] Gwiyap was physiologically pubescent; Mey and Ham were not.

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the initiations before Gwiyap. Mar, however, was a markedly fearful person, whereas Gwiyap was more courageous; Mar had not dared have sexual relations even with his betrothed, whereas Gwiyap had made half a dozen conquests. Mar was clumsy and lazy, whereas Gwiyap was an efficient and hard worker. Mar was, however, still dominant and Gwiyap usually obeyed his commands, although he sometimes refused to do so. Mar did not back up his commands by physical attack when Gwiyap disobeyed him. Gwiyap less frequently commanded Mar and when he did so, the latter sometimes obeyed and sometimes refused to obey him. In particular, Gwiyap gained an advantage over Mar by criticizing the latter when, because of his timidity and awkwardness, he did not measure up to the behavior expected of an adolescent Kwoma. The most noticeable thing about the struggle for dominance between the two boys was that they never resorted to physical violence. Indeed, no case of a fight between adolescent *brothers* came to my attention. Although it cannot be assumed that fights do not occur, it is true that the sanctions against fighting between *brothers* increase as they become physiologically mature. Children, being smaller, are not as likely to injure one another seriously as are adolescents. The sanctions against injury which begin to operate during childhood are increased in respect to adolescents, presumably so that the power of the in-group may be maintained.

The following conflict between Mar and Gwiyap indicates the subtlety of aggression between adolescents as compared to similar behavior between children. One morning Gwiyap was roasting a breadfruit. When it was done, Mar came up and began to help himself. Gwiyap told him that if he wanted something to eat he should cook it for himself. Mar replied that there was plenty for him, too. Gwiyap insisted angrily that Mar eat no more of the breadfruit, but Mar did not heed. Gwiyap then became insulting, and Mar returned the insults. Gwiyap's final response was to get up and leave the fire around which they were squatting and to refuse to eat any more himself. Mar, apparently guilty about what he had

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882 602 554 156 865 done, called to Gwiyap to come back, and promised not to eat any more. Gwiyap refused either to return or to answer and avoided Mar for the rest of the day. He spoke insultingly of Mar when I questioned him about the event.

882 593 602 865 An adolescent boy continues to behave toward his parents and his *paternal uncles* and *aunts* as he did in childhood. He obeys their commands, lies to them when they accuse him of wrongdoing, and is secretive in doing things that he expects them to punish. If he is aggressive toward them, it usually takes the form of disobedience or grumbling. Occasionally he may talk back to them and sometimes even attack them. Informants reported the case of an adolescent boy who had speared and killed his father a few years before my arrival. He had fled after he had committed this crime and was still living in a neighboring tribe.[28]

882 835 602 598 152 The *sisters* of an adolescent boy constitute a sexual temptation to him, since they are the most available sexually mature, unmarried women in the tribe and live in the same hamlet. If he philanders with them, he does so in the face of negative sanctions and of fear of punishment from their *brothers* if he is caught. Even if he dare not have sex relations with them, they nevertheless may evoke in him the desire to do so, and thus produce emotional conflict. To avoid their presence might be the adaptive response under the circumstances, but the necessities of common living and the economic coöperation between *brother* and *sister* militate against this solution. The alternative response of aggression to the frustration which they produce would be dangerous to in-group solidarity and has, furthermore, been strongly punished during childhood. Kwoma culture provides the boy with a solution to this dilemma in the form of a socially permitted joking relationship. This consists of license to exchange insults of a sexual character, mostly mutual accusations of breaking sexual taboos, particularly those of incest.

[682] [28] No drastic sanctions are imposed against patricide since the father has no relatives closer than his son to avenge him. Such an act is considered "unnatural," however, and the murderer is shunned. This was probably the reason for the person cited above leaving the tribe.

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One day Gwiyap told his *sister*, Kwiya, a girl of about his own age, to copulate with her father. She retorted in an equally bawdy fashion. When I questioned Gwiyap about this behavior, he explained to me that it was customary between *brother* and *sister*. If he had said the same thing to anyone else, however, it would have been a gross insult and would probably have provoked a fight; but, he said, it was a good joke when he talked this way to his *sister*. Kwiya was one of the girls with whom he had had sex relations.

Although a *brother-sister* joking relationship is allowed, physical aggression toward a *sister* under these circumstances is prohibited. The following case illustrates the strength of this prohibition and indicates that by the period of adolescence it has already become internalized. Mar and Awa, his adolescent *sister*, were teasing and insulting one another in accordance with the joking relationship. After the exchange had gone on for some time, Awa told Mar, who had bleached his hair in accordance with the new fashion, that his hair was white because he was an old man and no longer sexually potent. Mar lost his temper at this insult and rushed at Awa, brandishing a stick. She turned and ran. Mar followed her for a few yards and then fell down and remained inert on the ground. When he did not get up, the onlookers went over to discover the trouble. He refused to answer them. Thinking that he was pretending, they began prodding him. He still did not respond, and they finally decided that he must be possessed. Later he explained that his father's ghost had appeared before him and demanded sternly why he was chasing his *sister*.[29]

An adolescent boy is permitted to be physically aggressive toward his *sister* if he catches her philandering, though he may not seriously injure her. Usually a boy's reaction in these cases is to give his *sister* a good scolding. Sometimes he may strike her on her back with his fist, or, if her behavior has been especially flagrant and persistent, he may even beat

[29] Since Mar's behavior in other circumstances showed him to be an unusually fearful person, the above case probably does not represent a normal Kwoma reaction.

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882 her with a stick. He takes care not to cause her serious injury
602 because he has learned that if he did so it would be to his own
578 detriment. He risks losing thereby both her coöperation and
[583] the bride-price that he expects to get as a result of her marriage.

882 An adolescent boy continues the polite and friendly rela-
602 tionship toward those of his kin who live outside the hamlet. As he approaches the status of manhood and its responsibilities, more positive behavior is demanded if he wishes to maintain the relationship unbroken. He must entertain his *maternal uncle*, his *paternal aunt*, and his *maternal aunt* whenever
[574] [276] they visit him.[30] He must offer them betel nut to chew or tobacco to smoke whenever he sees them, and give them food if they come to his house at mealtime. Furthermore, if they get into trouble, he must support them in whatever way he can. If someone in his hamlet thinks that one of these relatives is responsible for a sickness in the hamlet, it is his duty
[476] to quash such a rumor. Finally, he should be willing to help these relatives if they are undertaking some major economic task, such as building a house, which calls for coöperative activity.

In addition to these rules of behavior which apply to relatives in general outside the hamlet, an adolescent boy has special obligations to fulfill with respect to his *maternal*
[561] *uncle*. He must pay him a fee of a specified amount of shell money at the age-grade ceremony.[31] The boy has used the privilege of taking what he pleases from his *maternal uncle's* garden and sago plot and must make a payment in return. If the boy does not fulfill this obligation, his *uncle* will not only break relationship and thus put an end to the privileges

[591] [30] The *mother's sister* is considered to be much less important than either the *mother's brother* or the *father's sister*, and the relationship often lapses from the lack of reciprocal contact. This results from the fact that the relationship between a *brother* and *sister* is maintained after their respective marriages, whereas two *sisters* marrying into different hamlets tend to lose contact with one another.

[31] He obtains this from his father, his *paternal uncles*, his *sisters* if they have married and if the bride-price has been paid for them, and from his *nephews*.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[32] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[33] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual cooperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[32] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[33] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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882 602 578 ***sister's son*** (i.e., between those with the fewest intervening relatives), the privilege of cutting sago properly belonged to War and not to Gwiyap. War commanded Gwiyap to stop cutting sago on Payap's plot, and also demanded that he pay for the flour that he had already taken. Gwiyap protested, but War threatened to break their relationship unless the damages were paid. Gwiyap decided that it would be dangerous to have as important a man as War against him, so he paid the fine and broke his relationship with Payap.[34] Had Gwiyap enjoyed a status equal to or higher than that of War,[35] he might have disputed the case with him. Under such circumstances he would have broken with War and maintained relationship with Payap until the matter was settled.

882 608 881 628 Both the age-grade and adulthood ceremonies bring a boy into "safe"[36] relationships with persons outside the hamlet who are not actually related to him. The person who initiates him into the age-grade cycle becomes his *ceremonial father*, and he becomes his sponsor's *ceremonial son*.[37] Henceforth they behave toward one another just as though they were relatives. Aggression is restricted between them. They may visit one another without fear of sorcery, and they are expected to support one another in disputes. As in the case of relatives, they may break relations with one another, but as long as the relationship remains "safe," it has the distinct advantage of expanding the number and geographic distribution of persons who need not be feared. As with the

[34] This breaking of relationship between Gwiyap and Payap was not an aggressive act, but simply meant that both he and War could not have a relationship with the same *mother's brother*. Gwiyap showed some resentment against Payap for allowing him to make the mistake and thus forcing him to pay damages to War. Actually Gwiyap lost nothing by the transaction because the obligation to pay Payap at the age-grade ceremony was now nullified.

[35] Gwiyap was an adolescent, whereas War was a middle-aged man of high standing in the community.

[36] A safe relationship is the converse of a broken relationship. The Kwoma term for this is *ma kieñ jiju*, literally "man good goes."

[614] [624] [37] *Ceremonial father* and *son* are of different sibs; hence they necessarily live in different hamlets.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*" are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[38] The sons of a person's father's *friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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he is confronted by a non-relative, or who refuses to retaliate when someone has taken advantage of him, is severely criticized by his relatives. The second factor is closely related to the first. A Kwoma man gains prestige by being called *harafa ma malaka* (big older brother man),[39] i.e., one who refuses to be taken advantage of in any way. A man is respected in his own community in proportion as he is feared in others. To become generally known as *harafa ma malaka* is not a wish prompted by idle vanity alone, for with it come specific privileges. Such a person has fulfilled one of the requirements for membership in the highest stage of the yam cult, and thus need not depend on others to plant his garden. His relatives will be eager to help him when he asks for their cooperation in an economic task, although many of them might find that they had more pressing matters to attend to if he were of low status. A man who has either achieved this status or shown promise of achieving it can also expect to find favor with the most attractive women both in philandering and marriage. Finally, his word will carry much weight in any controversy, either at home or at court. Although this position of prestige is not achieved until adulthood, a man starts during childhood to establish the reputation of being hard, and continues the process during adolescence. During childhood his aggression is directed for the most part toward his *brothers;* with adolescence he begins to exhibit his toughness toward non-relatives.

The non-relatives most threatening to an adolescent boy are the relatives of the girls with whom he philanders. He reacts to them, as we have seen, by being secretive, by concealing the behavior for which they will punish him. He does not dare be openly aggressive toward them, for his relatives would be loath to support him, even non-relatives being granted the right to protect their female relatives. A boy does, however, react with verbal aggression behind the backs of such persons. He boasts to his *brothers* that he is not

[39] Cf. aggressiveness of older brothers and submissiveness of younger brothers. See chap. iv, pp. 57–58.

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afraid of So-and-so: "His sister likes me, and he cannot stop me from philandering with her. I am a hard man." 882 609 836

The persons who have, or attempt to have, affairs with a boy's *sister* constitute another category of persons who menace him. The danger in this case is not that of physical injury but rather the threat that the value of his *sister* may be depreciated, leaving him less money with which to pay for a wife of his own. A boy is not only supported by his community for reacting aggressively toward his *sister*'s lover, he is punished by them if he does not. Custom limits, however, the amount of aggression that he may show. If he oversteps these bounds, he loses the support of his own relatives. The socially expected reaction when a boy discovers that someone has been making free with his *sister* is to retaliate in kind, that is, to philander with a *sister* of his antagonist. He is also expected to shout insults at the latter, to challenge him to a fight (which never eventuates), and to threaten to kill him if he persists. If he catches a lover *in flagrante delicto* with his *sister*, the boy is expected to attack him physically. He may even kill him, but it is wiser not to do so since such an act would certainly precipitate a feud. 602 578 [583] [626] [627]

Even in courtship, the father and *brothers* of the girl are a source of danger. They stand in judgment over the suitor and his actions. If they do not approve of him, they seriously interfere with his desires. His reaction toward them is a combination of aggression and avoidance. To their face he is alternately friendly and jokingly aggressive; behind their back he may show marked hostility. When Waramus interfered with Mar's courtship of his daughter Aya, Mar accused him behind his back of being a sorcerer and said that he was going to challenge him to a fight. Several times he expressed the intention of "punching Waramus in the nose," and once he told me that he would like to go down and spear the man while he slept. In his face-to-face relations with Waramus, however, Mar was polite to the point of obsequiousness. 882 584 602 578

Gwiyap's behavior toward the relatives of his betrothed,

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882 584 602 578 Gwimpi, exemplifies Kwoma custom in this respect. One day he told me that Nowel, Gwimpi's brother, had insulted him, and added: "If that Nowel comes around here again, I am going to beat him up. You won't be angry with me if I give him a good licking, will you?" The threatened fight never occurred. Although Gwiyap spoke sneeringly of Nowel several times thereafter when the latter was not present, he was especially friendly to him whenever they were together. A month or so later he began addressing Nowel by the brother-in-law term. The latter would protest at this and deny the relationship. On one occasion Nowel's *paternal uncle* was present, overheard Gwiyap addressing Nowel in this way, and asked him the reason for it. Gwiyap replied: "I am going to marry your niece. Have you anything to say about it? If you don't like it, I will fight you." (Gwiyap was much smaller than the man whom he was challenging.) The uncle laughed indulgently at the threat and jokingly replied, "You are talking pretty big for a child." That evening Gwiyap asked my help in case a fight should result, but nothing came of the matter.

Fear of retaliation prevents a boy from being seriously aggressive toward his future relatives-in-law. They stand as a unit against him, whereas his own relatives will not support him in any unwarranted aggression. If the relatives of the girl do not exceed their rights, a boy is not considered justified in going farther than in the case reported above. Possibly another reason why a boy is inhibited from direct expression of his hostility toward his future in-laws is that the punishment he has received in the past for being aggressive toward his own father and *brothers* has generated anxiety which is generalized to this new situation.[40]

882 836 602 578 An adolescent boy may be frustrated by the girls whom he flirts with or courts. His sexual wishes or his desire for marriage may be blocked because the girl is not interested in him. He must submit to this frustration, for to express his aggression would evoke retaliation from the girl's relatives.

[787] [40] Mar, directly after Waramus insulted him, had a nightmare in which his father tried to take his soul.

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criticizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily an adult occupation, however, its description, including examples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects, noxious flora, sorcery,[41] and ghosts, their behavior is also quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initiated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior toward *marsalai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. In fact, they must avoid the house tamberan during ceremonies, like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of gongs and flutes are the voices of the *marsalai*. Nevertheless, adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which represented *marsalai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the figures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, apparently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another about the objects.

[41] Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are boys, if not more so.

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882 602 865 An adolescent girl also resembles a boy in her responses to punishments from persons living in the hamlet. She usually obeys her parents, but is sometimes verbally aggressive toward them and rather frequently grumbles behind their back.[42] She threatens, scolds, and beats her younger siblings as do boys of her age. Toward her adolescent *sisters*, she behaves in a manner comparable to that of a boy toward his adolescent *brothers;* she tries to gain dominance over them so that she may command them and avoid obeying them. On two occasions while I was at Kwoma, an adolescent girl attacked a *sister* with a stick. The relation of a girl to her *brother* is the reciprocal of that described for the boy. She plays her part in the joking relationship, quite adequately holding her own in the insults that pass between them. In regard to sexual behavior which her *brothers* might punish, she either obeys their interdiction or takes care to hide her actions from them.

882 609 628 A girl behaves toward persons outside the hamlet in much the same way as does a boy. She is polite toward relatives who live elsewhere, but has the privilege of breaking relationships with them. She tends to avoid non-relatives except 583 in clandestine love affairs. When she goes to live with her 591 betrothed, however, she has to make a rather difficult adjust- 602 ment to him and to his relatives. In this situation she has 606 several modes of coping with threats and annoyances from her future in-laws: she may call upon her relatives for help, support, and protection from retaliation; she may submit and become subservient; or she may break the engagement and return to her own home. Girls who are successful in marriage make some compromise between the first two of these modes of adjustment.

882 86 Adolescence, in fine, widens the scope of experience of Kwoma boys and girls and brings them into new learning dilemmas. They assume new economic responsibilities and occupy themselves with philandering and courtship. They learn to cope more courageously with the physical environ-

[42] Although I have no figures on the matter, it is my impression that girls express verbal aggression toward their parents more freely than do boys.

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ment, and, in the case of boys, to be less terrified of the supernatural environment. They discover that sorcery can be combated and that *marsalai* are, in part at least, a fraud. Their social environment expands. The battlefield on which they fight to be respected now extends beyond the hamlet instead of being confined primarily to their siblings as it was during childhood. They learn the value both of maintaining safe relationships and of threatening to break them. Perhaps most important of all, they learn not to let anyone impose upon them.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm. 869 775 [787] [882]

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material. 869 754 [862] [858] [832] [833] [841]

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system. 869 826

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ing of Yowaka (household 2), an old woman who cannot walk because of a great sore on her leg but who makes up for that with her sharp tongue and loud voice. She is the widow of Yaramp, Wof's first cousin, and the mother of Mar (see household 3). With her lives Mar's betrothed, Yawa, a rather unattractive and lazy adolescent girl.

Yowaka's son, Mar (household 3, family line 2), the owner of the third dwelling in this cluster of houses, is a tall gangling youth who has not adjusted very well to Kwoma society. He shows marked anxiety about expressing himself sexually and aggressively, and appears unable to measure up to the standards of behavior set by the culture with respect to these drives. With him live his adolescent sister Awa; two of his father's brother's children—Kwiya, an adolescent girl, and Fit, a boy of eight or nine; and Gwiyap, an adolescent nephew of Wof's.[20] Gwiyap, perhaps my best informant, is a lad just past puberty. He is not yet fully grown but is extremely intelligent, very active, and has learned to speak pidgin English fluently.

Just across the path from these three houses is that of Marok (household 7, family line 5). With him live his wife Dawi, his married sister Uka,[21] and his adopted daughter Afi, the real sister of Gwiyap. Marok is in his middle twenties. He is the only male of his age group in the hamlet who did not leave for a time to work for the whites. For this reason he is also the only one who speaks no pidgin English.

About fifty yards down the path from the houses of Wof and Marok is a dwelling shared by three brothers with their wives and children (household 4, family line 4). War, the oldest, a man in his thirties, is a cleanly built, thick set person with a somewhat cocky air. He has the highest status in the community, being renowned as a head-hunter, singer,

[20] It is unusual for an unmarried adolescent to be in charge of a household. This came about as a result of the death in rather quick succession of the fathers of Mar, of Fit, and of Gwiyap. Actually, Wof and Yowaka kept a sharp watch over the household. The three houses were near enough together so that they could do this quite effectively.

[21] She is living with her brother while her husband is away on a three-year contract to work on a white man's plantation.

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262 Once a Kwoma has passed through the initiatory ceremony he learns new restrictions on eating, assumes new economic responsibilities, and acquires new work habits. Although adolescents are for the most part subject to the same restrictions as children, eating at the same times and consuming the same food, there are some special food taboos which now [826] apply for the first time. A boy may not eat fish for several months after his age-grade initiation. His blood, following the ceremonial cutting, is believed to flow down the stream into the lake and finally into the Sepik River, so that it contaminates the fish caught there. The taboo is thus supported by the Kwoma belief that to eat food contaminated by one's [764] own blood is dangerous. Another restriction is the "voluntary" abstention by adolescent boys and girls from eating [765] sago gruel for the period between the first and second funerals of a close relative. A third new limitation upon a boy's [831] eating habits is associated with his sexual behavior. It is be- [753] lieved that if a male eats food cooked by any female with whom he has had sexual intercourse, he will sicken and perhaps die.[4] Sickness is believed to result not only from eating food contaminated by one's own blood, but also from eating food contaminated by one's own sperm. When a woman cooks, any sperm which she has recently received is thought to contaminate the food. For these reasons an adolescent boy takes care not to get the harmful sperm back into his system by eating food cooked by a girl with whom he has philandered.[5]

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602 When Kwoma youths have attained the status of an adolescent, they must assume new economic responsibilities. While they were children, their parents provided all the sago flour that was needed by the household, but now both sexes must share in the labor of collecting and preparing this staple. Since this is a task which involves the cooperation of a man and a woman, a *brother* and *sister* form a team and they produce together a supply of flour to supplement that [462] prepared by the mother and father. It is the boy's duty to

[4] This taboo also applies to adults with the exception of food cooked by a wife.

[5] The effects of this belief on the sexual behavior of the Kwoma will be discussed later.

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cut down the palm tree and remove a section of bark. The girl then crushes the pith, and the boy washes and squeezes it in a trough which he has constructed, allowing the milky juice to flow into a bark container set below the trough. A fine flour settles to the bottom of this container, and the water flows off. After a long morning's work a couple will have produced a sixty or seventy pound deposit of flour. The boy pours off the last of the water and wraps up the flour in a spathe. The girl places this bundle in her net bag and carries it up the mountain path to the dwelling on her back. The division of labor in sago making is maintained in part by the belief that, if a woman should do the man's part of the process, especially that of washing and squeezing the pith, the flour would be inedible.[a]

An adolescent girl takes the responsibility for cooking part of the family meal, presiding over a fireplace of her own instead of merely helping her mother. She prepares the vegetables for soup, boils sago flour, and roasts the meat. She and the older children share the meals which she cooks, thus relieving the mother from the task of providing for the whole family. The mother generally continues to cook for herself, her husband, and the smaller children. If there are two adolescent girls in a family, they usually share one fireplace and cooperate in the cooking. A girl must keep herself supplied with firewood and water.

At adolescence boys and girls must assume new gardening duties and become more specifically associated with the gardening group, which consists of from one to three adult *brothers* and their families.[1] They take their place in the gardening group of their father or, if the father has died, of a *paternal uncle*,[2] and begin to perform adult gardening tasks with the adult men and women of the group.

[a] Mar and Gwiyap, my houseboys, broke this taboo, a circumstance which will be discussed in chapter viii.

[1] There were six gardening groups in Rumbiina hamlet, headed, respectively, by (1) Wof and Marok; (2) War, Kar, and Kis; (3) Yat and Way; (4) Waramus; (5) Afok and Fokotay; (6) Kwal and Daw. Gardening groups will be discussed in more detail in chapter vi.

[2] Gwiyap and Mar joined the gardening group of Wof and Marok. Mar, in addition, had to care for a garden which had been started by an older brother who had recently died.

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883 241 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adolescents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricultural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining the time of planting.

883 462 241 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*, the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground, he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams and to store them.

[252] [476] An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of preparing food for the workers, especially when a feast must be provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to [602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her *sisters*, *mothers*, and *aunts* weed the sections belonging to her father, *brothers*, and *younger sisters*. The most arduous part [482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries [487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag [346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built for the purpose.

883 [226] [224] Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise. When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathizing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools necessary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister. Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was working for me. When War heard what these two boys were doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's business and that they were not going to obey him. They worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand, are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it; women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, however, to assume that these customs are maintained by this drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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461 adolescents to perform their economic tasks. One of the cri-
581 teria by which a girl chooses a man for a lover or a husband
• 883 is his ability as a worker. Other things equal, the more indus-
trious a boy is, the more he is sought after by the girls. Lazy
lads are shunned. Mar, who was considered to be very lazy
and a poor worker, was not at all popular with the girls.

883 Industriousness on the part of the girl is an even more im-
461 portant criterion of attractiveness than for a boy. The big,
581 strapping women, who could carry large loads of produce or
832 firewood up the mountainside, and who could labor tirelessly,
were the females that caused Kwoma men to smack their lips
and make lewd comments. Marok's sister, U'ka, a powerfully
built woman, was considered the most attractive girl in the
hamlet. Her strength and industriousness were always men-
tioned as attributes of her desirability. Indeed, after her hus-
band left to work on a plantation, Marok had some difficulty
in preventing her suitors from ignoring her marriage and
taking her to live with them. She needed pressure from rela-
tives to keep her in line. Yawa, on the other hand, exemplifies
[584] what happens to a lazy girl. Before she went to live with
Mar as his betrothed,* she was affianced to another young
man. The engagement had been arranged by her parents,
but the boy and his family would not accept her because she
was so lazy. They treated her with such contempt that she
returned home. With Mar she fared little better. He once
complained to me: "Yawa is no good. She is terribly lazy.
When she is getting firewood, she just brings tiny twigs.
When she gets sago flour, she cuts down the smallest palms.
If she attempted a big one it would take her from dawn until
after dark. I have never had intercourse with her and I never
will, even if she stays here the rest of her life. If I did and
she had a baby, I would have to pay the bride-price. She is
not worth any."

461 Laziness is directly punished by social disapproval, indus-
626 triousness rewarded by social esteem and prestige. The cases
of Mar and Yawa also exemplify the application of these
sanctions. After Mar had delayed hanging stringers in his

[583] * Girls live for a few months with their parents-in-law before marriage.

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Awa mending a fish net. She is repairing the hoop with a piece of split liana. Awa, Mar's real sister, was one of the adolescent girls of Rumbima hamlet. See Chapter V.

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret

121 883 836 love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219–245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept of free trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33–54, 134–152.

000 Amaki to hide, so he did not get his pay.

684 628 Yat came back from Tangwishamp and told me that one of the men who had worked on a white plantation and had been away for five years found that his wife, who had been staying with her brother at Urambanj, had a child two years old and was again pregnant. He was very angry. A group of Tangwishamps and Urambanj gathered at the Urambanj house tamberan with spears and had a big parley, brandishing their spears and bone daggers. [648] The Urambanj brought pay--ten pieces of shell money. The Tangwishamps were not satisfied and said that they were going to bring the case before the government. The case rests thus. The Tangwishamps said that if the Urambanji do not agree to this court, they will either kill the woman or bring the police to shoot the place up.

857 883 Awa and Afi cut some sticks and made a bed outside their houses. It was a peculiar structure, but they enjoyed making it. None of the boys helped them. Pit and May said that they were going to make a good one the next day. Kwiya was shredding fishline. Yawa was sitting by the fire doing nothing.

501 262 313 Mar and Mas worked on their canoe. Kwiya, Awa, and Afi went to their former hamlet site in the morning to get coconuts and other food stuffs. Yawa gathered a large net bag of firewood.

226 123 April 7, 1937. Gwiyap, Kwiya and Awa went fishing, but they did not catch anything. Kaya and Chinuwa and Kum came to visit while I was still in bed. Kum was playing with the scissors and cut a hole in my net. Chinuwa scolded him and told me to fight him.

764 [593] [262] Wof and War went to Dawus to attend the funeral ceremony. This is a gong and flute ceremony but there is no dancing or singing. Food was provided by the dead man's brothers. The ceremony lasted for two days and one night.

November 29, 1936.

115 About a week ago Oviyap and Tip were down at the market place watching
883 the women trading. A girl came up to Oviyap and talked with him. He then
584 told Tip that she wanted to marry him, but that he had refused and said he was too young to have a wife. Later in the day it turned out that he had turned his option on her over to Mar. In telling me about the situation he said that plenty of girls wanted to marry him but that he was not interested.

The night before last he dreamed of a great deal of food being brought to him in a mat bag.

115 Yesterday when I was talking to him, I asked if he had ever had
836 intercourse. He was noncommital, "Me no savvy"; I mentioned that I had,
123 and to make it sound convincing, listed several names. He was very much interested and wanted to know if the girls' fathers would be cross if they found out. I told him we kept it secret. Then he wanted to know what would happen if one of the girls should have a child. I told him that we had a machine to prevent that. That evening when he came up after supper I began pumping him about ghosts and as soon as there was a lull in the conversation he broke in with a tale of his escapades. He named three girls, three of them from his sib, as well as Mar's sister, with whom he had had intercourse--both in the bush and in the house. He told this in great glee and added, "Fashion belong me all the same you"(my customs are the same as yours). When he told me of Mar's sister, he made me promise not to tell Mar about it.

January 26, 1937.

*115 593 I asked Gwiyap if his father was a hard man. "Man! hard felo lik lik!" (That's putting it mildly!") Did his father ever beat him? "Yes." Once he had asked his father for pig's meat. His father had replied that he didn't have any. Gwiyap had cried, and his father had beaten him. Gwiyap later grabbed a spear to shoot his father, but Mar's older brother had [604] prevented him. Another time his mother had been cross with him and he had run away and stayed with his nam (mother's brother) for several days until his mother had finally come and taken him back. He often went and stayed with Mar, who was his chief playmate even though he was older.

January 28, 1937.

*115 787 Gwiyap had a dream last night that he and Mar and I were going down the hill to the market place on the way to work for the white man, followed by a group of women. When we reached the foot of the hill and got into a canoe to go out to a pinnace which was waiting, the women wanted to go too and started to get into the canoe. We said that they must stop, whereupon they wailed and broke their lime gourds. We got on the pinnace and went down the river as far as Angoram, where we got onto the Montoro, which Gwiyap thought was "big tu mas (big too much). I asked him who the women were who had followed, and he said, "O, altogeder mari" (oh, all the women). Then he mentioned particularly his sisters and mother and Mar's sisters.

February 2, 1937.

*115 584 ● 883 Gwiyap has met Way's daughter at night and today met Sowinambi's daughter on the way to Soubundum. She called him aside and said she had heard he was leaving with me but that she would wait for his return and would marry no one else. He said all right. He told me that plenty of girls would like to marry him--"plenti felo mari i laik getup long mi " When we discussed her waiting for him and the fact that he didn't intend to

115 584 883 marry her at all he thought that she would probably be married by the time he returned; if not he would marry her.

February 3, 1937.

115 752 123 657 The sore on Gwiyap's leg, which developed when we were still at Ambunti, still does not heal properly, and looks pretty bad. Several times before he has suggested going in to the station. Who was going in today to meet Tip so I decided to send Gwiyap. I told him last night and at first he agreed to go, but then he began to think of reasons why he should not go. I insisted. This morning he again tried to get out of it, saying that Mar had told him to wait for him. I looked at him, and he grinned sheepishly and said, "All right, I'll go."

Summary made February 11, 1937.

128 133 Anything like a day by day account, is of course impossible, so I think the best thing to do at this point is to summarize the culture briefly as it looks to us at this point. The Kwoma is a group of mountains running north and west of the government station at Ambunti which are known as the Peilungua range. The Sepik River runs around the south and east edges of these mountains, and the great sago plane which stretches to the Dutch border and to the sea bounds them on the west and north. From Ambunti station at their south-eastern tip, to Tangwishamp at their north-western is a distance of about ten miles. The mountains consist of a series of short ridges running in all directions, the general trend being in the form of a g, its beginning at Ambunti, its end at Tangwishamp, we being situated about in the middle of the diagonal. The slopes of these ridges are very precipitous; it is usually necessary either to dig ones feet into the earth or to hold onto vines and roots to keep ones footing.

[132 241] A dense forest of large trees covers the whole area except for small garden plots cleared here and there. The highest point, Ambunti Mountain, is 1520 ft. above sea level.

February 13, 1937.

126 Yesterday Tip left. Gwiyap and I put the ceremonial figures in boxes.

+115 Gwiyap had a dream last night. Some master whom he did not know was
787 living here and had a lot of boxes which he and all the other Hongwum carried down to the pinnace. The boxes were very large and heavy. When they reached the market place, the master found that one box was missing; he was very cross, and sent them back to look for it. Gwiyap finally found that another Hongwum had taken it to his house. He reported this to the "kiop" at Ambunti who told him that if he returned the box it would be all right.

602 Kwiya came by carrying firewood and Gwiyap yelled something bawdy
+115 several times. She answered, evidently in the same vein. I asked Gwiyap if she understood him. He said that she did, but that it was all right
+115 between 'brother' and 'sister'. Then he said that he thought it would be
836 good to go away with me, for so many girls liked him and had intercourse
883 with him that he would get in trouble, and then he recounted his conquests again: Kwiya, Awa, Way's older daughter, Mas' sister, and Sowinambi's daughter. I asked him if he hadn't had intercourse with Way's other daughter. His face dropped and he said that he hadn't -- that she didn't like him. Then he brightened and said that she was no good anyway--"bona nothing." (To me the two seem nearly of an age and look very much alike.) Then he said that Mas' sister was the best of all--she has a very large vagina. He cautioned me not to tell Mar about having intercourse with his sister (Awa), for "he would fight me." "No, he would not fight me, but I would have shame."

He came in this afternoon about four, sweating, and boasted that he had just had intercourse twice with Awa in their house. Mey came in, and he kept still. Later he said that he didn't want Mey to know, for he might tell Mar.

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12 1]

[p.106]

CHAPTER VI

ADULTHOOD

884 304 AKWOMA boy becomes an adult[1] when he receives the keloids which are a symbol of manhood. The scarification ceremony[2] occurs when he has grown to full stature and is ready to marry.[3] This initiation takes place at one of the house tamberans where all the boys of the proper age are operated on at a single ceremony. Each boy, when his turn comes, lies on a sago spathe. While the father of his [606] future wife holds his hands, a special operator incises two semicircular cuts above each nipple and rubs ashes into them [608] to make a raised scar. All boys who are cut on the same spathe become *friends*, a relationship established by the mixture of their blood which it is believed makes them "one blood" like *brothers*.

A girl enters adulthood in a slightly different and less public manner. She also is cut with other girls of her age, to each [608] of whom she becomes a *friend;* but the operation takes place at the dwelling of the operator, instead of the house tamberan, and the design of her keloid is an elaborate circular figure centered about the navel. I do not know who holds her hands during the operation.

885 593 By the time a Kwoma man has become adult, he has learned most of the techniques of food getting. Even as an adolescent he has assumed considerable responsibility for producing food. As an adult his economic duties are even more insistently sanctioned. An adolescent need only contribute to the support of his father's family, but an adult must produce

[115] [1] The adults of Rumbima hamlet whose behavior was most closely observed were Wof, Marok, War, Kar, Kis, Yat, Way, Waramus, and Mes. Kar, Kis, Yat, and Mes, since they spoke pidgin English, were my best informants on this period. (See household map and lineage chart in chap. I.)

[2] This ceremony should not be confused with either the age-grade or cult initiation ceremonies which occur during adolescence.

[582] [3] In the majority of cases, a boy marries shortly after the scars are healed, so his wedding also corresponds with his entry into adulthood.

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food for himself, his wife, and his children. If he fails to do so, he may be criticized by his relatives, and deserted by his wife.

Gardening is an occupation which involves the coöperative endeavors of several persons.[4] The basic gardening group consists of the members of two or more closely related households, typically a father and his adult sons and their wives and children, or two or more adult brothers and their families. Sometimes a man will make a garden with his paternal uncle. Each adult male in the group has an equal share in the garden set aside for him and his family, the section being marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground. Each section is subdivided in the same way for every member of each family except the infants. This group cooperates in all phases of gardening. The males and females, children, adolescents, and adults have differing tasks allotted to them, but they work as a coöperative unit under the direction of the boss gardeners, the adult males of the group. A new function for the man is, therefore, to take the responsibility for planning and organizing gardening activities.

Some of the gardening tasks are more effectively performed by a group larger than the gardening group. The Kwoma have a work-bee system to take care of this need. Whenever the boss gardeners decide that they need help on some phase of gardening, either in clearing the site, breaking the ground, or harvesting the crop, they gather together enough food for a feast. They and their families collect a surplus of sago flour and provide meat, preferably a wild pig. If no one has succeeded in spearing a pig, they process a still greater surplus of sago flour, trade it for fish from the river natives, and use this instead of pork. When they have gathered this supply of flour and meat, they announce, both on the house tamberan gongs and by passing the word around, a work bee for the following day and request their

[4] If all the details of the technique of gardening were presented here, the main theme—socialization—would be buried in a welter of detail. Only the major processes of gardening will therefore be presented, leaving the details for another publication.

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the boss gardeners normally prepare another bee to break the ground for the yam hills, although the gardening group may do this work alone. If the latter is the case, the women of the group work with the men instead of preparing the feast. Since Kwoma gardens are always on a slope, each hill is made by leveling the ground into a little terrace about a foot square. This is accomplished by means of a spadelike digging stick. When the slope is especially steep, the terraces are buttressed by a retaining wall of sticks laid one on top of the other, held on one side by the pressure of the earth and on the other by pegs stuck in the ground. These miniature retaining walls prevent the hills from being washed out by a heavy rain. The worker, with a final thrust of his digging stick into the middle of each terrace, pries open a hole large enough to receive a seed yam.

The Kwoma consider that the success of the crop depends more upon planting than upon any other part of the gardening process. Only an adult man who has become a member of *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, may do this. They believe that if a youth or a woman should put the seed yams in the ground, the yield would be meager, hard, and unpalatable. Normally, one of the boss gardeners has attained the proper status to plant yams. If not, then the nearest patrilineal relative who is a member of *Nokwi* will perform the task in return for a share in the produce of the garden. On the night before a man is to plant yams, he shares with other members of *Nokwi* a ritual soup which is believed to be potent enough to kill a woman or child. From this time on until the yam shoots break the ground, he may not chew betel, scratch himself except with a stick, or smoke except by holding his cigarette with tweezers. If he does not carry out these rituals, it is believed that his yams will not germinate. The planter performs his task by putting the yam into the hole in the hill so that the butt is down and the head (stem) is up, and the axis roughly perpendicular to level ground. He then covers the yam with earth so that the upper end is just below the surface.

Kwoma beliefs about blood appear again to determine a

112 Pig hunting

Becoming a Kwoma

224 is an occupation which a Kwoma male does for the first time as an adult. Women never hunt. A man usu-
• [885] ally hunts alone, although occasionally he will allow an adolescent boy to accompany him and watch. The bait-and-blind technique is considered the most effective method. For bait the hunter cuts down a sago palm in the swamp wherever pig signs are evident. He erects a blind of fronds alongside this, and on a moonlight night waits for the prey to come to eat the fresh sago pith. The hunter may crouch in the mud for several hours before the sound of sloshing footsteps, punctuated with deep grunts and the breaking of dead sago fronds, heralds the arrival of the game. If he is lucky enough to attract a wild pig to his bait, he edges slowly and soundlessly along the blind to a point opposite his prey and then rises slowly and thrusts his spear into the beast's heart.

The Kwoma also hunt with trained dogs. They walk through the swamp until their dog picks up the fresh trail of a wild pig. If the dog brings his quarry to bay, the hunter dispatches it with a spear. Wild pigs are also trapped. A hole about four feet in diameter and five feet deep is dug in a pig trail and covered lightly with twigs and leaves. The trapper visits this pitfall periodically.

224 After a pig has been killed it must be transported from the
482 swamp to the hamlet. If the pig is not full grown the hunter
483 lifts it across the back of his neck and carries it as a shep-
[251] herd does a lamb. If the hog is full grown and fattened on sago pith, however, it is too heavy for a man to carry alone. He therefore, if possible, drags the carcass to a pool and leaves it immersed in water while he goes home to get help from his *brothers*. Kwoma theory believes that the meat keeps better immersed in water than if it is simply left where it falls. At least three men are required to carry a large hog. Two of them lift the burden onto the back of the third man, and he staggers as far as he can before the hog is transferred to the shoulders of another. By taking turns in this way the carcass is finally brought home.

224 The adult man of the hamlet who is most adept at butcher-
ing usually performs this task. The pig is laid on its back on

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224 strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose
[859] tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small
262 animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply.
[826] He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the
703 lack of interest in small game. A man may expend consider-
237 able effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but
223 because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a *brother* or *uncle*.

252 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of
593 both sexes. The technique which they master during adoles-
885 cence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and
[439] his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by
[476] the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for
[796] contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her
462 adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she
[591] fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet.
[433] The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing
[437] is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from
462 the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
[262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
[608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism, since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
[262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
[766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural death, the women of the household may wail and watch over the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
[885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz[8] is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening, the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
[462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The technique of adz construction need not concern us here, except to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle, and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy. Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
[177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
[482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
[462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
[286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare time manufacturing them.[9]

[8] The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hunger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

[9] As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique during adolescence.

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423 man belongs govern where he has the right to build his house,
611 plant his garden, and gather sago flour. In order to clarify
428 this principle it is necessary to show the relation between these descent groups and land.

423 Each family line has control of a not too clearly delimited
351 district near the house tamberan of the hamlet on which its
594 male members build their houses. The exact site is decided
613 by the builder with the consent of the other men of the family line. The districts of each family line are clustered with re-
241 spect to their lineage affiliations. The gardening land which
423 immediately surrounds the hamlet is divided into large sec-
613 tions belonging to the various lineages of the hamlet, and
59 each of these is subdivided into districts controlled by the various family lines. Similarly, each lineage controls one or more sections of gardening land in the outlying districts of the subtribe and several sections of the sago swamp. Each of these plots is subdivided into subplots administered by the family line. If a man wishes to plant a garden or extract sago flour, he must choose a site on one of these subplots and must obtain the consent of the other members of his family line.

59 The number of persons in a family line is kept relatively constant through adoption. Those lines who have few or no
[423] sons adopt boys from more numerous family lines. By this
[428] process the relationship between men and land is kept relatively constant in a society where land may be neither bought, sold, nor willed to a particular heir.

• 885 The responsibility for defending property rights in land,
421 produce, and tools falls more fully on the shoulders of a man
593 during adulthood than during the earlier periods of his life.
602 He not only must defend his own property against theft and trespass, but must assume most of the responsibility for preventing property violations against members of his immediate family and for helping his relatives to defend their rights against outsiders.[15] In order to prevent trespass or theft

[885] [15] Theft and trespass are considered to be aggressive acts by the Kwoma, and sanctions and retaliation with respect to them are discussed in detail below.

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from the house when the entire family leaves it to go to the garden, the sago spathe door to the inner room of the dwelling is closed and barred in a particular manner so that the head of the house will know if anyone tampers with it. To prevent persons from pilfering his garden, a man casts a magical spell so that anyone who enters the garden will break out in boils.

If the owner of property catches a thief in the act of stealing, he may attack him physically or may threaten to do so. If, however, the owner notices that some of his property has been stolen or disturbed, but is not sure of the identity of the culprit, he may publicly accuse the person whom he suspects, stating his reasons for suspicion and threatening aggressive action unless adjustment is made. If the evidence is so clear that the accused cannot deny the charge, he will normally pay the accuser damages in order to maintain "safe" relations. If, however, the accused is not guilty or if the case is not clear, the matter will be settled by a court meeting.[16] A court meeting may also be called to discover the identity of the culprit if the thief or trespasser is unknown.

A few examples of theft and trespass will illustrate this formal structure. Yat, a young man of Hayamakwo sib and Rumbima hamlet, built a pig blind on the edge of one of his sago patches. He visited it one day and found that it had been destroyed, and that a taboo fence[17] had been erected across his path to the blind. He suspected Dowar, also a Hayamakwo but a member of Sumwe Sumwe hamlet,[18] who owned the property next to his. On returning home he told his wives about the matter and went to the Rumbima house tamberan that evening to announce his anger. Those present agreed with his suspicions, and the evening was spent discussing the evil ways of the people of Sumwe Sumwe. The

[16] The procedure at a court meeting for property disputes is identical to that at the sorcery court described below.

[17] A taboo fence consists of the branch of a tree or a sago frond placed across a path. The implication of such a fence is that "anyone who goes down this path does so at his own risk and in the face of my threat."

[18] The Sumwe Sumwe split off from the Rumbima several years before as a result of a quarrel.

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tongue, however, and told me that most of the women of the hamlet were afraid of her. Finally the shouting subsided, and that evening Yat and Wof, Mar's *uncle* and foster father, discussed the affair calmly, decided that Yawa was guilty of stealing the grubs, and arranged for Kafa and Yat to be repaid in kind with grubs taken from one of Mar's plots. When Wof returned home, he lectured Yawa severely for her offense and threatened to beat her if she did it again.

A Kwoma weds soon after he becomes adult. Adolescent courtship, culminating in the trial marriage in which the girl comes to live with the boy's parents, is finally terminated, if all goes well, by a special ceremony which makes the couple man and wife. The boy's mother determines when this ceremony shall take place. If she is satisfied with the girl and knows that her son is also, she tells her to cook the food for the afternoon meal. Hitherto the betrothed has cooked food only for herself, and the boy's food has been prepared by his mother or sisters. The mother chooses an occasion when the boy is away from the house, so that, when he returns, he begins eating his soup unsuspectingly. When he has nearly finished his first bowl, his mother informs him that it was his betrothed who cooked the meal and that he is now married. At this announcement, it is expected that the boy will rush from the house and exclaim as he spits out the soup: "Faugh! It tastes bad! It is cooked terribly."

After the wedding ceremony, the couple live together as man and wife, and the customs which regulate marital sexual behavior apply to them. They never sleep in the same bed but lie alone on separate bark slabs, joining only for copulation, which is performed with a minimum of embracing and foreplay. All informants insisted that a husband and wife should not sleep together. When I asked Gwiyap if he might not sleep with his wife on cold nights, he replied, "No, I would be ashamed to." I asked why and he replied, "It is a bad thing to do. The big men like my uncle War would be cross. It is his duty to take care of me and see that I do nothing wrong."[20]

[20] *Homba*, "shame" or "guilt" is the same word which Kwoma use to

685 621 578 885 583 585 593 833 513 [192] [196]

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The rules of sexual etiquette regulating staring and indecorous postures hold in adulthood. The aged, however, need not be so careful in this respect. In particular, an aged man or woman may embrace when greeting a person of the opposite sex, behavior denied them since infancy.

The levirate operates when a woman's husband dies. Although not absolutely bound by this custom, the widow normally marries the oldest man of her husband's lineage and generation. If she chooses to marry someone else, the man whom she marries must pay a bride-price to her levirate inheritor.

When a woman dies, the following rules govern the behavior of her husband and relatives. If she dies shortly after she has married and before the bride-price has been paid, her husband need not pay for her. If he has already paid the bride-price, her relatives are obliged to return it in full or in part or else to provide another wife from their lineage. If her death was due to her husband's negligence, however, he must pay the bride-price and cannot demand compensation from her relatives. When a woman dies after she has borne children, her husband or her sons must pay a small amount of shell money to her brothers in order to maintain the mother's-brother-sister's-son relationship, a payment completely distinct from the bride-price transactions. If this payment is not made, the two kinship groups behave toward one another thenceforth as non-relatives.

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[24] The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yenama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yenama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

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A man who has attained high prestige in the community and, in addition, has taken the head of an enemy, is asked to join *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the yam cult, and he thereby receives the greatest honor that a Kwoma man can attain. If he is able to achieve this mark of status, the final mystery of the *marsalai* is unfolded to him. He is told that the booming rhythm that he has always heard at the *Nokwi* ceremony is not the footsteps of the great female *marsalai* in whose honor the ceremony is held, but is a sound made by a huge water drum.[24] A man plants yams for the first time on the occasion of his initiation into *Nokwi* and learns from the cult members how to solicit the aid and coöperation of the *marsalai*, which are believed necessary for a successful yam crop.

The yam cult, in addition to being a mode of ranking men in accordance with their attainments and of providing a means of gaining the support of the *marsalai*, is the primary institution for artistic expression. It has been shown how the child secretly learns to play the gongs, to sing, and to dance, and how during adolescence he is formally taught these skills, first in the bush house and later at the house tamberan. During adulthood men vie with one another in demonstrating their accomplishments in these artistic techniques. A man who is superior in one or more of them gains high praise from the community; people speak of him as a *harafa ma malaka*. At the beginning of each ritual the participants examine the carved wooden figures on the altar and comment on their excellence, those who have made them standing by to receive the praise. Men who are adept at carving may expend considerable time and effort fashioning and painting the formalized wooden heads and figures which are supposed to represent the *marsalai* of the cult, in order to have them so displayed.

Men who show a talent for gong beating have the opportunity during the cult ceremonies to play the most sophisticated rhythms in the orchestra, and those who excel in com-

[24] The water drum is a hollowed log shaped like a canoe, truncated at both ends, suspended in water so that the lips are submerged, and beaten by a pole wielded by two men.

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lets, when they hear this rhythm, rush to their own house tamberans and repeat the rhythm on their gongs. The *marsalai* must tremble, it is said, when he hears the thunderous command issuing successively from each house tamberan in each of the Kwoma subtribes. Doubtless he hastily shuts his mouth.

A Kwoma male must submit to the hazing of age-grade initiation even after he has reached adulthood. There are four occasions on which he attends this ceremony as an initiate, and, since it takes place only once every five years, there are normally three rites during adulthood when he must permit his *ceremonial father* to slash his tongue and penis. Thus it is not until a man is over thirty that he ceases to be an initiate. On each occasion he advances a degree in prestige and is permitted to wear a certain hair ornament that those of lower grades may not wear. Just as the newly initiated adolescent derogated the uninitiated children, so the adult derogates those in stages below him and struts about wearing his newly acquired headgear.

After a man has passed through the initiation cycle, he takes his turn as an initiator. He adopts a *ceremonial son* whom he sponsors through the cycle. Finally, at the age of fifty or more, after twenty years as an initiate and twenty years as an initiator, he attends the age-grade ceremonies merely as a spectator.

The attitude of an adult man toward ghosts differs little from that of a child. He still reacts to them with a mixture of aggression and avoidance. Kwoma men are quite loath to walk very far from their dwellings after dark, and if they do so they either carry a torch or wear a dagger made from a human thigh bone, both of which are supposed to frighten ghosts and make them keep their distance. In spite of these precautions, men not infrequently encounter what they believe to be ghosts. One evening I heard frightened shouting, then the patter of feet rushing by the house, and finally angry shouts and imprecations from the house tamberan. The next morning I learned that Kar and Marok had stayed late on a visit to another hamlet and had been forced to re-

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885 795 turn after dark. They had almost reached home when they heard a rustling in the path by their side which they knew to be a ghost. At first they froze in their tracks and then shouted out their predicament, hoping that there would be someone in the house tamberan to come to their aid. Wof and War heard the shouting and told them to run. They did. When they reached the house tamberan safely, they and the other men present shouted angrily at the ghost to go back to the land of the dead and to stop annoying them.

885 787 789 A Kwoma adult may be possessed by ghosts under the same circumstances and for the same reasons as adolescents. The only new rôle which he must play at this time is that of exorcist. Any adult may try his or her hand at questioning the ghost through the medium of the possessed person, but those who show the most aptitude for discovering the cause of the ghost's anger gain reputations as exorcists and are usually called upon. Marok and Chinuwa were considered to be the best exorcists at Rumbima.

885 757 The Kwoma have certain techniques for curing minor ills, most of which have already been described. Although children can depend on others to perform these techniques, adults must learn to treat both themselves and their sick relatives. An adult must know when and how to practice phlebotomy, how to lance and care for a boil, and when to rub a person with nettle-like leaves in order to revive him. He must also learn some of the spells which are thought to be effective under various circumstances.

753 752 754 The Kwoma believe that all serious sickness is caused by sorcery. The list of maladies which are thought to result from sorcery includes not only common illnesses, such as malaria, filariasis, and tuberculosis, but also injuries which result from accident. When, for example, a boy from a neighboring hamlet fell from a tree and fractured his skull, the fall was believed to have been caused by the machinations of a sorcerer. Sorcery is even suspected to be the cause of minor ills, such as ulcers, headaches, and upset stomachs whenever they are unusually protracted or resistant to cure. All but the mildest ailments are thus believed to be caused by per-

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765 and the bones, which are by this time dried and bleached by the weather, are taken from the platform and distributed to *friends* of the deceased. The best *friend* gets the mandible, the second best receives the clavicle, and the third best one of the arm bones. The oldest son inherits the femurs, which he may fashion into daggers. The remaining bones are buried under the floor of the house in which the deceased has lived. After the bones have been distributed, everyone who attends the funeral[37] joins in a big feast, which is a joyous occasion. Those who have fasted eat the food which they have denied themselves, and those who have worn clay wash. There is a great deal of joking and merriment, and when the meal is finished the men go to the nearest house tamberan, where they beat rhythms on the gongs, play the sacred flutes, dance, and sing. Only those males who have received their keloids are allowed to attend.[38]

• 885 571 A Kwoma adult lives in an environment of people who may cause him pain to an even greater extent than the natural and supernatural environments. They beat, insult, scold, punish, sorcerize, and even threaten to kill him. He has already had a long apprenticeship in learning to anticipate these pains. By adulthood, a Kwoma has learned to differentiate the various categories of relatives, non-relatives, and foreigners. Toward threats from each of these categories of persons he responds with acts which his culture defines as appropriate. If he does not do so, he may expect pain from another source, from those members of his society who sanction custom.

885 593 602 A man's parents and *paternal uncles* and *aunts* still command and punish him as they did when he was a child. Now the punishments take the form of scolding and criticism, as

[37] Everyone in the subtribe is usually invited.

[38] A young man from a neighboring tribe who was not yet scarified was severely beaten and almost killed for entering the house tamberan at such a time. This man had killed his wife with an ada in a fit of rage and had fled from his own tribe to escape the wrath of his wife's relatives, taking refuge with his mother's relatives at Hongwam. The Kwoma all considered him crazy, and indeed he did exhibit some psychotic symptoms. It is probable that these circumstances were in part responsible for the beating he received.

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he is too big to be spanked or beaten. The habit of obeying their commands has been so firmly implanted that, for the most part, he continues to do so even though the parent may not have the strength to punish disobedience physically. More often than when he was an adolescent, however, he ignores the commands of his aged parents. He is seldom physically aggressive toward them, though he not infrequently attacks them verbally. Kwoma informants could remember no case of an adult son wounding or killing a parent. Since there is no relative closer than the son to retaliate for the crime, there is no direct control of patricide. Its rare occurrence is explained in part by the punishments received during childhood for aggression toward the parents, and in part by the active negative sanction that would be applied by the whole community. Members of the hamlet would consider the deed unnatural and would avoid the murderer.

A grown man is more frequently aggressive toward his *brothers* than he was during adolescence. As already noted, his *brothers'* wives take the place of his *sisters* as persons in the hamlet with whom, although they are sexually taboo, he frequently has clandestine affairs. If such behavior is suspected or discovered, it usually leads to blows or at least to an exchange of threats and insults between the *brothers* concerned. In order to avoid suspicion, a man takes great care not to look at his *brother's* wife or to be in any other way intimate with her when he is likely to be observed. This is the nearest approach to an avoidance relationship—in public, at least—that is found in Kwoma culture.

The following cases illustrate conflicts between adult *brothers* which spring from sexual jealousy. Yat accused Kar of having an affair with his wife and threatened him. Kar denied the accusation and said that it was a bad state of affairs when one was falsely accused by his *brother*. He intimated that he might break relations with Yat. They remained hostile for about a week and then apparently forgot the matter, for their relations became friendly again. A more serious case occurred between Wof and War. The latter planned to leave the hamlet for several days and asked Wof

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if he would take care of his wife, Mbora, during his absence. Wof agreed, and Mbora came to stay with him. When War returned, someone gossiped to him that Wof had taken advantage of the situation and had had sexual relations with Mbora. War accused Wof of adulterous behavior and threatened to spear him. Wof ran away, but his wife stood her ground and counterattacked War with an adz, wounding him in the arm. In still another instance War's wife complained that while gathering firewood she had been sexually attacked by his *brother*, Takawur. War set out with a spear after Takawur, and would have killed him had he not fled from the tribe. He still lives in exile.

Fighting between *brothers* sometimes results from economic conflicts. The responsibility for maintaining his property against theft and trespass, which a man assumes as an adult, sometimes generates enough antagonism between *brothers* to overcome communal disapproval and their early training against fighting one another. The following case illustrates such a conflict. Kwal and Daw, two brothers in their early thirties, lived in adjoining houses. One day, while Kwal was away working, Daw climbed an areca palm which they owned in common and began to gather the nuts. Kwal's wife told Daw to stop, as the nuts were not yet ripe, and, when he paid no attention, began to insult him. Daw, stung by her insults, climbed down the tree and beat her with the handle of a spear. When Kwal returned home and was told by his wife how Daw had treated her, he set upon his brother with a stave, and the two battled until Daw received a severe blow on his head.

The reaction of the community indicates the sanction on fraternal aggression. Daw and Kwal shouted angrily at one another during the fight, and when the former received the blow on his head he cried out as though he were mortally wounded. As soon as the sounds of the fracas were heard, nearly everyone in the hamlet rushed to the scene. When I arrived, the battle was over and several persons were standing by each contestant. Mes was supporting Daw, who stood trembling with blood flowing down his cheek from a cut in his

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tive girl, verbal permission from her, the environmental scene which has both public and secluded spots, etc.; the reward is sexual orgasm, satisfaction of sex appetite, and anxiety reduction. The adult habit of beating gongs against sorcery when a relative becomes ill may be used as a final illustration of the paradigm. The man's drives in this case are fear that he, too, may become ill unless the sorcery is stopped, fear that his relatives may die, and anger at the sorcerer; the response is going to the house tamberan and beating the gongs in a particular way; the cues are those which indicate that a relative is sick; and the reward is a reduction in fear and anger. Thus, although the habits become more and more complex[12] as the individual matures, the four essentials of learning and performance pertain to the behavior of individuals of all ages.

A Kwoma child learns but a small part of his cultural habits by free trial and error, that is, without some member of his society guiding and directing him.[13] Were he to do so, he would learn those habits which were most rewarding to him and to him alone.[14] This, however, is not what actually happens. He is forced to learn, not the habits which might be most rewarding to him alone, but the habits which are specified in the culture as being best. For generations before his birth his forbears have tried various ways of dealing with one another and with their environment. Those habits which were successful have persisted in the form of customs, while those which have failed have either suffered extinction or passed out of existence with the untimely death of those who

[12] It is not the particular purpose of this chapter to detail how complex habits are learned, although this is a crucial problem. Hull has suggested a very important mechanism as a partial explanation in his theory of the assembly of behavior segments. This theory, together with the integration of habits on a cultural level, should go far toward the solution of the problem. See C. L. Hull, "The Mechanism of the Assembly of Behavior Segments in Novel Combinations Suitable for Problem Solution," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLII (1935), 219-245.

[13] Limited trial and error operate in nearly all learning situations. The concept of free trial and error is used here to mean learning which takes place without the guidance or interference of any other person.

[14] See C. L. Hull, "The Concept of the Habit-Family Hierarchy and Maze Learning," *Psychol. Rev.*, XLI (1934), 33-54, 134-152.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The childhood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adolescence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule.

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12 1]

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